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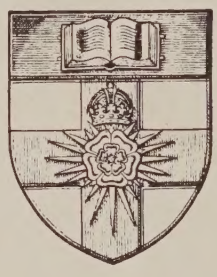

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# REPORTS

FROM

# COMMISSIONERS, INSPECTORS,

AND OTHERS:

*FORTY-SEVEN VOLUMES.*

—*(47.)*—PART I.—

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS—*continued.*

SESSION 1.—5 *February* 1895——6 *July* 1895.
SESSION 2.—12 *August* 1895——5 *September* 1895.

## VOL. LX.—PART I.

1895.

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*FORTY-SEVEN VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE*

FORTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.—PART I.

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N.B.—*THE* Figures *at the* beginning of the line, *correspond with the* N° *at the foot of each* Report; *and the* Figures *at the* end of the line, *refer to the* MS. Paging *of the Volumes arranged for The House of Commons.*

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS—*continued.*

Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission) :

[c. 7882.] Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part IX. The Manuscripts of the Earl of Buckingham, the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Onslow, Lord Emly, Theodore J. Hare, Esq., and James Round, Esq., M.P. p. 1

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

FOURTEENTH REPORT, APPENDIX, PART IX.

THE

# MANUSCRIPTS

OF

## THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, THE EARL OF LINDSEY, THE EARL OF ONSLOW, LORD EMLY, THEODORE J. HARE, ESQ., AND JAMES ROUND, ESQ., M.P.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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1895.

[C.—7882.]

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# INTRODUCTION.

The first collection noticed in this volume, belonging to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, consists of the correspondence of Robert Trevor, son of the first Baron Trevor, who was Secretary of Legation at the Hague under Horatio Walpole, from 1734 to September 1739, when he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary there, and who in 1741 was raised to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. He resigned in November 1746, and was appointed a Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland. He was joint Postmaster-General from June 1759 to July 1765, succeeded as Baron Trevor in 1764, was created Viscount Hampden in 1776, and died in 1783. His titles became extinct on the death of his youngest son in 1824.

The collection is arranged in sixty bundles, each containing the correspondence of one month or more, the first letter calendared being dated January 27–February 7, 1735–6, and the last November 22, 1746. A very large proportion, probably three-fourths of the whole, consists of despatches from the Foreign Office to Trevor, or copies of his despatches home, of which the copies and originals respectively are preserved among the Foreign Office papers in the Public Record Office. The first fifteen bundles were roughly compared with the Foreign Office books preserved there, and those of which duplicates were found were separated in each bundle from the rest, though even of this residue some may be duplicates. It seemed unnecessary to go through the same process with the remaining bundles, but the papers calendared have generally been placed at the beginning of each. A considerable number of the remainder are more or less formal letters addressed by Trevor to the British representatives at foreign courts, or by them to him. The former class has not been noticed in the Calendar, nor have most of the latter, as they generally go over the same ground as the former class. Some letters, however, of the latter class, which appeared to be of interest, or which were written in a style more familiar than official, have been noticed. The ultimate residue is compara-

tively small, but much of its contents is of considerable interest. Trevor was on intimate terms with many of the leading English statesmen, and corresponded with them with great freedom and openness, so much so that in more than one letter is an injunction to the receiver to destroy it as soon as read.

His most regular correspondent, especially in the earlier part of the period, was Horatio Walpole, Sir Robert's younger brother, who, through that relationship, and from his own experience as a diplomatist and a member of Parliament, had exceptional opportunities of observing what went on behind the scenes, and who was Trevor's intimate friend. Till his brother's resignation in 1742, many of his letters give vivid accounts of the debates and speeches in Parliament, some being actually written from the House during the debates. After that event he attended less regularly.

Among the latter parts of the correspondence are several important letters from Trevor to Henry Pelham and from the latter to Trevor, two from Pelham's brother, the Duke of Newcastle, and several, hitherto unpublished, from Lord Chesterfield, in one of which, written in August 1746, he alludes to his son, and recommends to Trevor Lord Charlemont, the well-known Irish statesman, when he visited the Hague on his tour abroad. There is one letter from William Pitt. Several from Sir Thomas Robinson describe the difficulties which he encountered from the pride and obstinacy of the Court of Vienna.

Three of the earlier letters are from the so-called King Theodore of Corsica. In one, dated January 1736–7, he states that the Queen of Spain, with the concurrence of Genoa, intended to propose to the Corsican chiefs the Pretender's son as their king. This might be supposed to be an invention to rouse the apprehensions of England, and gain her support for the writer, were there not allusions to some project of the kind in the letters of the Duke of Ormonde, of 23rd October 1737, and of Kelly, of 11th December 1737, intercepted by the English agent, "Le Connu," which have been published in the *Calendar of the Weston Papers*, in the first Appendix to the Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, pages 504 and 509. That agent himself is mentioned in a letter of 14th August 1738 but

without any clue to his identity. Several other secret agents and correspondents are mentioned *passim*, among them one La Roche, and two Sicilian abbots, one of whom had died before September 1738. Allusions to such persons have been calendared, on the chance of their illustrating any mention of them in other documents of the time.

There are a few letters from Sir R. Walpole, relating for the most part to the purchase of pictures for his collection. In one he remarks that he is not fond of the Dutch school, but would like a specimen of each of the best painters.

The principal topics of the earlier letters are the affairs of the Prince of Orange, the King's son-in-law, particularly his claims on the States of Zealand relative to the Lordships of Flushing and Terveer, and the investment of the fortune of the Princess, the conflicting claims of the Elector of Hanover and the King of Prussia to East Friesland in case of the failure of the ducal line there, and the pretensions of Prussia and the Sulzbach branch of the Palatine family to the Duchies of Berg and Juliers on the extinction of the branch of Pfalz-neuberg. The old King of Prussia and George II.'s personal aversion to him are frequently mentioned. In one letter he is said to be "extremely averse to do anything that squints in "the least towards favouring the King of Prussia." Horatio Walpole in another thinks Trevor's hint that the Prince Royal of Prussia, afterwards Frederick the Great, would accept a pension from the King, though a matter of great nicety, deserves serious consideration. It does not appear positively that the suggestion was acted on, though perhaps the 2,000*l.* in gold ducats sent six months afterwards to Berlin with the utmost precautions for secrecy may have had something to do with it.

The Porteous riots and those in London in 1736 are mentioned, the cause of the latter, according to Walpole, being that the English workmen were driven out of their employment by Irish cheap labour. Walpole writes at length about the proposed reduction of the interest on the National Debt. Several letters, printed by Coxe, refer to the last illness and death of Queen Caroline, and there is one to the Princess of Orange from her sister on the same subject.

Early in 1738, the difference with Spain, which the next year resulted in war, begins to colour the correspondence. Mr. Walpole was strongly in favour of peace, arguing against the wild "notion of leaving the people of England and the Queen of "Spain to worry one another.—Could the King and the "ministry say fight dog, fight bear, between the people of "England and the Queen of Spain, and if our King was once "engaged, would France quietly say so with respect to him and "Spain?"

A remarkable letter of Walpole's in October 1740 describes the resources of France both in men and money.

On the accession of Frederick the Great, there were many speculations about his character and probable policy. A good understanding between him and his uncle George II. was hindered by the narrow views and jealousies of one particular country, Hanover. The Queen Dowager of Prussia acted as mediatrix between her brother and son, but in July Walpole found that a reconciliation so effected would relate only to family concerns, and not produce a political union, which Europe, England, and Hanover wanted, and in September Frederick gave offence, which would scarcely be forgiven, by his inquisitiveness about a certain will, doubtless either that of George I., which George II. is said to have destroyed, or that of his divorced wife, the grand parents of Frederick. In August Walpole thinks that though Frederick has not his father's bad qualities he has no very good ones, at least no great ones, but a month later that the Liége affair proved he had one good point, that he would strike, which his father would never do; and a fortnight later Walpole suggests having at Berlin a *petit maître* who might gain his favour. A year later he takes him to be a most arrant coward.

After 1740, the whole of the subsequent correspondence is so full of the events of the war, which from a German became a general European one, and of the consequent negotiations between the different states of Europe, that it cannot be noticed in detail, though much of it is of considerable interest. It may be remarked that Frederick is frequently designated Anti-Mac, *i.e.* Anti-Machiavel, in allusion to the book of that name published soon after his accession when Trevor suspected Voltaire of having

foisted in the boldest and most exceptionable passages, especially those that are taxed with irreligion, and regrets that he had not obliged the public with it in the very same dress and condition in which he received it. In some of the later letters the French King is, curiously enough, spoken of as Mr. Nelson.

After Sir R. Walpole's resignation the conduct of affairs was hindered by the dissensions in the Cabinet between Lord Carteret and the other ministers, and after Carteret's retirement in November 1744 by the King's aversion to the ministers that were forced on him. Numerous allusions to this state of things occur.

In May 1743 Horatio Walpole writes:—"Since his Majesty is "determined to go, and stay I do not know where, and to do I "don't know what, I heartily pray that he may be glorious and "successful abroad, in order to be easy in his government when "he returns again to us; for in the confusion things are at "present here under a divided, distracted, and, I am afraid, weak "administration, without any one person having the credit and "confidence of his master or the goodwill of his fellow subjects, "any disgrace on the other side or even inaction will cause a "most troublesome and boisterous scene the next sessions." And in August Weston mentions the dissatisfaction of the ministers in England at the dryness and reserve of their correspondent (Lord Carteret) abroad, and fears that the *mala sarta gratia* of 1742 will not be long lived. The Dutch complained of the want of harmony and union among the King's servants, to which they attributed the want of forecast and system, and steadiness in English measures. In May 1744, H. Walpole speaks of the perpetual and irreconcileable discord among the ministers, and in June Henry Pelham writes: "We "were very nearly falling to pieces on the demand made by the "Pensionary for our paying the 6,000 Dutch as auxiliaries even "after they came into Flanders."

After Lord Carteret's retirement the King was always trying to get rid of his ministers. In June 1745, Lord Chesterfield writes: "At home things stand on the foot of six month's "warning; and at the return from Hanover we are to know our "fate, and to be really in, or really out; we are now neither." Even just after Preston Pans, Weston writes:—"The *Jeu de*

" *Cabinet* is again in vogue. Who will win that game I can't " tell, but there is almost always a difference between that and " all other games, viz., that the standers by are the greatest " sufferers"; while finally in February 1746 occurred the extraordinary phenomenon of the resignation of the ministry, the attempt of Earl Granville and the Earl of Bath to form a new one, and the return of the old, all in forty-eight hours.

There was as much discord between England and her allies abroad as in the Cabinet. Letters from the army in Flanders in 1744 and 1745 describe dissensions among the allied generals; for instance, in July 1744, General Wentworth writes: " A council of " war was held yesterday at the Marshal [Wade]'s quarters . . . " The time was principally taken up in disagreeable expostula- " tions, which never can do any good. Every party seemed to " have their particular interest in view, to which all other points ' were to be sacrificed, nor after consuming some hours in fruitless " debates, did they conclude upon anything very material, and, as " far as I can judge, did not break up in very good temper." And at the close of the campaign: " The Marshal begins to think of " returning home, undoubtedly with great pleasure, for, if I be " not much mistaken, no mortal was ever more weary of a jail " than he is of his command." It was hoped that the Duke of Cumberland's appointment would put an end to these quarrels, but disputes on points of etiquette arose between him and the Prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch contingent.

Lord Chesterfield, in July 1745, gives an illustration worth noticing of the system of subsidies. " I refer myself to Mr. " Pelham's letter with regard to the Cologne affair, and will only " say that after bribing that Elector's ministers to influence him " to take our money, it is a little hard, that we must afterwards " bribe him himself into it; I take it to be a trick of Mr. " Champigny's in order to go snacks with his master in a sum " which he will say he procured him unexpectedly, and by his " own dexterity."

From Florence came occasionally news from Horace Mann of the doings and plans of the Jacobites at Rome. In January 1744, he describes Charles Edward's secret departure for France, and in the following April the dejection and consternation there at the failure of the Dunkirk expedition. It appears that the first

project was to invade Hanover with the Pretender's son. Two intercepted Jacobite letters of July and August from Paris and Rome relate to the Prince's expedition to Scotland. The first allusion to it in the English letters calendared is in Henry Pelham's of 10–21 September. He writes: "I heartily wish the troops "were arrived, both Dutch and English, for, though I look upon "these Highland rebels as a sort of rabble, yet if there is no "force to oppose 'em, they may come in time to be considerable. "We have scarce any regular troops in the country, and between "you and I, I don't find that zeal to venture purses and lives "that I formerly remember. I don't care to look out for the "reasons." In less than two months a great change had taken place. Early in November Weston writes: "There is a strong "party for abandoning the Continent entirely, and dying, if we "must die, *se defendendo*. Where all this will end, God knows. "But I doubt it must be little less than a miracle to save us." Subsequent letters report the expedition to Derby and the subsequent retreat. In December it was reported that Charles Edward's brother was heading a second expedition to Scotland, and he was at first supposed to be one of the prisoners captured by the *Sheerness*.

J. Stuart Mackenzie, *the* Lord Bute's younger brother, who had met Trevor at the Hague, gives an account of the battle of Falkirk, of which he was an eye-witness, and a letter from Sir Everard Fawkener from Aberdeen shortly before Culloden describes the condition of the Royal army.

A letter written by Lord Carteret's orders the evening of the battle contains an account of Dettingen, and there is also an account of the battle of Raucoux in 1746. Letters from Sir John Ligonier and Colonel Graeme of the Dutch Service give their personal observations at Fontenoy.

Coxe, after writing his life of Sir Robert Walpole, had access to this collection, then in the possession of Trevor's son, the second Viscount Hampden, and printed a large number of the most interesting letters in his *Memoirs of Horatio Lord Walpole*, and one each in his *House of Austria* and *Pelham Administration*, unfortunately with a great number of mistakes, some of which completely alter the sense. For instance in one, "people of all

ranks" appears as "people of rank" and in that giving an account of H. Walpole's first interview with the King, after the death of Queen Caroline, the conclusion should be "Although his (the "King's) value and esteem for Sir Robert Walpole was certainly "greater on account of the Queen's judicious approbation (Coxe, "apostrophe) of him yet she (Coxe, he) knew that he himself "had made him his chosen minister as superior and preferable "to all his subjects." These mistakes have been noticed in the Calendar, and the true readings given by Mr. F. H. Blackburne Daniell, who has prepared the report on these papers.

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The papers of the Earl of Lindsey, here calendared by Mr. Richard Ward, can scarcely be called the family correspondence of the Earls of Lindsey, to whom they belong, inasmuch as they do not contain more than half a dozen letters written from or to any person who ever bore that title. Historically speaking, they should be described as Danby or Osborne papers, as they relate almost exclusively to members of that family, and especially to Sir Thomas Osborne, of Kiveton, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, who was Lord Treasurer under Charles II., and was impeached by the House of Commons for intrigues with France, and confined in the Tower for many years. He married Lady Bridget Bertie, daughter of Montagu, Earl of Lindsey.

In the second volume of the new series of the *Retrospective Review* is contained an article intituled the *Bertie Letters*, the writer of which letters was Charles Bertie, who was the son of the last-mentioned Earl of Lindsey. His name frequently appears in the present series, and several of the letters are written by or to him. It is stated in that article that the letters there referred to occupy the first two hundred pages of a thin folio volume in the library of the Earl of Lindsey at Uffington. It is from Uffington, where Charles Bertie lived, that the papers now under consideration come, but that folio volume is not amongst them. A few, however, of his earlier letters comprised in this Calendar would appear to be part of that correspondence which seems to have related principally to his foreign employments.

This 'Charles Bertie, who, as stated before, was the son of the Earl of Lindsey, and therefore brother-in-law to the Earl of Danby,' was Secretary to the Treasury when the latter Earl was Lord Treasurer; and he appears to have been fully in Danby's confidence and in possession of all his secrets.

In his old age the Earl, then Duke of Leeds, published a volume of letters written to and by himself in the years 1676, 1677, and 1678, which was intended as a defence of his conduct in relation to the dealings with France which went on at that time, and also in relation to William III., or, as he then was, the Prince of Orange. Amongst others, he published letters to himself from Mr. Brisbane, whom he describes as a gentleman employed at the Court of France about marine matters. It is true that Brisbane writes home about marine matters, but he writes about so much else that it is not unfair to assume that his business was not confined to any one subject, and that he was instructed to report upon everything that went on. He seems to have had access to many of the great men of the day in Paris, and his correspondence shows how well informed they were kept, or kept themselves, on English parliamentary affairs. The Earl, however, only published such part of the correspondence as he thought would serve his immediate purpose, and, as his book may not be easily accessible, it has been considered best to print the whole of those letters, so far as they have been found at Uffington, without regard to whether they have or have not appeared before.

There is a curious postscript to a letter from the Earl to the Countess of Danby, written on 23 September, 1677, giving her directions for her conduct to Nell Gwynn, and her son, Lord Burford, who was then an infant. He says, "Remember to send "to see my Lord Burford without any message to Nelly, and "when Mrs. Turner is with you bid her tell Nelly you wonder "shee should be your Lord's enemy that has alwaies been so kind "to her." Charles Bertie writes an interesting letter on April 26, 1679, to the Earl after his impeachment, giving an account of his examination before the secret committee, when they hoped to obtain admissions from him, damaging both to himself and to his chief. He seems, however, to have got out of the difficulty, and as they were perhaps afraid to press him too hard he was

ultimately left in peace. An attempt was also made to get the King to use his power to stop the proceedings against Lord Danby by bringing to bear the influence of Lord Plymouth, who was a son of the King and son-in-law of Lord Danby. It does not seem to have been successful, though Lady Plymouth received minute directions from her father how she should proceed. Notwithstanding his imprisonment, the Earl seems to have remained on good terms with the King, as we find him frequently asking favours for friends. Moreover, as he had his family to live with him in the Tower, the imprisonment cannot have been of a very rigorous or painful description. In February 1684, he was released on bail.

There are several letters written at the time of the Revolution of 1688 by the Earl and Charles Bertie. The former seems to have been in a great state of anxiety as to what interpretation would be put upon his attitude, and he writes letter after letter to the Prince of Orange professing his devotion to his cause and to the principles which he represented.

The correspondence ends with some private letters from the Duchess of Leeds, as she then was, to her daughter-in-law, Lady Carmarthen. They are full of allusion to family differences, for which Lord Carmarthen seems to have been largely responsible. The very last letter, which is dated September 1696, is an attempt on the part of the Duchess to reconcile her husband and son.

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The Earl of Onslow was unable to find any family manuscripts of historical interest at Clandon Park, but he kindly forwarded to the Commissioners for inspection a handsome large quarto volume, into which had been copied sundry "Anecdotes and other Miscellaneous Pieces," left by Arthur Onslow, the famous Speaker of the House of Commons. The early part of this volume, selections from which have been made by the Secretary to the Commission, is made up of an essay on the functions of an Opposition in Parliament, especially illustrated by the writer's own reminiscences of parliamentary warfare, which date back to the time of Walpole's eminent and effectual exertions against the Bill to restrain the making of peers, the management of which, after its passage

through the House of Lords in November 1719, was entrusted to the younger Craggs, then a Secretary of State. The eloquence and tact with which these two leaders played their respective parts are described in glowing terms; and Craggs's vigorous support of the measure was the more amazing to Onslow, as he had undoubted authority for saying that no one was privately more opposed to the measure than the young secretary. The morality of thus defending and supporting in public what Craggs was really against and opposed in private, which Onslow avers to be a common practice among ministers, is then discussed at considerable length; he concludes his remarks with this advice, "Be therefore of the first Duke of Ormonde's opinion, who used "to say, 'However ill I may stand at Court, I am resolved to "lye well in the Chronicle.'"

A second chapter on the same subject of Parliamentary Opposition is still more remarkable for its comments on public affairs, and the characters of the leading men during Onslow's long service in the House of Commons. He has at first much to say about Atterbury's plot in favour of the Pretender; the bishop he writes of as "a man of great parts and of a most "restless and turbulent spirit, daring and enterprising though "then very infirm, and capable of any artifice; but proud and "passionate, and not of judgment enough for the undertakings "he engaged in." He wanted to be not only the first churchman, but the first man in the State; not less than Wolsey, whom he admired and thought to imitate. Walpole appeared before the Lords as a witness for the Government against him, and the bishop "used all the art his guilt would admit of, to perplex and "make Mr. Walpole contradict himself, but he was too hard for "the bishop upon every turn, although a greater trial of skill "this way scarce ever happened between two such combatants, "the one fighting for his reputation, the other for his acquittal." After further remarks on Sir Robert's career, he concludes that "he was in general a wise and able minister, and the best man "from the goodness of his heart, which was characteristic in him, "to live with, and to live under, of any great man I ever knew." To some of Walpole's famous opponents Onslow gives equal if not higher praise. Sir William Wyndham was "the most made "for a great man of any one that I have known in this age.

" Everything about him seemed great." " There was much of " grace and dignity in his person, and the same in his speaking," and " no man ever contributed more than he did to the dignity " of Parliament." Of another member of the Opposition to Walpole's administration, hardly so well remembered, Sir John Barnard, one of the eminent of City representatives, Onslow gives many interesting traits of character. The impressions made upon him by Bolingbroke, Carteret, and Lord Chesterfield, are also fully set down.

Of much greater length than the essay above quoted is the account drawn up by the Speaker Onslow of his own family, largely based upon papers and correspondence then preserved at Clandon Park, but now, unfortunately, missing. The chief historical interest of the earlier portion of this lies in the narrative of the doings of Sir Richard Onslow under the Commonwealth and Charles II., and more especially of his personal relations with Cromwell. Of Sir Richard's son and his grandson, the first Lord Onslow, who was uncle to the Speaker, we get many interesting personal details, together with much throwing light on the general history of the times. The writer says that he himself was born at Kensington, "in the first house of the left hand as you come into the town from London"; he dwells at some length on the circumstances of his early life and education, his marriage, and entry into Parliament. From the first day on which he set his foot in the House of Commons, he tells us, he " was an early and " most constant attendant to and a most studious observer of " everything that passed there." Onslow entered Parliament just at the memorable time when the affairs of the South Sea Company were undergoing close examination; and he has much to say about the ruin wrought by the Company's collapse, and about the persons implicated in it, including the Earl of Sunderland, Aislabie, and Craggs, whose " characters," after the fashion of the time, are set out at great length. The prosecutions arising out of the Atterbury plot, to which he had previously alluded in these essays, and the impeachment of the Earl of Macclesfield, were historicals occasions on which a prominent part was assigned to Onslow. Unfortunately this record of his parliamentary experiences ends with his election as Speaker in the Parliament elected after the accession of George II. in 1727. Later on in

the volume is, however, a curious note by him of an interview with the King soon after the arrival of the news of Sir John Cope's defeat at Preston Pans. Further particulars of family history down to 1785 are added by Sir Arthur's son, who became Lord Onslow. In conclusion, it must be regretted that the original documents upon which this very interesting volume was based have entirely disappeared, and the Commissioners hope that the attention thus drawn to the matter will be the means of recovering some portion of them, at any rate, for their noble owner.

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In sequence to the account of Lord Emly's manuscripts in our Eighth Report Dr. Gilbert has printed the concluding portion of the correspondence of Edmund Sexten Pery, Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland. In this correspondence, which extends from 1780 to 1789, are to be found communications to and from the following Peers:—Aldborough, Annaly, Athlone, Bristol, Buckinghamshire, Carlisle, Charlemont, Clanricarde, Hawkesbury, Leinster, Lucan, Macartney, Northington, Portland, Riversdale, Sackville, Shannon, Shelburne, Sydney, Temple. There are also here communications from Charles Agar, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and James Butler, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel; William Eden, John Foster, W. Ellis, Henry Grattan, Sir Richard Heron, Sir Edward Newenham, Thomas Orde, Thomas Pelham, John Ponsonby, Thomas Pownal, and Richard Rigby.

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The collection of Mr. Theodore J. Hare consists chiefly of letters written by his ancestor Francis Hare, who was chaplain-general of the army in Flanders under the Duke of Marlborough, and afterwards Bishop successively of St. Asaph and of Chichester; and by members of his family down to the year 1770. The first letter printed in the selection which has been made from these papers by the Secretary to the Commission, is dated from Hochstadt, the day after the battle of Blenheim, and gives the chaplain's "account of the greatest victory that has been won in "the memory of man," to use the writer's own words. Succeeding letters, like this addressed to the future bishop's cousin George

Naylor, describe with fulness at greater or less intervals the campaigning and negociating which were carried on down to the year 1711. Under date of May, 1706, are printed two interesting and important letters signed apparently "J. Walpole," describing the raising of the siege of Barcelona by the Earl of Peterborough, just when all hope of saving the town from the united attacks of the French and the Spaniards was abandoned. Between 1711 and 1733 there is but one letter in the collection, from Henry Pelham to Francis Hare, then dean of Worcester, dated in September 1722, offering him, on behalf of Sir Robert Walpole, the vacant ushership of the Exchequer, a post which, Pelham says, if the dean should have a mind to fill by deputy would still leave the holder 800*l.* or 1,000*l.* a year to himself. The rest of the letter comments on the proceedings which were being taken by the Government against Lords Orrery and North, and other Jacobites. From the year 1736 down to the period of the Bishop of Chichester's death in 1740, his eldest son Francis, who took the name of Naylor on inheriting Hurstmonceux through his mother, was travelling abroad, and received many letters from his father, descriptive of debates in Parliament, and his views on politics and society generally, at a period still in much need of illustration by contemporary writers. A few letters of Mrs. Hare, the bishop's widow, and of R. Marsham, a Norfolk gentleman, are noticeable for their graphic accounts of travels in England and Scotland.

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The collection of Mr. James Round, M.P., is miscellaneous in character, and has been much neglected. Mr. J. Horace Round, who prepared the account of it, discovered several of the documents in a loft over the stables, among them being one bearing the autograph signature of "the King-maker," with an impression of his seal, believed to be unique, and another containing the curious formula of the ward-staff of Ongar, the existence of which had remained unknown. In a lumber room were found, among old newspapers, the voluminous Petkum correspondence, relating to the secret negotiations for peace in 1707–1711.

The manuscripts are calendared in five divisions. In the miscellaneous deeds and papers will be found several relating to the

neighbouring borough of Colchester and other Essex localities, including a curious receipt from Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, "filz et frere des Rois." Among the other items of interest in this division are three deeds concerning the surrender of Revesby Abbey, and a fine plan of Limerick in the 17th century. The second division comprises the papers relating to the great Essex family of De Vere, and to the Baynings, whose heiress married the last earl of Oxford. This is followed by a "Diary of the Siege of Colchester," which, though it needs to be used with caution, contains many details not found elsewhere, especially in the opening fight. This narrative, which was used by Morant when writing his "History of Colchester" (1747), and also by Mr. Gardiner for his "History of the Civil War," was evidently written by a local man on the loyalist side. It is of the same character as that which was printed in the Commissioners' Report on the Duke of Beaufort's manuscripts. The manuscript from which this narrative is taken is an early 18th century transcript of the original, which is not known now to exist. A fourth division is formed by the correspondence of Mr. Charles Gray, member for Colchester in five Parliaments from 1747. Antiquary, scholar, politician, philanthropist, his correspondence includes letters from the credulous Dr. Stukeley (bearing on the famous Bertram imposture), and an interesting description of New Jersey, and Princeton in its early days, from Governor Belcher. The bulk of them are from the pen of the scholarly Thomas Falconer, "the Mæcenas of Chester," who was related to Gray by marriage. To this correspondence have been added some extracts from Mr. Gray's Parliamentary note-book.

The Petkum correspondence has been classed by itself. Comprising not merely the letters received by Petkum, but the drafts of his own, it is of special interest from the close relations in which he stood to Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary of the Netherlands. It is largely in cipher, but the deciphering is interlined. Most of the letters to Petkum are from Torcy, the French foreign minister, but there is an interesting series of news-letters from Paris at the close of 1711, illustrating the feverish desire of the French at the time for peace.

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# THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.



HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1735–6, January 27 [– February 7].—Enclosing copies of the letters of the Prince of Orange to himself and of the Princess to the Queen, which desire that the King should write to the States of Zealand on the Prince's behalf "relating to the violent and unjust proceedings of that Government against the rights and possessions of his Highness," and stating several points as necessary to be cleared up before his Majesty should do so, and desiring Mr. Trevor to consult the Greffier confidentially on the subject.

*Enclosed :—*

i. The PRINCE OF ORANGE to HORATIO WALPOLE.

173[5–]6, [December 22–] January 2.—Leewarde. Giving reasons why the King should write in the first instance to the Estates of Zealand.

In *French. Copy.*

ii. The PRINCESS OF ORANGE to the QUEEN.

[1735–6], January 20–31.—Leewarde. Urging the expediency of the King's writing to the Estates of Zealand. "Je me souviens journellement des paroles de Papa '*Va, cherche fortune*,' et ose affirmer que je n'ai rien à me reprocher sur cet article." . . . "Pour chaq'une de mes soeurs et Guillaume, dont vous parlés avec eloge, j'y trouve leurs caractères. . . . Je ne doute nullement de la beauté de la harangue de Papa au Parlement."

In *French. Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1735–6, January 30 [– February 10]. London.—Your letter of February 3rd relating to your discourse with M. Gansinot, I immediately communicated to the King with the inclosed note. P.S. "I had liked to forget telling you that his Majesty in his discourse with me about the violent proceedings of the Prussians in Gueldre, &c., said that it was the same everywhere, and that he would join with the princes in the neighbourhood in a Convention to obviate . . for the future" such outrages.

*Enclosed :*

The said NOTE.

"If the Palatine Court can obtain from your Majesty what M. Gansinot proposes, they will never think of an accommodation, and consequently any project which your Majesty may frame relating to Ost Frise to be blended with an accommodation about Bergue and Juliers will not, I am afraid, take place, after the Palatine Court shall have obtained sufficient security that things shall remain *in statu quo*, till the pretensions be decided by the Aulick Court." At foot in the King's hand :—

"I am of your opinion."

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THE SAME to the SAME.

1735–6, March 12 [– 23].—Referring to the approaching transit through Holland of the Princess Augusta on her way to England to be married to the Prince of Wales under the escort of Lord Delaware "who between you and me seems awkward enough in this affair."

THE SAME to the PRINCESS OF ORANGE.

1735–6, March 16–27.—Informing her of the manner in which 40,000*l.*, the balance of her fortune, should be drawn from the Exchequer, and advising its investment in a new loan of 600,000*l.* to be borrowed that year, as all the funds were much above par, and even the 3 per cents. were at 2½ per cent. premium.

*Copy.*

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1736, June 25 [– July 6].—Inclosing a statement of Lord Wallingford's claim to the property of Cornet Law, who had died at Maestricht, as against that of Madame St. Baron, and asking him to do Lord Wallingford all the service he can in the matter.

*Holograph.*

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1736, July 4–15. Hanover.—It would be extremely improper to employ Mr. Ginkel "at Berlin, if this King was dead, in anything at all or indeed now in anything, where the States are not concerned; which was the case of the projected marriages between our two Courts, when I am not clear that he might not have had some hint from Amsterdam perhaps to disappoint them. You might be cautious of Luiscius . . . he is certainly a R[ogu]e, and he and Borck have without doubt wrote to their Court to the disadvantage of Sir R[obert] W[alpole] and me, for between you and me I have undoubted proofs of the King of Prussia's saying he would have nothing to do with the W[alpo]les, they were not his friends."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1736, August 8–19. Hanover.—"The late troubles at London will make a noise abroad, but I find by a very particular account of them from Sir R[obert] W[alpole] that they had no manner of relation to the affair in Westminster Hall; but were truly occasioned at first by the English tradesmen being drove out of their work by the Irish that work cheaper. However, if they had been continued, it was apprehended that the disaffected against the Government, and discontented about the Gin-Act would have improved that opportunity to carry the disorders farther."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1736, [August 29 –] September 9. Hanover.—"You need be in no pain about the papers you sent Sir R[obert] W[alpole]; altho' he does not answer your letters, I find by experience that he is not guilty of a regular correspondence."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1736, [September 25 –] October 6.—Gohrde.—"I really believe his Majesty's aversion to the King of Prussia and to his having one foot of ground more than he has, would make him readily concur in any step with the States and even with France to prevent it . . . . . .

The quiet permission on the part of the Magistrates at Edinburgh of the violent outrage of the mob without the least interruption is in my opinion worse than the thing itself. However, I hope the serious enquiry into this affair and the strong measures taken, as well as the encouragement offered for the discovery and punishment of some of the authors will have the desired effect for the restitution of our law and government. As to the peevish questions of the Pensionary, I can assure him Nixon's trial was put off to be carried to Westminster Hall for the greater solemnity of it; and with respect to the rioters it is possible I may have had some hand in it, for as the mob on that occasion was, upon undoubted evidence, found to be raised by purely a dispute between English and Irish workmen without any design against the Government, and would not be prevailed upon by the Jacobites who attempted to encourage them to make a disturbance in the State, I wrote my opinion privately that I thought it imprudent as well as hard to execute the rigour of the law against them, which would only please the enemies of the Government. . . . By all my accounts the Gin-Act is like to take place without the least disturbance."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1736, October [10 –] 21.—Hanover. The Duke of Newcastle "is like the children in the wood at Lisbon, not knowing what is proper to be said or omitted according to the persons to whom he talks . . . . The King's birth-day, "I think, will certainly be kept here, an admirable scheme to satisfy the mob and tradesmen in England."

### GEORGE TILSON to the SAME.

1736–7, December 23–January 3.—Helvoet Sluys. "God be thanked we are safe here, since we could not get to England. *Salvus Rex, Salva Lex, salvi omnes*, that is all who are come hither, for we are not without pain for the *Charlotte* Yacht, and the German Chancery, and the *Page* sloop with our Gentlemen, till we hear of them, for they did not come in with us no more than the men-of-war, but our sea officers here tell us the vessels are good and the Commanders able, and that they may after rough usage gain their passage. . . . We had on Monday morning a deceitful S.E. wind, which I remember some stook their heads at, but the word was Embark. His Majesty got on board about 10 in the morning, and I think we were all under sail a little after 11. The wind was then so brisk and so favourable that we were out at sea soon, and I thought I had taken my leave of the Dutch coast for this time, for we ran about ten knots in an hour, and had got, as some judge, between 15 and 20 leagues over, when upon the close of the night the wind came to S., to W., to N.W., and blew a most violent storm that no ship could carry any sail; the sea ran so high, that our yacht ship't a vast deal of water. The men were dead hearted and discouraged, and we are much obliged to our Captain Knolles for the spirit, the resolution, nd temper he shewed in our distress. I indeed, rolled in his cabin and

knew not my danger, but his Excellency was tossed about and resigned, and every one else knew not how soon it might be their fate to be overwhelmed. And though the hearing of Goree again was not the most welcome sound, yet happy it was we got back again hither safe, Tuesday in the afternoon."

P. A. Samson to the Same.

173[6–]7, [December 28–] January 8.—Helvoet. "Hier au soir. . nous eûmes l'agreable et consolante nouvelle de l'heureuse arrivée du *Page* Sloop vendredi à 2 heures après midi à Gravesend. . . . Le vaisseau de guerre *Eltham*, commandé par Milord Auguste FitzRoy n'est pas encore retrové, et nous ignorons absolument ce qu'il est devenu."

Baron Theodore de Neuhoff, styled King of Corsica, to the King.

173[6–]7, January [10–]21.—Berne. Asking for the assistance of the King and offering in return to grant a free port in Corsica to England, to use English manufactures exclusively, and to give them a preference in the purchase of the produce of the island, such as wine, oil, wax, &c., and stating as a further reason that "the Queen of Spain, as is notorious, spared no endeavour to seduce the Corsicans in favour of the Infante Don Carlos, but having been unable to succeed in a rising planned against me, they have agreed, with the advice of Cardinal Alberoni, to propose to the Corsican chiefs the son of the so-called Pretender as their King. . . . . The Courts of Italy and Genoa itself know that Corsica is lost for them; and so the same Genoese Cardinals adhere to the ideas of Cardinal Alberoni in the chimerical hope of one day recovering Corsica by the return of the Pretender as King to England, which he (Alberoni) puts before them as certain by means of the measures and cabals they are carrying on in different courts." And asking further that if his uncle in Brandenburg, the Baron de Neuhoff, is unable to procure for him 3,000 troops from the King of Prussia, a like number of Hanoverian troops may be allowed him whom he undertakes to pay.

In *French*. *Copy*.

Horatio Walpole to Robert Trevor.

1736–7, January 28 [– February 8].—Cockpit. "The Bishop of Oxford will soon be declared Archbishop of Canterbury, and I having told Sir R[obert] W[alpole], that I think this promotion will have a good or bad effect upon the election at the University according to his Grace's behaviour (if he appears indifferent it will certainly lose you some votes, if he appears zealous and in earnest for you it must be serviceable, for those that were before undetermined will be influenced by the disposition and weight of so much power and preferment in the hand of an Oxford man), he has promised fair and will be talked to in a very serious manner by good authority."

The Same to the Same.

1736–7, February 25 [–March 8].—I "send you inclosed the votes of Tuesday last, by which you will see what passed there in the great affair between the King and the Prince, which was carried in the

negative by 234 against 204. The solicitation among the young members had been so industrious and had been employed by such a variety of means for a long time and by personal intercession of his R. H. himself that several of them were hampered with an engagement, and could not go back, altho' extremely desirous of it; the same question was proposed this day in the House of Lords, but carried in the negative by 76 against 28, the proxies being called for, the first number was increased by 24 and the last by 12, which made the numbers 100 against 40, so that I hope the matter will end here and ill humours subside by degrees, altho' I am afraid his R. H. is got into hands that will endeavour to bring all things into confusion."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1736–7, March 15–26.—Cockpit. "You will learn by this post that Mr. Bromley, your antagonist, died on Saturday morning of a pleuretick fever, which immediately put your Oxford friends in motion, for which I shall refer you to your brother for a more particular account. All that I can say at present is that the new Archbishop will do nothing, and without him nothing is to be done. I have seen letters this afternoon from Oxford, by which it appears that some of the friends to the Government are zealous for your standing again, but do not shew any hopes of your being able to carry it, and I must own I am too much your friend to have you disgraced a second time. . . . .

"As to the translation of the scandalous paragraph in the Dutch *Gazettes* relating to the members of North Britain upon the Prince's affair perhaps it was not necessary for you to mention it in your dispatch and indeed you judged extremely right in thinking that my brother Walpole despises such vile and false aspersions; but the Scotch nation, I can assure you, are not so patient under it, and therefore I believe you may receive some orders from Lord Harrington on this subject by this post; I know the Dutch have sometimes complained of our newspapers and without any great effect, but nothing was ever published in any degree like this; what satisfaction can be given I can't tell, but the chief thing in my opinion would be to make the newsmongers discover their correspondents in England."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1736–7, March 22 [–April 2].—His Majesty continues "still extremely averse to do anything that squints in the least towards favouring the K[in]g of P[russi]a. . . . The Tories at Oxford are divided and in the utmost confusion about a new member. However I do not see that the Whigs can make any advantage of it. Those on the spot must be judges if a surprise about the time and the person can produce a favourable and unexpected result."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737, April 1 [-11].—(Part printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, i. p. 368, with the following mistakes:—p. 318, line 21, after "by" insert "intimating that if nothing was intended by (*sic*? but)"; line 26, insert "to" before "the"; line 28, for "in" read "into"; p. 369, lines 5 and 6, for "indeed to put an end to" and "a" read "tended to suspend at once" and "the"; line 20, for "could" read "cared to"; line 26, insert "only" after

TREVOR MSS. will." The letter continues thus:—"for indeed I see no reason for the Hollanders to be alarmed. The short state of the question is that all those who would rather take 3 per cent. certain for 14 years instead of being paid off by the Sinking Fund will subscribe, or if they do not like that offer they will continue in the Funds as they are subject only to a gradual redemption. Whether there is any quantity of loose money to subscribe to an annuity of 3 per cent. in hopes of the 3 per cents. rising, as they did lately, six per cent. above par, time will show. So much money as shall come in on that foot may be employed if it should amount to a million jointly with the Sinking Fund as it arises towards the discharging the redeemable debt carrying 4 per cent. If no money should be subscribed for an annuity at 3 per cent. things will continue as they are, that is the Sinking Fund as it arises at present will be employed without any extraordinary accident towards discharging gradually the redeemable debt. Why this state of matters should alarm the Hollanders that are not stock-jobbers I can't tell, unless they are resolved neither to submit to an annuity of 3 per cent. nor to a gradual redemption by parcels as the Sinking Fund may increase, or other moneys be found at 3 per cent. to pay them off, and unless they think they can employ their money to greater advantage at home.")

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737, April 19 [–30].—Cockpit. (Parts are printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, i. p. 370 (where it is misdated the 29th) with the following mistakes:—p. 370, lines 6, 10, and 14, for "immediate" "on" and "national" read "irredeemable" "to prove" and "public"; p. 371, line 1, add "the distress" after "feel," and lines 3 and 6, read for "people of rank" "people of all ranks," and for "redemption" "reduction." The omitted part is:—

"It is certain that the public has no right to reduce the interest, but only a power of redemption or paying off the creditors as the public may be able to find money to do it in such sums as by the Acts of Parliament they have a right to tender to the creditors; and as to the preambles in the Acts of Parliament that regulated the preceding reductions, the preamble *about the common rate of interest being come lower*, &c. was a motive for the public offering to the creditors a lower interest instead of being paid off, which were they not obliged to accept *without their consent*, which words as to the reduction are likewise in the *same* Acts, but as to the redemption no consent was necessary to be asked, that being the express condition of the original contract."

(Then follows an illustration of a mortgagor who has borrowed 10,000*l.* at 4 per cent. and on the current rate falling to 3 offering the mortgagee the alternative of taking 3 or being paid off.)

"I shall" now "take notice of some of your reasons on this subject.

"1°. The preventing of the discussing matters of a pecuniary nature (which compose the mortal soul of man), and will when touched get, I am afraid, the better of all right and reason, is a thing, as you observe, more desirable than practicable in Parliament, where everybody has a right to speak, and where that right appears always strongest when exerted in behalf of the public, as it is pretended in the present case, and especially in matters of money under colour of saving to the public a considerable sum yearly; the advantage of which wants no explanation, neither do I well see why the two simple propositions should occasion at all any stock-jobbing. Artful men may indeed make their advantage of the weakness of fearful men, but the proprietors

having nothing to do but wait to see whether the Act of Parliament will pass, and then determine whether they will continue in the Funds, subject to the gradual reduction to which the public has a right, or accept for a certain term of years of 3 instead of 4 per cent.; but as long as there are Parliaments and public debts and annual provisions to be made for the support of the Government you may as well stop the tide with your thumb, as prevent the discussion of these pecuniary affairs in Parliament, which meets annually for that purpose.

"2°. Considering the clamours of those that will be affected by the reduction of interest from 3 to 4 per cent., altho' not compulsory, and the ill consequences of the many being hurt and sore who are very numerous, perhaps it may be more prudent to continue the gradual and slow way of redemption than to push the other method, which will by those that feel the loss be called, altho' unjustly, violence, and whose resentment may increase in proportion to their distress, which may have an ill effect upon the Government, considering the variety of ill humours already afloat in this nation.

"3°. The annihilation of the capital and making all clear as you go may be for the reasons you give perhaps desirable, but . . . if this annihilation should continue for three years successively the difficulty of replacing the moneys paid off either in the Funds or elsewhere would soon make the creditors desire to be at a certainty for a certain revenue tho' smaller, for a certain number of years; but as to the necessary measures for our defence in case of danger, surely the procuring immediately by a voluntary reduction the increase of the Sinking Fund to 1,400,000*l.*, and keeping that in our hands would be a greater security to this Government than anything that can be proposed; for I would by no means have the popular point of paying off the duties upon candles, soap, and leather, &c. prevail, which would have no good effect upon our manufactures, and would put that money which may be necessary for our security out of our power, perhaps irrecoverably, or at least subject to great difficulty and struggles to be laid on again, and I will maintain it to be better to employ the Sinking Fund, when it is not applicable to pay off the debts, in the current service of the year, than part with Funds, which, in the Government's hands, will keep our neighbours more in awe than a great body of standing forces, altho' I will own that if, after the redemption of all the 4 per cents., the Sinking Fund should be once made use of to ease the land or the malt tax, it might upon the expiration of 14 years be difficult to bring the country gentlemen to lay on the land and malt tax again, that the Sinking Fund may be employed to annihilate some part of the debts of 3 per cent., which will have become redeemable, and be too large to leave a constant load upon the Government, altho' at so small an interest as 3 per cent.; but the two great advantages that would accrue to the Government by a voluntary agreement of a reduction from 4 to 3 per cent. would be, that supposing foreigners have 10 millions of 40 . . . . 400,000*l.* gained to the public by this reduction would save yearly 100,000*l.* being sent out of the nation; the next is . . . . of the sum of 1,500,000*l.* being in the hands of the Government for their security against all events, and it is well known how old the Cardinal is, and the quiet situation of Europe may be looked upon to be perhaps as precarious as his life . . . .

"4°. I cannot think the rise of Stocks is nominal but real as to their value; and in the same manner as all things will rise or fall in value; if more money goes to market to be lent than is wanted to be borrowed . . . . that commodity which is to be lent will in proportion be cheaper; and as to the rise of Stocks being a real profit to the original

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lender, I do not think that is much to the question. When the Government wanted the money they were forced to give the price the borrower demanded, and surely by parity of reason the Government is entitled to make that advantage which the low price of money and the condition of the contract gives them by law; and as to people being deterred for the future from giving great prœmiums to enter into the Public Funds, as they have hitherto done from an implicit faith of the stability of them, that might be an argument if anything was proposed, that tended to break faith, but, since that is strictly preserved, they will act with respect to the Funds, as they must do with respect to any other property to be purchased. When people have money, either their necessity for living, or their interest and desire to grow richer, will not suffer them to let it lie dead; in which case they must purchase some revenue and must give the price of the market for that revenue, whether it be in Land, Stocks, &c., and you may call the excess of what that property is worth above what it would have been sold for some time before *Prœmium* or by any other name. Nobody will give *de gaieté de cœur* more than the value for what they want, and they must for their own sakes give the current value for it, and everybody expects that what they purchase whether at a low or a high rate will be *bonâ fide* well secured to them according to the nature of the contract. . . . ")

The SAME to the SAME.

1737, April 26 [– May 7]. Cockpit.—"The Bill for the reduction or redemption of the Funds will be read a second time on Friday, and the debate will be whether it shall be committed, and as my brother Walpole will exert himself against it I suppose it will be put an end to that day."

ROBERT TREVOR to M. TRONCHIN.

1737, June 4.—Having obeserved several paragraphs in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* concerning the travels of the Pretender's son, requesting "qu'en cas que vous le croyez d'une necessité absolue d'informer de temps en temps le publique des mouvements de ce jeune voyageur de ne le plus qualifier de Prince, mais de le laisser du moins garder le même Incognito dans ce pays-ci, qu'il a trouvé lui-même necessaire de garder en Italie." In *French. Droft.*

HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1737, December 1. Breda.

And

The SAME to the SAME.

1737, December 3. Breda.—(Both are printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, i. pp. 394, 395. Besides some omissions the following mistakes occur:—p. 394 line 18 for the first "and" read "of"; p. 395 lines 8 and 9 for "your" and "Five" read "the" and "four"; line 21 insert "to her," after "intimate" and "not" before "desperate"; lines 25 and 26 read "Mr. Stone's" for "Mrs. Hines's.")

The Princess CAROLINE to the PRINCESS OF ORANGE.

[1737, November 22—December 3].—"C'est dans le plus grand malheur, que nous voilà plongés par la perte de tout ce qu'il y a

jamais eu de plus pretieux dans le monde! Aprez avoir vû souffrir le plus cruellement la très chère Maman pour dix jours de suite avec une patience et resignation au dessus d'aucune personne que de cette perfection; nous disant à tous mille choses gracieuses pour fendre les cœurs. Elle m'ordonna il y a deux jours de vous assurer, que elle est morte votre très tendre mère. C'est la seule consolation qui nous reste, que de savoir que nous avons conservé ses bonnes graces jusques à cette cruelle separation. Je ne doute nullement qu'elle n'est dans le plus grand bonheur, que l'on peut s'imaginer, l'ayant si fort merité. Il n'y a plus d'autre esperance que de la rejoindre bientot; ce que me flatte que le bon Dieu permettra bientot. Je ne puis dire quelle satisfaction ce m'est de penser à ce qu'elle me dit pendant sa maladie; que je la suivrois bientot; et que tout le tems elle a paru s'en faire un plaisir. Dieu veuille, que son exemple nous serve à l'imiter autant qu'il est possible. Le Roi est aussi touché qu'il est possible, et très gracieux pour nous comme pour tous ceux qui avaient le bonheur d'etre dans ses bonnes graces." *Copy.* TREVOR MSS.

### HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1737, December 13–24. Whitehall.—(The material part is printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, i. p. 397 (where it is misdated the 23rd) with the following mistakes:—p. 397, line 12, for "older" read "elder," line 13, after "o'clock" add "on Saturday last"; line 17, after "retire" add "but"; last line for "commendations" read "lamentations"; p. 398 line 7, after "confidential" add "and affectionate"; lines 17 and 18, for "apostrophe" and "he" read "approbation" and "she"; p. 399, lines 2 and 3, for "hear" and "the" read "have" and "that.")

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737, December 19 [–30]. Cockpit.—(Part printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, i. p. 399. In the original "interment" is spelt "enterrement." It proceeds:—"I am now to acquaint you at the request of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, that Mr. Pelham, who was commonly called Turk Pelham, and served for Lewes is dead, and that it is actually resolved to nominate your cousin Trevor to succeed him, in which it is hoped there will be no great difficulty, and you are desired, and I must add the credit of Sir R. Walpole and my own with you on this occasion, to procure his return into England against the meeting of the Parliament. Curiosity as well as business upon this late convulsion at Court will certainly bring all the opponents to town, and we must get all our friends here too, and therefore this is a serious affair.")

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737 [–8], January 3 [–14]. London.—"As to what we intended to do for poor Troyelle, I immediately put your letter on that subject into Sir R. W[alpole's] hands, who that very day mentioned it to his Majesty, but the King was pleased to say in a very dry and short way 'that he would not do it, he had a person of his own to give it to.' After such an answer it was impossible to return to the charge. We shall receive, I'm afraid, many such answers.

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As to what you mention about the affairs of Oxford, and the prosecution carried on against the great person that espoused your cause, I have read your letter both to Sir R[obert] W[alpole] and the D[uke] of N[ewcastle], who took particular notice of it, and the latter, I doubt not, will mention it to the great man, before whom the cause is depending. You will easily imagine that the Government could not prevent such a thing being brought before the proper judge, and that judge is so nice in his judicial capacity as not to suffer any political hint or consideration to interfere in his proceedings, or himself to be spoken to on that subject. And I cannot think that he has had or will have in this whole affair any bias to the prejudice of your friends and Oxford, and I dare say his Grace, who is more free and familiar with him than anybody else, will touch upon this matter to him; in the meantime I should be glad to know particularly what you think will humble our enemies and encourage our friends at that University.

His Grace was well pleased with what you wrote about your cousin Trevor. It is not apprehended that the opposition will be great, and he hinted to me as if it would cost Mr. Trevor nothing. . . . .

My nephew Horace has been a good deal out of order. He has his choice to take a turn abroad and stay some time at the Hague, or to study and stick to the Common Law. He has not yet declared his opinion."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, January 17[—28].—"As to your particular letter relating to the University of Oxford, the removal of Holmes is certainly impracticable, on account of his having been preferred by the Royal Family here, and having since procured the Archbishop's friendship, and his Grace's situation makes the removal of his friends difficult altho' care will be taken that such friends of his as are not so to the W[h]ig cause shall not be preferred. But as to Dr. Fanshawe and Dr. Shaw, their personal merits as well as disposition to the Government are well known, and I have fully apprised my brother of their deserts . . . and he has promised me not to be surprised by the Archbishop in favour of anybody else."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, January 24 [— February 4]. Cockpit.—"The opening of our campaign in Parliament will indeed prevent my troubling you so much and so often for the future. The speech is very short, as most proper on the present occasion. The motion for the Address was opened by Mr. Stephen Fox in the handsomest manner as well as with the greatest decency and eloquence I ever heard; in short, it was a masterly performance; and seconded by young Mr. Selwyn, who spoke short and properly. I believe there was about 400 members in the House, our friends very strong and hearty, and as far as I can see at present it has the appearance of a short and quiet sessions. What is most certain is, that the affair of the Prince will scarce be stirred, the opponents being a body composed of men of different principles and of different views are much disjointed, and have not any set scheme of opposition, and we imagine that the Prince's servants that are Whigs will vote with the Court, that used to do so formerly, at least things have that appearance at present, but incidents unforeseen may make alterations."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, January 29 [–February 9]. Cockpit.—"The Cardinal has read to Lord Waldegrave, as his Eminence pretends, all the letters that have passed from Vienna to the Porte, and not one word is said in them about our good offices as mediators. It is certain the Imperial Court has done all they can to put a slight upon the Maritime Powers in this affair. The unreasonable denial of the States to suffer him to borrow money and the as unreasonable refusal or backwardness of the King in not granting his contingent as Elector have without doubt contributed a great deal to this unkind treatment of us both at Vienna, but for M. Bartenstein to lay the blame on the English ministry with respect to the last is the greatest indication of his ill will towards us, as can be, because it is impossible for him to believe it himself, and indeed those Electoral considerations in which we have not the least concern do often prove inconvenient to us.

You will see what we do by the Addresses and the minutes in Parliament. The House is pretty full, and the attendance of our friends numerous and zealous. We prevented the Patriots in their intention of moving an address upon the birth of the Princess Augusta, and by that means spoiled many eloquent and perhaps disagreeable speeches. In all likelihood the great point of discord will not be stirred this year; the different motives and views of the Opposition occasion different opinions among them, and this division suspends and will in all likelihood put by for this year any motion of that nature."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, January 31 [– February 11]. Cockpit.—"I do not know what to say to the just reproach of our Electoral conduct at Ratisbon, in which the English have not the least concern, altho' we feel the effect of it. . . . . I thank you for the catalogue of pictures with your observations. I have put them into my brother Walpole's hands, who will consider them at his leisure, and I will let you know if he has any inclination for any of them."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, February 3 [– 14]. Cockpit.—"As we have been all this day till 7 in the evening in the House of Commons debating upon the number of Land-forces to be kept up for the current year, you will not expect a long letter from me. However, I could not forbear to let you partake in the satisfaction we have in carrying the question for the same number of troops as were kept up last year. The question was put, for the lesser number which was propounded of 12,000 only, by way of amendment. The Yeas were 164, and the Noes 249, which is a majority of 85, greater than I have known for many years. Then the main question being put for the same number as were last year it passed without a division, and the usual sum for maintaining them passed too. All this was done in a Committee, and the report is to be made on Monday next, when we do not expect so much as a debate. I count this has much forwarded our session, and by the nature of the debate it has the appearance of a short and easy one."

TREVOR MSS.

The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, February 7 [– 18]. Cockpit.—"I am ordered by my brother Walpole to desire you will inform yourself as well as you can with regard to the picture you like, called *La Sainte Famille de Matteo Ponzon*, of the quality, country, and age of the painter, and how many figures it contains, and what you think will be the price of it, and other particulars that may be necessary to judge of the goodness and value of it."

The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, February 14 [– 25]. Cockpit.—"Our business in Parliament goes on so fast and glib that we go to dinner every day at 3 o'clock, and indeed I foresee nothing at present that should prevent our rising by the end of April."

The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, February 17 [– 28]. Cockpit.—"As to your other letter relating to Hamilton, I know his residence, his character, and conduct, and between you and me we have an opportunity of knowing too what he writes, which, although not material at present, there being nothing stirring among the Jacobites at present, may perhaps be of consequence hereafter, and therefore altho' you do well to protect and support the friends of the government against his insults and impertinences, perhaps it would be more advisable to let him continue where he is than to have him removed to some place where we shall not have an opportunity of discovering so well his transactions and correspondence."

The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, February 21 [– March 4]. Cockpit.—"Now my nephew Horace has got a place for life to depend upon, I believe you will see him at the Hague."

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE to the SAME.

1737–8, February 21 [– March 4]. London.—"Since I gave you the trouble of inquiring by my brother after the picture of *Matteo Ponzoni* I have learnt by looking into the Lives of the Painters that he was a scholar of *Sandro Peranda*, one of the best disciples of old Palma, and that there are several of his works at Venice very well known and highly esteemed, which has determined me to desire the favour of you to buy this picture for me, as it is a hand very rare and esteemed, and I leave it entirely to you to give for it what you think proper. I have likewise a mind to the two pictures of Weeninx No. 88 and 89, which I suppose will not come very dear.

"As for the Dutch pictures, of which I have very few, I should be glad to have a picture or a pair of each, of Breugle, of Brower, and of Paul Brill, if they are very good of the kind and do not come too dear, or of Ostade. I have of Tenier and Van der Werf as good as any are, and one or a pair of those hands I think sufficient. Whatever you lay out, I desire you will draw upon me for, and it shall be punctually paid. I am sure I need not give you a caution to see what you buy carefully packed up, that they [can]not possibly move or touch one another, and

chafe in the boxes. This unnecessary care of mine arises from a great damage I have lately sustained by having one or two large capital pictures sent from abroad almost entirely destroyed in the passage." TREVOR MSS.

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1737–8, February 28 [– March 11]. Cockpit.—"I don't see what great harm Mr. Hamilton can do with the youth at Leyden that are not Already disposed to receive his impressions; at least it seems not worth the while to get him removed, since we can be sure of his foreign correspondence.

"The adjournments of the House by reason of the Speaker's illness, and some letters from Cadiz of the cruel treatment of the English that have been taken by using them like slaves have given leisure and occasion to set ill humours afloat, and the merchants have resolved to petition, and lay their case before the Parliament in very strong terms, so that we shall certainly have some flame on that subject. In the mean time Mr. Keen has transmitted an answer in form from the Court of Spain to the D[uke] of N[ewcastle]'s memorial, wherein they insist on the articles of the treaty of 1667 to have no manner of relation to the West Indies; they promise redress when fully informed from their Governors of the motives for the several captures, altho' it is very plain that they are already sufficiently informed. It will certainly not be satisfactory and what reply is to be made is still uncertain, because the Council is divided with respect to the sense of the treaty of 1667 as to the West Indies, and his Grace must support what he has wrote and signed, and Lord Chan[cello]r, between you and me, must support his friend."

The SAME to the SAME.

1737–8, March 7 [– 18]. Cockpit.—"To end our picture correspondence for the present I send you inclosed my brother Walpole's last resolution upon Blekenburgh's auction.

"Lord C[hancello]r has supported the D[uke] of N[ewcastle]'s opinion of making the treaty of 1667 relate to the W. Indies, purely because, I believe, it was his Grace's; however that affair is settled to have an answer returned to the Spanish paper in a manner as to connect the two treaties of 1667 and 1670 together, which is at present under consideration. In calling for the papers by the opponents we refused to give La Quadra's answer to our memorial, because that answer was under his Majesty's consideration, altho' we offered all other answers, but they insisted upon the question, which we carried in the negative by a great majority. You will have heard from Lord Harrington I suppose, that the merchants have been told they may have letters of reprisals, if required. They have asked for none, and I don't see any likelihood of their demanding any, but still they continue in a great flame, and don't know what they would have. Such a number of papers are demanded that I can't tell when they will be got ready and consequently when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again. Whenever I do, it will be but for a short time. Sir Robert having hinted to his Majesty my desire to quit that embassy, and mentioned at the same time your succeeding me in a proper way, His Majesty was so good as to consent to it. It is not gone so far as to settle the foot you are to be upon, but I will take care of that matter before I leave England.

*Postscript.*—My brother Walpole brought home his Lady on Sunday last; who is indeed a very sensible well-behaved modest woman,

Trevor MSS. appears not at all elated with her new situation and I dare say will be generally esteemed."

Sir Robert Walpole to the Same.

Same date.—"I thank you for the trouble you have given yourself about the Pictures, but as the Flemish masters bear so high a price, and will probably be run up high at this auction I will content myself at present without bidding for any of them. I have of all the Flemish hands you mention something except of those that I before desired, except of *Paulus Potter*, of whom I never saw anything, but as the picture you have seen is not in the auction, we need not be in haste, and not having seen it, I am unwilling to give 200*l.* for it. I have as good a Wouverman, and not of a small size, as any in England, and there is now coming over from France two Battle pieces of that master, which were sold at Madame Verne's auction at 230*l.* the pair. Prints of them are sent to me, and they are indeed very fine, and as I shall see them, being in the hands of one of our known picture buyers, I will wait for them. Be pleased therefore to secure the *Ponzoni* at any price you think it worthy. And if the two of Weeninx are good of their kind, and will come reasonably, I desire I may have them, which is all the trouble I will give you at present. I am not fond of the Dutch masters, but as my collection is pretty extensive, I am willing, as they can be pick'd up, to have one of each of the best hands."

Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1737–8, March 14[–25]. Cockpit.—"All the time I have had in conversing with those that have come to see me has been taken up to consider of the answer to be returned to La Quadra's letter upon our memorial. We have been a good deal embarrassed in having laid, altho' we don't care to own it, the foundation of our arguments upon a wrong treaty. We scramble out of it as well as we can, and connect the treaties of 1667 and 1670 together on account of the last having confirmed the first, and the full powers for making the last being founded upon the necessity of explaining the first. The project of this answer is to be considered this night by the Lords of the Cabinet."

The Same to the Same.

1737–8, March 21[–April 1]. Cockpit.—"Our friend, Tom Robinson, after having between you and me exerted all his dexterity and address to get an augmentation of salary, or an additional place to induce him to return back again to Vienna as a person that was necessary there or might be inconvenient here, and the matter was brought to a crisis to take his final resolution, the King having given positive orders for putting an end to his appointments, our friend, I say, has been with me this morning to let me know, that he will venture being undone, and will take the other trip to Vienna. . . . You will, before this reaches you, have seen our answer to La Quadra's paper, which in the main may do well enough, considering the mistake that was first made in our memorial, which we are not willing to own, although we shall hear of it in Parliament, and those that are of a different opinion must endeavour to support what they had no concern in."

The Same to the Same.

1737–8, March 24 [–April 4]. Cockpit.—"Just as I was stepping into my coach to go to the hearing of the contested election for Windsor (where by-the-bye the D. of M. in my poor notions of honour has acted a very precipitate and indecent part) I was favoured with your letter."

The Same to the Same.

1738, March 31 [–April 11]. Cockpit.—"I write this chiefly to congratulate you upon what I am persuaded will be as agreeable a surprise to you as it has been to the whole town of the Duke of Marlborough having kissed his Majesty's hand yesterday, and accepted a regiment vacant by the death of B. Murr[a]y. This was kept a secret from his nearest relations, until after having been yesterday morning, with his particular friend Mr. Henry Fox, at my brother Walpole's, he appeared at the King's levee; where his Majesty received him in a most gracious manner; and after that his Grace wrote a letter to the Prince of Wales to take his leave of his Royal Highness thinking that more decent than to wait upon him in person; having acquainted you with this agreeable news, which with respect to the King, as well as to my brother, was done in the handsomest manner, and consequently, must have given all our family infinite satisfaction, as indeed it does all honest men; I shall detain you no longer than to let you know that we had yesterday a long debate in the House of Commons for recommitting the resolution we had taken in the Committee on the Tuesday before. You will, I suppose, have heard upon what the debate turned that day; the Chairman having been on the side of the opponents, they got possession of the motion which was to ascertain in express terms our specific rights, relating to the navigation and commerce in order to make the King of Spain acknowledge them in express terms. Mr. Pulteney opened about five propositions for that purpose, and upon the debate of the first which asserted our right of navigation and commerce in the American seas to and from our own dominions, Sir R[obert] W[alpole] not being able to persuade them to depart from this method, took half the proposition and added to it by way of amendment the resolution intended to have been proposed by us relating to the depredations which included all (?) the facts of complaint as done contrary to treaties and explained what was to follow, by way of Address to the King and to strengthen his Majesty's hands by an additional number of seamen. After a long debate in the Committee the addition proposed was carried by a majority of 256 against 209, a majority of 47, but upon the report yesterday against the recommitment we were 224 against 163, a majority of 61, and, indeed, notwithstanding this moderate way of proceeding, I am persuaded that now resolution and address together will be thought to have a spirit and vigour enough."

The Same to the Same.

1738, April 7[–18].—Cockpit. "It is certain in my opinion (altho' a great many differ with me here) that Spain has not a formed intention to break with us; and I am persuaded the instructions as well as intentions of Geraldino are to prevent a rupture, but then, unless they give us more real satisfaction for the late injuries, and for the future security of our commerce than their promises, a war or something equal to a war will be unavoidable by the measures and orders which must be

TREVOR MSS. put in execution on our side in the W. Indies after having made one more earnest and friendly application. . . . . .

I cannot end . . . . without satisfying my good friend the Pensionary's curiosity and doubts about 2,600,000*l.* being voted this year out of the Sinking Fund, when that Fund will have produced in cash during the whole current year with what is already in the Exchequer on that account but 1,600,000*l.* . . . and I have done it in a separate paper for his perusal and consideration."

*Enclosed:—*

The said PAPER.

"The Produce of the Sinking Fund when it has not been applied to the services of the current year has been usually voted in a Committee (*not of Supply, or Ways and Means*) to discharge a proportional part of the old National Debt, of stock, or annuities relative to the Bank or South Sea Company; but as a certain time (viz.) six months was always fixed for the creditors to receive their proportion of the debt to be so discharged; the moneys arising from the duties which create the Sinking Fund, are paid weekly into the Exchequer, and there lay dead, and of no use until the six months limited for the creditors to receive it are expired, while in the mean time the Government after the money is voted upon the Land or Malt tax, was obliged until those duties began to come in to borrow money at interest upon those funds, for the immediate service of the land and sea forces, in the mean while 5 or 600,000*l.* arising from the Sinking Fund was paid into, and remained unemployed, as I hinted above, in the Exchequer.

My brother Walpole therefore in order to make use of this money belonging to the Sinking Fund until the creditors were obliged to receive it, and consequently to save the interest of so much money as must otherwise be borrowed at interest in the beginning of the year upon the Land and the Malt tax for the current services; proposed about two years ago that the application of the money arising from the Sinking Fund should be voted in the Committee of *Supply* which is done in the following manner.

In the Committee of Supply, where all the sums are voted, determined to be necessary for the service of the current year, a million is granted to the King towards discharging a million of the National Debt, which makes *that sum* likewise part of the service of the current year.

In consequence of this, in the Committee of Ways and Means for raising the supply voted in the Committee of Supply, a million is granted to his Majesty out of the produce of the Sinking Fund, which million is then part of the supply of the year, and is applied by the Government at discretion, when there is money in the Exchequer, towards the Army and Navy, and thereby the interest upon the loans of the Land-tax and Malt-tax is saved till the time of discharging the million of the National Debt, which is then taken out of the other supplies of the year."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, April 11 [-22]. Cockpit.—"Nobody is come over as yet with the D. of M.[arlborough], and indeed I believe he made it a secret to everybody till the very night before or morning on which he kissed hands."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, April 21 [–May 2]. Cockpit.—"Sir Robert Walpole is extremely satisfied with his pictures and the price you gave for them. They are all at his house and much admired, especially the Italian piece. . . . .

Our Sessions draw to a conclusion, and the illness of the Speaker which made us adjourn from last Wednesday to Monday next will, instead of prolonging, I believe forward business, by letting drop several things depending, that cannot possibly receive a decision this year, but the Money Bills being past, excepting that for Appropriating the Supplies, which is got as far as the Committee, there will be one day in the House of Lords about the Spanish depredations, for the sake of Protests. Upon this head I am to acquaint you that we have lately had letters from Madrid, which have brought no answer to our reply to La Quadra, but only some expostulations upon our having offered the merchants Letters of Reprisals. For my part I think the tenour and tendency of them show rather a disposition to accommodate than to come to a rupture, tho' others think they mean nothing but to gain time, but whether that be so or no they must be explicit about giving us satisfaction for past as well as late injuries, or else I am afraid a rupture will be inevitable."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, May 1 [–12]. Cockpit.—"The difference between the opponents and us did not turn so much upon the nature of our rights in the debate about the American affairs; but that the Parliament should not ascertain them by specific resolutions as [to] what his Majesty should require to be acknowledged by the King of Spain, altho' the King might in his instructions to his Minister in Spain insist upon those rights as a foundation for making satisfaction and restitution to us."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, May 13 [–24]. Woolterton.—"I send you here the exact dimensions for pictures over doors and chimneys; if they should run more upon the breadth and less high, if they are good, such as the last you sent my brother, I would make them do."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, June 6 [–17]. Cockpit.—"My inexpressible concern for poor Lady Walpole's death on her own account but more particularly by reason of the deplorable and comfortless condition in which it has flung my brother Walpole, who had his happiness, and indeed very deservedly, wrapt up in her, will easily make you conclude that I have had no great attention to business since my arrival in town."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, June 13 [–24]. Cockpit.—I received your last "upon my return from Richmond, where I have been often backwards and forwards since my arrival from Norfolk to comfort my brother, and to divert his melancholy by business, which seems to be the only means at present

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to suspend his grief. He is now come to town again, has seen the King this morning for the first time since the death of his wife, and is now at a meeting of a Cabinet upon the Spanish affairs, which puts me in mind to ask you, to let me know in confidence, and between you and me only, what our friends think of the last answer from La Quadra; whether it is so unsatisfactory, that we should immediately strike, and do ourselves justice, or whether what is said about satisfaction for the captures may deserve so much attention, as to enter into a consideration of it, in order to make what is offered certain and effectual, notwithstanding that the second point, which regards future security, is by Spain's ascertaining the sovereignty of the American seas, left by the answer upon the most precarious, and unreasonable foot that can be; although I may tell you in confidence, that Mr. La Quadra in delivering his answer to Mr. Keen did let him know that the King of Spain was ready to enter into a convention for ascertaining means that may remove for ever the motives that have occasioned these disputes between the two Crowns, and FitzGerald has confirmed the same in the strongest manner; but I can't at present enlarge upon this great crisis, and difficult dilemma; of immediate vengeance, or forbearance, considering the consequences that may attend the one or the other; apparent popularity, dignity, and glory present themselves at first sight on one side; but does not cruel disappointments, destruction and disgrace threaten, as Europe is now constituted, from the inability of some powers, and infidelity of others, the conclusion of such glorious resolutions. . . . The resolution of the Aulick Court relating to Ost Frise is abominable, and indeed I am glad our friends have . . . communicated it in form to the King's Electoral Minister only, because had they spoke to him as King, I am afraid we should be obliged to have acted only an Electoral part. . . . . The reason for not making you a communication of this affair, because M. Fenelon might expect the same, was by no means just, for France was no party to the Treaty of Vienna, by which, I think, we are in consequence of Count Sinzendorf's declaration in some measure obliged to join with the States in favour of the poor people of Emden."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, June 20 [–July 1]. Cockpit.—"My brother Walpole having taken a resolution to dissipate his sorrow with business is at present in very good health, altho' accompanied sometimes with heavy groans and sighs and restless nights. He is resolved to take a turn in the country as usual in July, his absence in all will be about 14 days, but that, instead of carrying me over to Holland, will detain me for several reasons not proper, and most of which indeed do not want, to be explained; so that you must go on or stand still in the affair of Bergh and Juliers by your self alone, for indeed I cannot see what is to be done by the Maritime Powers in it; the other powers have taught us to take time for consideration by their own example since the answers returned by the Courts of Berlin, and Mannheim; there is no doubt but that we might, as the Pensionary has observed, procrastinate our resolutions by taking exceptions to the Palatine answer, but that will avail us for a short time only, because I don't doubt but the French court will prevail upon that Elector to explain the points in question to our satisfaction for the sake of leaving us without excuse with respect to the provisional possession, so that the reproach we shall receive from the Imperial and French ministers for not proceeding according to their

desires afterwards, will perhaps be more inconvenient, than the delay gained will be advantageous. Mr. Hop was with me two days since to talk chiefly on this subject, and after having made him sensible that Mr. Bassecour was the cause of all this perplexity, by having, to flatter France, constated the provisional possession as a demand without endeavouring to compass it by a negotiation with and consent of the two parties, although he never intended to support that point by force; I really owned to Mr. Hop that I was at a loss to know what to propose; he might indeed desire the two Courts to explain the means by which they proposed to support the guaranty, before we should declare ourselves upon that point, and should they consent to it, the explanation might still embarrass us more; for should France propose to employ the greatest number, contenting themselves with a small body from Holland, and with the King's concurring as Elector, to oppose, or refuse the entry of the Prussian troops, the remedy in the first place would be worse than the disease, because I imagine the chief reason for preventing *voye des faits* in those parts is to obviate the danger that may in consequence arise from France having too great an army in the Empire, and so near the States under any pretext whatsoever; in the next place any mischief that might occur to the King as Elector from the Prussian troops, will never be recompensed to him by France, who will always endeavour as well as the Emperor to keep those two Princes at a variance, and after having served her ends, make up even with the Prussian Court and lay the whole blame upon the Maritime Powers, in order to make them and the King of Prussia for ever irreconcilable; should it be proposed that the Maritime Powers should employ the greatest number of troops to oppose Prussia; that would be impracticable both on account of the States not being able to spare enough from their own garrisons considering the present weak condition of their Barrier, and because England cannot send over a sufficient quota for that purpose, nor would, I believe, the Parliament consent either to raise more, or to furnish money to hire troops for that service, or were such a scheme practicable, nothing would come of it, besides making us the *cat's foot*. France is under obligation to the House of Sulzbach to guarantee the provisional possession in the fullest extent, the Emperor may have concurred in the like obligation or is forced in his present circumstances to follow France, and the Maritime Powers without any interest, or any obligations but that of preserving the public tranquillity must follow the violent methods of France; we have indeed gone too great a length towards it already; but how to stop, and how to get out of this embarrass, is beyond my comprehension, who always foresaw what is now come upon us, which is occasioned indeed by the ambition of the late Pensionary who would appear in the weakest government, to have a great share in the conduct of the affairs of Europe, and afterwards by the slavish complaisance of Bassecour to Fenelon; and therefore what sentiments you can expect to learn from us, or we from Holland, is like the countryman's expectation of the river, *Rusticus expectat*, &c." . . . . TREVOR MSS

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, June 23 [–July 4]. Cockpit.—"Between you and me (not to be mentioned by you to any person whatsoever) some expedient will be tried towards an accommodation, before a resolution be taken for warlike measures, in the meantime no answer will be returned to La Quadra's last paper."

TREVOR MSS.

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, July 21 [–August 1]. Chelsea.—"I trouble you at present for no other reason but to give you my notion of serving the Portuguese Colonies with Negroes, which I look upon as a very advantageous trade to those that can have an exclusive contract for that purpose, as what must necessarily afford opportunities of introducing with the negroes, or under colour of that trade the growth or manufacture of the country whose subjects shall have made such a contract; for although the Portuguese are as jealous as the Spaniards of foreigners carrying on a trade to their American possessions, and for that reason would never let those that furnish them with negroes carry them directly to Brazil, yet if any other place, or less frequented island should be appointed for the delivery of them, the craft of the merchant joined with the interest of the Governor would steal an introduction of goods as well as blacks, and consequently this is an affair that requires attention, especially since I am told that the African Company has lately had, and I believe has still, a negotiation depending with the Court of Portugal by the good offices of Lord Tyrawley to procure a contract for their furnishing negroes to the Portuguese; I shall take an opportunity of desiring the D[uke] of N[ewcastle] to apprize Lord Tyrawley of this transaction or intention of Don Louis to turn that trade into the hands of the Dutch, that old K[na]ve is an implacable enemy to us; and will ever be so.

FitzGerald has by his letters from Spain dated the $\frac{3}{14}$ instant received an account that the two couriers from hence with the projected scheme for satisfaction, was arrived at Madrid just before the departure of the post, but not time enough for Mr. Keen to be able to acknowledge it, the Spanish minister pretends that he has not one syllable either of approbation or dislike, and nothing besides, being told that he shall soon receive an answer to his dispatches, which indeed we expect by couriers to morrow at farthest, especially since FitzGerald had previously acquainted La Quadra by a particular courier of his own with the idea of what would come to be proposed, which letters were sent from hence and received in Spain 9 or 10 days before the mission and arrival there of the messengers with the project in form, and therefore as to the success of the affair, we must suspend our judgment with patience, since it cannot be long before this great and important point must be brought to a decision."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, July 25 [–August 5]. Chelsea. *Postscript.*—"There is a person that being well acquainted with the Pretender's family is willing to undertake a correspondence. I shall cause a cipher to be made for him, but the difficulty will be the conveyance of the letters. He will undertake that they shall constantly be carried to a town some distance from Rome, but as to the address and the place, I think they must come through Holland, and be addressed from time to time to some persons at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Leyden, who may convey them to the Hague. The stile as far as it is out of cipher should always relate to commerce. You will be therefore hinting your thoughts to some private persons in those towns, to whom the letters may be addressed and in whom we may confide."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, August 1 [–12]. Chelsea.—"We have nothing yet decisive from Spain; in the meantime our preparations for war go on with the

utmost vigour by pressing of seamen, &c., and now a good many of those who were so clamourous for justice and honour, beginning to reflect upon the consequences of a rupture on account of trade, &c., grow uneasy at the apprehensions of it. The couriers arrived in Spain the 3–14 of last month, the Court being then in motion to remove to St. Ildefonso, I count the despatches were not under serious consideration till the 9–20, 'tis now the 1–12, and we have nothing more than an account by last post from Mr. Keen of his having had a general conversation with Mr. La Quadra on the subject without being able to frame any conclusion of the intentions of Spain. To-morrow another post is due from Spain and although these delays in an affair about which they been so long apprised, portend no good in so critical juncture, yet if matters had been desperate Mr. Keen would, methinks, have despatched a messenger that must have been here with an account of it by this time; but the nature of this thing and the nature of the Spanish Court is such and liable to so many reflections, that it is useless and endless to reason about it; a little patience and time must now be decisive."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, August 8 [–19]. Chelsea.—"The couriers from Spain are arrived with the answer, which is at present kept secret, it is not so satisfactory as was to be wished, but it is such as requires great consideration whether it deserves the hazarding the consequences of a war, as Europe and England are at present situated, rather than close with it. In short they insist upon an equal abatement of our demands or allowance on their demands in proportion to the gross sum demanded on each side, which makes the difference of 45,000*l.* (*sic*) to be paid by Spain to us; it was not given in form by Geraldino till yesterday, and has not yet been fully considered by the Lords, and therefore I must desire you will keep it to yourself. As for future security plenipotentiaries are to be named immediately to consider the treaties on that head; but the payment of the money is not to depend upon their negotiation, but to follow immediately the acceptance of the plan, and I can't think Spain would agree to pay 95,000*l.* (*sic*) in hard money if they had no intention to come to a good understanding with us, although the nature of that Court will make it a tedious and troublesome affair. I cannot yet fix the time for my going over to Holland, nor consequently for your coming into England. . . . .

*Postscript.*—The persons to whom the letters of secret correspondence are to be addressed alternately in several towns of Holland are to know nothing more of the matter, but that they are to send such letters so addressed as shall be agreed to me or you at the Hague directly. My corresponder shall be immediately sent forward to you. He shall be acquainted that you are in the secret, and you will settle matters accordingly."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, August 11 [–22]. Cockpit.—"The 9th instant I delivered the ciphers to my new secret correspondent with a letter to you desiring that you would settle with him the manner and means of carrying on the correspondence by changing from time to time the addresses of his letters with respect to persons and places, upon which you must agree with him; and must likewise agree with certain persons in certain towns of Holland that letters adressed to them in such or such a manner, or with a certain mark should be sent to you at the Hague, for which

TREVOR MSS.

you will pay the postage. I was thinking that the postmaster at Leyden might be one under whose cover letters may be addressed more frequently, and the address of the enclosed letters may be as to the person and place in Holland varied from time to time, which *Le Connu* may always understand to be intended for you, and sent to you accordingly; but I have been told here, that a letter which was sent by his canal to our minister in Switzerland was seen deciphered afterward by Lord W[aldegra]ve upon the Cardinal's table; however I think this suspicion is so loose, and uncertain, that I should be inclined to trust him. I had likewise in my mind our friend Vaux at the Blackamore's Head at Maesland Sluice, letters may be sent under his cover directed to some Dutchman supposed to be concerned in the fishery at Maesland Sluice, and the beginning of the letters may be wrote in a mercantile style relating to fish, &c. and out of cipher, and you may settle it with Vaux that such letters received by him with such an address should be sent to you, but this is only a specimen, and I don't doubt but your own imagination will furnish you with other contrivances, a letter may be sometimes addressed to a trusty bookseller at the Hague or elsewhere, and then the beginning of it may relate to books, and even sometimes to some of our friends in the States with such a mark that it may be understood to be for you, I don't know but that even our friend Croning may permit of such an address, hinting to him, that it is some correspondence relating [to] the designs of our enemies; but all is submitted to your discretion, nobody must know besides ourselves the correspondent."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1738, August 29 [-September 9]. Chelsea.—"I believe (between you and me) our Convention with Geraldino for making present satisfaction to our merchants and for negotiating future security will be signed this evening, but as that is not certain (for *multa cadunt*) and you will certainly, I believe, have no notice of it from the office, I must require you will keep it to yourself."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1738, September 5 [-16]. Chelsea.—"My brother Walpole was taken ill at Richmond Park on Saturday evening; 'tis thought he took cold after having hunted that morning which flung a flying humour that he has often in his legs, which is reckoned goutish, into his stomach and head, but he has at present no dangerous symptom."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1738, September 8 [-19]. Chelsea.—"My brother has had a very severe attack of a goutish fever which affected his head, but, thank God, there was so much intermission as to make the bark take place, and I may venture to say that he is in a manner perfectly recovered."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1738, September 12 [-23]. Chelsea.—"It is now about noon and I am just come from" my brother, "and left him entirely without the least fever, though the physicians after they had quitted him, as being perfectly recovered, have renewed their visits on account of some restless

nights he has had, which certainly proceed from lowness of spirits and his being still extremely weak for want of a good appetite which the great loads of bark that he has taken has pall'd, but there is not the least symptom of a likelihood that his distemper will return, although perhaps you will see in the news that he is relapsed. TREVOR MSS.

THE SAME to the SAME.

1738, September 22 [–October 3]. Chelsea.—"Sir Robert Walpole has been this day with the King, who was extremely glad to see him as you will easily believe, when I tell you that nothing could exceed his Majesty's concern and uneasiness, when it was thought that my brother was in some danger."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, September 26 [–October 7]. Chelsea.—"As to the King of Spain's abdication the indications of the successor's confessor having ventured to write so positively on so nice a point, accompanied with other concurrent circumstances, must have some foundation, especially when . . , . we have received here the like intelligence from the Sicilian Abbot (for there is but one left, the eldest being dead some months since), and although the confessor's and abbot's desires and ambition may increase the object and bring it nearer than it really is . , one particular makes it still more probable, which is, that the French Court has been so alarmed with this abdication that Banieres had been sent express with a letter from the King or the Cardinal to his Catholic Majesty, to desire he would suspend his resolution till the arrival of Count de la March, who is to carry some proposals for the interest of Spain and the glory of the House of Bourbon, and 'tis said the King of Spain has consented . . . .

"Your behaviour in answer to the compliments and overtures made to you from his Prussian Majesty was very proper, for I am persuaded that matters are not yet ripe enough for our desire of having a Prussian minister sent hither; they have been generally instructed to write falsehoods, and enlist tall men. They have generally followed those instructions as the only means to get credit at home, and please their master; and although there may be some alteration in the sentiments of that inconstant Court for the present, yet the impressions from past behaviour, creates such a suspicion of sudden turns; and of no sincere or lasting confidence, as cannot encourage us to proceed to too close embraces very fast; however, Mr. Guy Dickens is directed to make verbal compliments to his Prussian Majesty, as well as to the Queen and Prince Royal, and I suppose such a hint by order will make him venture for his own sake as far as he can well do it; and we shall for the present save appearances.

"What you hint of your being persuaded that the Prince Royal of Prussia would accept a pension from his Majesty is indeed a matter of great nicety for the reasons you give, but at the same time of so much importance, as to deserve a serious consideration, and as you well observe I have already decided the question *An* in my mind, and that some judgement may be framed of the *Quomodo* you must excuse my curiosity in earnestly desiring to know upon what intelligence or foundation you build your persuasion of the Prince Royal's disposition; which you may safely venture in my hands: And I must desire you will in sending me an acccunt of this matter, do it in a particular letter

TREVOR MSS. *by itself, without mixing it with anything else, grounding it upon your readiness to satisfy my curiosity, and to oblige me.* . . .

*Postscript.*—You will easily believe I have my reasons for desiring your explanation of the P[rince] R[oyal] of Prussia's inclination in the manner I have done; if I have taken any step already upon it, it must be a secret to you and everybody as yet, and therefore I cannot explain myself farther now."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, October 17 [–28].—"As to Spain, that Court, between you and me, is as unaccountable. There is all the reason in the world to believe they would gladly prevent a rupture with us, and yet they can't condescend to act in a natural way towards us. Our couriers are returned, some steps are made towards a conclusion, but another messenger must gallop to Madrid, I believe, before we can conclude and consequently our expense continues."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, October 24 [–November 4]. Cockpit.—"We are indeed now very busy in reconciling our notions with those of Spain relating to future security of commerce and navigation in America; ratifications are indeed come to our Convention, but another messenger must go to Madrid before they are exchanged, this is to yourself only. In the main I hope things will be accommodated, and not left to that *wild* notion, (dear Trevor you will pardon the expression), of leaving the people of England and the Queen of Spain to worry one another. The people of England don't desire that, the merchants would not, when it came to, take letters of Reprisals, they required the Government to engage and take revenge and procure satisfaction for injured honour and lost property by fitting out great squadrons at great expense and consequently by making those squadrons undertake something marvellous against Spain, and this to be done without reflecting what a neighbouring formidable power would do. Could the King and Ministry say, Fight Dog, fight Bear, between the people of England and the Queen of Spain, and if our King was once engaged would France quietly say so with respect to him and Spain? Dear Trevor, we know the contrary. The Cardinal is in a manner dead, the measures of Chavelyn are pursued in the Councils of France, altho' he is there no more, and his Eminence himself owned to Lord W[aldegra]ve, upon the signing the Convention, that he was glad of it, because, however pacific he might be himself, the rest of the nation and the Council would force him to take part with Spain when England had once undertaken any great matter against the Crown; and I will tell you one thing more, that the people of England, after our preparations appeared serious for a war, they began to be frightened at it, and when our Convention was signed, it has, instead of clamour, occasioned a general calm."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, October 27 [–November 7]. Cockpit.—"I hope we shall despatch back the messenger for Spain next week. In the meantime the negotiation is carried on between FitzGerald and the S[outh] S[ea] Company to see whether they can agree about the payment of the money. Whether the thing will do or not I can't tell, but we talk sanguinely and do not at present acknowledge any material difficulty, but the ratifications are not yet exchanged."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738, December 1 [–12]. Cockpit.—"There is a disposition in some here to lose no time, if we can have hopes of the Dutch concurrence in the expense, to venture upon subsidies to Denmark; for the sake of having the States engaged with us I think almost anything worth attempting, otherwise I must own to you I don't see any use, besides the appearance of some eclat, of a subsidiary treaty for a time unless we have no other way of securing troops against any great exigency, but as I believe they may be had at any time for English guineas, I am afraid of tiring the Parliament with annual subsidies in time of peace to make them less willing to strike a good stroke when we really foresee the danger, but this is between you and me. . . . For my part could the King of Prussia be depended upon, and his Majesty come to some good understanding with that Prince relating to Ost Frise so as to prevent future disputes, I should erect the Union Flag for the preservation of the liberties and balance of Europe upon a treaty between that Prince and the Maritime Powers, but many untoward things occur as I am writing to make this a vain imagination; however if the States could be once thoroughly awaken upon any foot whatever that would be a great point gained."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738–9, January 9 [–20]. Cockpit.—"Our sessions draw near, which make us impatient; 'tis said that the Prince, depending upon the strength of the argument from an increasing family will cause his business to be brought into the House again, but we don't find, that his journey to the Bath, or any other affected popularity has increased the number of his friends."

The SAME to the SAME.

1738–9, January 19 [–30]. Cockpit.—"The South Sea Company not having accepted the Cedulas offered by Spain with regard to the *Represalia* in the W. Indies, and consequently not paid the 68,000*l.* due to the Crown of Spain on account of the last annual ship and on other heads, the payment of the whole money for the satisfaction of our merchants as settled between the two Crowns is to be made by Spain here in the space of four months; but there is a disagreable protest, though entirely separate from the Convention, on account of the S. S. Company refusing to pay the said 68,000*l.*"

The SAME to the SAME.

1738–9, February 2 [–13]. Cockpit.—"We had a most glorious day yesterday in the House of Commons upon the motion for an Address of thanks and congratulations to his Majesty upon the Convention with Spain. Mr. Pulteney began the debate in a most flaming manner, entered into the particulars of a thing that he did not know, called it base, infamous and dishonourable, and intimated that the first question should be to censure instead of approve; he made some small impression at first upon the House, but indeed himself flagged at last, and concluded in a manner that gave nobody satisfaction, not even himself. However he insisted upon everything being left out of the Address that related to thanks and congratulation upon what had been done. The

Trevor MSS. servants of the Prince were the most earnest on this occasion, and the opposition concerted at his house. I am sorry for it; but if he has no other measure for his interest than what appeared in this affair 'tis certainly very low. In short upon a division whether the Address should stand as it was moved, it was carried for the Address Yeas 230, Noes 141, a majority of 89."

The Same to the Same.

1738–9, March 9 [–20].—"We were yesterday in a long debate in a Committee upon the late Convention which lasted from before 10 in the morning till after 12 at night. I opened it and troubled the House above two hours concluding with a motion of approbation by way of Address to his Majesty. Upon the whole we divided Yeas 260 against 232, so that we had a majority of 28. Altho' it was no greater, yet I believe all our friends conceived great satisfaction with the respect to the strength of the arguments on our side. As this is wrote from one of the Chambers belonging to the House of Commons, I can only tell you that we are now in a debate upon the Report of the said Question, which will certainly conclude with the same success at least, as that yesterday in the Committee, and I hope it will not last so long, because all our chief speakers have done, and it is got among the lawyers. If it ends in any tolerable time I will add the numbers of the division.

*Postscript.*—Just ten. The House is up. Upon a division we are 245 against 213, 32 majority."

The Same to the Same.

1738–9, March 16 [–27]. "I have already acquainted you with the divisions in the House of Commons upon the great question of the Convention, but had not time then to mention what you will have heard from others upon the conclusion of the last debate. Sir W[illiam] W[yndha]m I suppose by the instigation of Lord B[olingbro]ke, and in concert with the most violent of the disaffected and discontented quitted the argument, and was reduced to call the majority a faction, which he repeated often in the strongest terms, with hopes I suppose of being sent to the Tower, and becoming the idol of the merchants, for his harangue was a set formal invective against the Parliament; and concluded with a declaration of his resolution to retire from the House, until there should be another sort of a Parliament; and to pray in the mean time for the prosperity of *this* Royal family, Mr. Pulteney and Mr. San[dy]s had before hinted although not in such strong terms their intention of leaving the House. Sir R[obert] W[alpol]e in a more masterly dexterous and able manner than I ever heard him, answered Sir W[illiam] W[yndha]m's speech to the satisfaction and great applause of the whole House, and even of his enemies, without carrying things to extremities; however in consequence of Sir W[illiam] W[yndha]m's declaration the main body with the chiefs of the T[or]ys, P[atrio]tts, and those belonging to his R[oyal] H[ighness] have ever since made a secession from the Parliament; excepting some few. Some of the country gentlemen of the opposite party fall in gradually more and more every day into the House; but as yet the heads stand to their resolution of leaving us to ourselves; how long it will last, and what will be the consequence of it, is not yet known; as they have no strength but their pens, I suppose, inflammatory papers will be wrote and dispersed all over the kingdom.

Lord Lovel's vote was only a little preliminary step, relating to calling for papers, but he has since done well in the main.

You are very welcome to be very free in your thoughts, and advice in this great juncture, and I am afraid, the words of our Address, with regard to searching &c., are already so strong, for the sake of popularity, as to make, between you and me, a war with Spain inevitable, but that is not the question. Ambition, avarice, distress, disappointments, and all the complicated vices, that tend to render the minds of men uneasy are got out of Pandora's Box and fill all places and all corners in the nation, and are encouraged and led on by —— what and whom is not proper to be named; but the great impatience —— for *ante Diem* will I am afraid considering the allies prevent that very day; and make room for ——. But 'tis too melancholy a subject to dwell upon—as to the C[ardina]l I have long since given him over, and I have thought, and said often to Lord W[aldegra]ve that his Eminence under a pretence of pacific notions, is laying a foundation for a scene of blood and confusion in Europe after his life, but his Lordship seems so satisfied with being well with his Eminence personally that he carries his views no farther.

I must not forget to tell you that the Chesterfieldians do Lord Albemarle much wrong, no man can be firmer than he is. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1738–9, March 23 [–April 3]. Cockpit.—"I suppose this will be delivered to you by the messenger that carries the ratification of the Danish treaty, and he goes thro' Berlin. You will be charged with a commission [of procuring and sending by him to Mr. Guy Dickens the value of 2,000*l.* in gold ducats] of which you will easily guess the reason, altho' you will not, I believe, be acquainted with it. You will draw upon my brother for the money, and altho' a considerable sum I believe you will find no difficulty in procuring it immediately. . . . Though he should stay with you a day longer than would be necessary on another occasion I can't think that such a delay is of so much consequence as it may be to have the money taken up secretly and without observation, and therefore you will judge whether it may be proper to receive the whole sum from one person or from several. . . . Secrecy and safety in conveyance are the principles to be considered in this affair."

The Same to the Same.

1739, April 17 [–28]. Cockpit.—"I have often groaned when I reflect upon the weak situation of the Low Countries, and how much they are exposed to the arbitrary and irresistible power of France; and particularly on account of the indolence, inaction, and distraction of the Republic; which I am persuaded is so great that they will not be roused, until they are upon the brink of ruin. But do you really think, that our gathering friends together, not to offend, but defend ourselves from France, will be a means to enable France to purchase still a greater inaction of the States, than their present inclination and situation already leads them to? it seems to me unnecessary for France to tempt them with any offer, and I am inclined to think, that an offer from France of that nature would sooner alarm, than gain them. What can be done to make the Netherlands more safe has occasioned many an

TREVOR MSS. unprofitable thought in my mind, but I don't see what can be done, without some proposition from Holland for that purpose; any thing from us would raise jealousy; and although they seem more unconcerned, they will certainly be sooner affected than we can be by the loss of the Netherlands; a neutrality for them in case of any war, is plausible; but as the Netherlands are what France has ever had, and will ever have most at heart; that neutrality will be observed by France no longer, than until they have put it out of the power of others to save them, which the Dutch are not able to do alone, this neutrality you will say was tried in the late difference between the Emperor and France; and indeed the state of the Low Countries made it then absolutely necessary, but there could be no other good in it, but that of gaining time. We followed the same measure; but the next attempt of France to disturb Europe, I believe, will be levelled at us; and do you think that the States will sell their inaction and consequently their engagements with us, to France, if we are attacked by that Crown? They will have difficulties and delays in taking part, will employ good offices &c., but I scarce think the Republican party joined with the commercial interest, will be so blind to their own safety, as to abandon us absolutely, if we should not come to an agreement with Spain. That will soon be tried, negotiations, of the strongest nature from our undoubted intelligence, in consequence of the marriages, are not absolutely indeed concluded but in great forwardness between France and Spain, and if the treaty should be signed, I reckon the first thing required by those two Crowns of us will be the restitution of Gibraltar, and here I do apprehend the States will be backward on our behalf with regard to that place, although that place is equally guaranteed by them as well as the rest of our possessions, Lord W[aldegra]ve, who has ever been a great favourite to the K[in]g as having by his insinuating and supple carriage great credit with the C[ardina]l, now is convinced and writes word that his Em[inen]ce is as violent against us, as any other Frenchman; it is I am afraid too late to expostulate with his Em[inen]ce, we must go on to get securities and friendships in other parts, but between you and me his Lordship's credit has, I'm afraid, arisen from nothing else but because his Em[inen]ce found him too easy, and tractable. What is past—is past, we must look forward; I suppose Lord H[arringto]n will have acquainted you, that besides the hints given by you, we have other intelligence of the French designs to allure the Dutch, and make the renewal of their tariff the price of some neutral, or pacific engagement on their part. . . . . I am afraid La Roche has bilked us; it can't be helped, we must run that risk, especially when he formerly at Paris was my spy; and did then as well as could be expected in proportion to his lights and abilities, but he absolutely refused to have anything to do with Lord W[aldegra]ve, and so he left Paris, and has lived chiefly since at Lorraine . . . . .

We have had a great dispute here about the dearness of coals, whether it is owing to the proprietors of the pits in the North, or to the lightermen in the City; among other complaints the manufacturers allege, that because the coals upon exportation pay but a small duty compared with what is paid here the Dutch buy them cheaper than the manufacturer has them here. . . .

His Majesty seemed once determined to go to Hanover this year, he mentioned his design to one person only, and in a very peremptory and determined stile, but that person having taken the resolution to represent the consequences of such a step with an honest and becoming freedom has at last prevailed with him to stay in England; so, thank God, the mischief was prevented without its being known to be intended."

The Same to the Same. TREVOR MSS.

1739, May 1 [-12].—"It is believed all over the town that Spain has given us an absolute refusal of paying the 95,000*l.* That is certainly not true, but an express from Mr. Keen has let us know that the Spanish Secretary of State has lately held a very different language from what he talked soon after the news of the Convention being approved by both Houses. The accounts their Catholic Majesties have since received of the violent humours here against Spain from the various pamphlets and libels which are constantly translated into French and sent to them, and, as is chiefly pretended, of our fleet being ordered to stop at Gibraltar have put that Court into great agitation, and we begin to suspend those persuasions which we lately had of the 95,000*l.* being paid until we hear again from that Court. For my part as my own opinion I think the money will be paid, but that it will be attended with a disagreeable declaration for suspending the South Sea Company on account of their not paying the 68,000*l.*, but, if Spain should at once stop short, there is no manner of doubt but that they have signed a treaty with France, and we must in that case begin to take satisfaction by reprisals in the best manner we can, which will unavoidably end in a war with Spain, and some disagreable questions or intimations to us will follow it from France. . . .

As to the Court of Turin they are certainly alarmed with the new union between the French and Spanish families, and with what may be the consequences of it in favour of Don Philip, it being certain that her Catholic Majesty will not lose sight of her native country in Italy. But his Sardinian Majesty is a ticklish prince, must be gained not only by subsidies, but by promise of new acquisitions, and will talk to both sides and balance whether he is more likely to get something more of the Milanese from being with the Emperor or against the Emperor, or from stopping or increasing the power of Spain in Italy, but how 'tis possible to frame any scheme like a Grand Alliance until the Emperor has ended the Turkish War I must say I can't see. . . .

I send you enclosed at the request of our friend Tommy Townshend, or rather of his lady, the enclosed proposal from Dr. Middleton to publish the *Life of Cicero*, that you may get what subscriptions you can among your friends. The ladies here have undertaken to make solicitations on this occasion, as if the decision of their wit and beauty depended in preference to one another upon the greater or less success in this contest, and therefore you must exert yourself."

The Same to the Same.

1739, May 8 [-19]. Cockpit.—"We have heard nothing particular from Spain since the arrival of the courier with the letters of the 24th past that left matters in a doubtful situation. We have letters by the post of the 27th from Mr. Keen who says nothing more than that things stood as before, but he takes notice, as Consul Cayley does too from Cadiz that the proclamation for fitting out the flota had been made the 16th, that the register of the goods was to be opened the 1st instant, and as they cannot be loaded and everything ready to sail until the term for the 95,000*l.* being paid will be expired some time; I am disposed to hope that they intend to pay the money, because they would never go on with this expensive and valuable operation while our fleet is in those parts, and break the Convention at once by the non-payment of it, but we must soon know the final determination in this affair, which

TREVOR MSS. if done, will be done I'm assured in some awkward, and disagreeable manner. What does Vandermeer write upon it, he is not well informed, and his own humour, and vanity generally governs his intelligence, but with allowances something may be inferred? The general persuasion against us is no favourable symptom, especially considering the union between France and Spain and the activity in all parts of the former. A Convention as I suppose, you will have heard from my Lord H[arrington] is certainly not only signed but ratified with the King of Prussia relating to Bergh and Juliers. Whether that Prince is under engagements of neutrality or action in favour of France, we don't yet know, I can't believe the latter, knowing the nature of the beast, nor do I believe that France would much trust to it, the first is possible. What is certain is, that France has recommended it to Sweden to consider whether something can't be done with Prussia to make amends for the loss of Denmark; that looks as if France has not yet got such strong hold of his Prussian Majesty, and I must own I do not much fear a very strict union of him with Sweden, against Russia; he has ever been afraid of this power, and indeed the situation of his country besides his own temper must ever make him respect the Czarina, and therefore all things considered I must freely own to you that if the Convention between France and Prussia is such, as to be executed and settled without fear of a disturbance before the Elector Palatine's death, I should not be sorry for it; because nothing seems to me so dangerous, as to give France a pretence, on account of the indecision of that dispute, to march an army into those parts, when that accident shall happen, and as I do not look upon his Prussian Majesty's life to be lasting, it is better that a point which has been so contested, and which it is likely the son has as much at heart as the father, should be finally adjusted before the latter succeeds, and leave him by that means open and free to negotiate and establish a friendship with us, for we shall never be able to do him any essential service in that great affair if undecided; and I am afraid shall never be able to get him without it. As to Storch, we have had a full account from Mr. Man, Mr. Fane's Secretary, of Storch having been warned out of the Grand Duke's territories in three days, which would have been executed had it not been for Mr. Man's representation. They then reprieved him for 8 days longer, but Mr. Man not contented with that, at last obtained in consideration of his Majesty that his sentence should be suspended until the King should be acquainted with it, but the Grand Duke positively insists to have him removed. Storch pretends that he is innocent of having said, or done anything to disoblige his Royal Highness or his government, and that this disgrace is brought upon him by the adherents of the Pretender, and at the instances of the Corsini family, but the Duke (Mr. Man's negotiation in this affair having chiefly passed between him and his Royal Highness personally) affirms that nothing of that nature is the cause of his anger, which appears to be so violent, although the true reason is not given, that I do not believe, it will be possible to save Storch; I don't know yet what answer the D[uke] of N[ewcastle] returns to the dispatches on this head, but I was willing to give you this detail well knowing the Greffier's regard for the poor fellow. . . .

What you mention . . . of a design concerted with this city and other great cities to petition the King for a dissolution of the Parliament was talked of upon the first secession, but as all the members of this city constantly attend, and as the secession from Parliament in general is by no means approved in the country by any party, I am apt to believe that this design will not be attempted, or if it is will succeed but in few places."

The MARQUESS OF ANNANDALE to the SAME.

1739, May 23. Antwerp.—"As you heard my disagreeable affair I shall not trouble you the particulars thereof, but the only indeed bad excuse I have to make I was in liquor. There is no danger of the man's doing ill, but whether I possibly can return or no is what I shall beg your advice in. As to desiring you to meddle in the affair, 'tis of a sort I cannot do. I assure you of one thing, I mistook the kind of people I had to do with and really imagined, whoever they were, to have been insulted by them. I am sorry now I should have been obliged to write to Mr. Trevor on such a subject."

ROBERT TREVOR to the MARQUESS OF ANNANDALE.

1739, May 28. The Hague.—Advising him not to return to Leyden, the justice of this country being very rigid, suggesting Utrecht, the incident not being, he believes, cognizable there, and giving him two pieces of advice, the first to try by some farther act of generosity towards the poor fellow to regain the good opinion of the public, and the second, to take a manly and heroic resolution to abstain entirely from the use of wine.

*Draft.*

HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1739, May 18 [-29]. Cockpit.—"We have heard from Spain that the conferences have been opened and the full powers exchanged, but not one word of the 95,000*l.*, and not one step to make us believe that they will not pay it, but the time of payment expires next Thursday, which makes us expect an express before that time, and as a post will be likewise due, we must learn something in a few days. Keen thinks Geraldino is already informed, Geraldino says he is not, but what he says looks hopeful, and the stockjobbers observe that the stocks rather stiffen than decline by the transactions thought to be carried on by his friends."

The MARQUESS OF ANNANDALE to the SAME.

1739, May 30. Antwerp.—Thanking him for his letter and the two pieces of advice it contained.

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1739, May 22 [-June 2]. Cockpit.—"It wants but 48 hours of the time of payment of the 95,000*l.*, and we have not heard one word of the Court of Spain's real intentions on that head. Geraldino's ordinary courier will in all probability arrive here this evening and our letters due by the post from Mr. Keen will come in all likelihood tomorrow; in the mean time stocks stiffen rather than fall, and the Spanish minister went yesterday . . to take a house for all the summer in the country.

The Great Duke's ministry gives out that Mr. Storch has talked in a very free manner upon the late new regulations made by his Royal Highness in the government of Florence as what occasioned the resentment against him, tho' it is generally believed that it is the interest of the Pretender conducted by the Corsinis that have the greatest influence in this affair. . . .

Trevor MSS. Having been last Saturday . . . at his Majesty's levée he sent for me into his closet, and talked as if a war was inevitable, bid me prepare for going over to Holland and questioned me mightily about the disposition of the States to assist him." . . .

### Robert Trevor to Guy Dickens.

1739, June 9. The Hague.—"Others will have it that Mr. Luiscius' present disgrace and despair is owing to some discoveries, which his master's curiosity has led him to make by searching into the papers of the late M. Gromkow, of this latter having carried on a collusive and intriguing correspondence with Luiscius, who is known to have been his creature."

*Draft.*

### Horatio Walpole to Robert Trevor.

1739, June 1 [-12]. Cockpit.—"As yet Spain has not said one word about the payment of the 95,000*l.*, nor one word either to Mr. Keen or by Geraldino why she does not pay it; the first has sent a new declaration of the Court of Spain's resolution to suspend the Assiento if the South Sea Company does not pay the 68,000*l.* in a limited time, which limitation is not mentioned in the Act; the Spanish minister here has not so much as received a copy of that new declaration, and as to the 95,000*l.* he has nothing more to say than [that] his Court acknowledges the receipt of his letters and that he may expect orders and answers upon them, without, as he pretends, mentioning one word of the payment of the money directly or indirectly, and Mr. Keen is as silent as he on that subject, although he and his colleague have had two conferences with the Spanish Plenipotentiaries and exchanged their full powers. In the last some notice was taken by the Spaniards of our fleets continuing abroad on the coast of Spain and in the West Indies, as what was not agreeable, considering that they had given orders for disarming, but no formal representation made upon it, nor excuse on that account for the non-payment of the money; and notwithstanding this contemptuous silence in an article of so much moment, the Spaniards have laid up all their ships, and continue to fit out and load their flota for the West Indies, while our squadron lays so near them before Gibraltar. In the mean time our stocks fall but little. But the murmurs in the city begin to revive, and yesterday the House of Lords proposed and insisted upon an address to the King to know whether the money was paid, and, if it was not, what reasons were alleged for the non-payment of it. The D[uke] of N[ewcastle] let them know that it was not paid; however there was a division, and it was carried by 14 without proxies, not to address, but they are go upon the state of the nation on Monday, when I suppose there will be warm debates for action, and revenge against Spain, in order to prepare that court to take its measures, and be upon their guard against any secret design which we may meditate without making an eclat, or giving the Spaniards warning; I can no way account for this unaccountable conduct in Spain; perhaps there may be divisions between the King and Queen of Spain, but what is most likely is that they have signed a treaty with France; and the minute we shall proceed to stop or take the flota, &c., France will interpose, and let us know we must not touch their property, but matters are now come to a real crisis; and I suppose when our resolutions are taken I shall be ordered over to sound our friends' inclinations without any hopes of success."

Captain Lynslager to the Same. Trevor MSS.

1739, June 14. Amsterdam.—Enclosing a list of the Spanish Navy as it was in 1736, and stating what the French Navy consisted of in the same year. The former contained one ship of 112 guns, two of 80, eight of 70, 15 of 64, and two of 60, sixteen frigates and seven smaller ships, the latter of one first rate, 13 second rates, 19 third rates, 16 fourth rates, 9 frigates, and 12 smaller vessels.

Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1739, June 5 [–16]. Cockpit.—"If anything would astonish me that M. Fenelon does it would be his endeavouring to impose so much upon the senses and knowledge of mankind as to make it believed that Mr. Luiscius' misfortune came from an apoplexy, but he is in possession to make some of the States believe anything. . . . There is no doubt but that the poor gentleman signed something with Fenelon; and, if our news be true, what was so signed was ratified, altho' in all likelyhood out of fear, by the King of Prussia, which made his resentment fall upon his minister for having signed what he durst not disavow. . . .

I am sorry the money is not paid by Spain, because I do apprehend the ill consequences of a war with Spain, but I smile at the sneers of others, because, had we refused the Convention, they would have been the first to have cried out against us; 'What! go into a war rather than accept a positive stipulation to pay a certain sum for satisfaction to your merchants, and also a promise to settle by a negotiation in a certain time a security for our future trade!' and I don't see how any strength, any dexterity, any address, can be a guaranty against the breach of a solemn plain promise, if a Prince is resolved to break it. We must and do seriously consider what is to be done; the opposing Lords last Thursday would have addressed the King to know whether the payment of the 95,000*l.* was made, and if not made, to know what reasons were given by Spain for not paying it, but the Secretary of State having acquainted them that it was not paid, the motion for an Address was rejected by a majority only of 14, which occasioned another motion to consider as yesterday the state of the nation, when great expectations were raised of some distress being brought upon the Court, and accordingly a motion being made to declare that the Convention was broken by Spain, &c., the Court ventured upon the previous question, not on account of there being any doubt of the truth of the fact, but of its being both imprudent and unnecessary for the House of Lords to come to a declaration of war which must be the consequence of the motion proposed, since the King was already enabled by the Parliament in such ways and by such measures as he should think proper to vindicate the honour and justice of the nation, and it was carried by a majority of 19 without proxies, which if called for would have made the majority above 30, that the said question should not be put."

The Same to the Same.

1739, June 8 [–19]. "*Jacta est alea.*—An express last night from Mr. Keen has brought an account that the pretence made use of by Spain for not paying the 95,000*l.* is the continuation of the squadrons

Trevor MSS. in the Mediterranean and the W. Indies, so that we are preparing to do ourselves justice, and Spain is preparing all the ships they can get together to offend and defend, and I don't doubt but we shall soon hear something from France, for this sudden resolution taken by Spain must be in concert with that Court."

Robert Trevor to Guy Dickens.

1739, June 23. The Hague.—"I now see the reason of that unfortunate gentleman's trying, as I know he has done very earnestly, to prevail upon the physicians and chirurgions who have had him in hand to give him testimonials of his having only had an apoplectic fit and hurt himself in the fall; but hitherto I do not hear that any of them have been prevailed upon to attest such a bare-faced falsehood, which in this country is not only dangerous, but entirely useless, these very chirurgions having, as they are obliged by oath to do in all cases of wounds and hurts, made a formal report to the Government of this place of the nature and circumstances of Mr. Luiscius' misfortune."
*Draft.*

Horatio Walpole to Robert Trevor.

1739, August 10–21. The Hague.—"I have wrote by this post in the strongest terms to my brother to remove the rest [of your uneasiness]; desiring him to lose no time to speak to his Majesty and to procure a determination of your fate in the most favourable manner, letting him know that you cannot begin to make any preparations for your residence here until you know what you are to depend upon, and it is high time that you should begin to think of these preparations, if it is intended you should be my successor. . . . In short I think I have said all that can be said on that head, and in as earnest a manner as it is possible for me [to] express myself; you must therefore continue to see my brother often, and desire Lord Harrington too to put him in mind of you, and of speaking to the King."

The Same to the Same.

1739, September 1, 4, 11. (The material parts of these three letters are printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Lord Horatio Walpole*, i. pp. 407–414, with the following mistakes:—p. 408, last line after "friendship" add "for what I am going to say"; p. 409, the illegible word for which Coxe suggests "convince" is "vex"; p. 410, line 11, for "apprehension" read "possibility"; line 13, after "would" insert "not"; four lines from bottom for "this" read "that"; p. 411, line 15, insert "which" before "is"; line 17, *dele* "will"; line 20 for "there" read "here"; p. 412, lines 2 and 13 insert "all" before "these" and "the" before "various"; p. 413, lines 22 and 23 for "the" and "the" read "a" and "that"; last line insert "I" before "remember.")

Instructions to the Honourable Robert Trevor on his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and additional Instructions to the same.

1739, September 13 [–24]. Kensington.—*Sign Manual* and *Seal* on each.

The COMMITTEE OF THE ESTATES OF HOLLAND AND WEST FRIESLAND.

1739, October 27. Grant of exemption to Robert Trevor as Envoy Extraordinary from customs and other taxes on the wares and consumables he may import.

In *Dutch*. *Seal*.

HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1739, October 19–30. Cockpit.—"The letter of the States upon my revocation to the King gives great satisfaction here. When I delivered it to His Majesty he told me without looking into it, that he looked upon it as a letter of form only, and therefore did not read one word of it; some parts of it made it not proper for me to desire him to peruse it."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739, October 26 [–November 6]. Cockpit.—"No good news from France occasioned the declaration of war, but it was found, as I always thought, that it would not be regular for us according to treaties to stop and examine any ships without declaring war. This joined with the infidelity, which prevailed here as well as in Holland, of our not being in earnest with the Spaniards, was the chief motives for our taking that step; which was attended in the publication of it with the greatest crowds of people, who were extremely quiet and civil but expressed the greatest satisfaction by their acclamations for a war with Spain."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739, October 30 [–November 10]. Cockpit.—"An express arrived yesterday . . . from Capt. Cooper and Capt. Cotterell, commanders of the *Chester* and *Canterbury* men-of-war with advice that they had brought then to Spithead a Spanish prize, which they had taken off Cadiz detached from Admiral Haddock's squadron for that purpose. She came from the Caraccas, and is a Register ship belonging to the Biscay Company. The Admiral's letter . . . says that the Registered effects on board . . . amount to above 100,000*l.* sterling. . . . There are some hopes too that the Admiral's squadron has taken another ship of the same nature. . . . On the other side we have lost a merchant ship off Faro. The Convoy that had 15 or 16 merchant ships under their care for different ports had seen an English ship laden with bail goods to the value of between 20, and 30,000*l.* safe as far as the Bar of Faro . . . and then sailed with the rest . . . but the tide not serving to pass the Bar the merchant ship anchored there with a design to get into the port the next morning, when a Barca Longa off the Spanish coast passing that way surprised the said ship, cut the cable and carried her off."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739, November 2 [–13]. Cockpit.—"A little ship . . . from Gibraltar . . . ventured to leave the convoy in order to be the first to bring the agreeable news, that another ship from the Caraccas with 14 guns and between 2 and 300 tunn . . . was taken and carried into Gibraltar the 2nd or 3rd of the month, and the Master says that by

TREVOR MSS. the inspection that had been made . . . the prize was said to be worth above 100,000*l.* sterling, and as rich as the other, which is with good reason much doubted, considering the difference of the bigness."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739, November 13–24. Cockpit.—"I am glad to find that Bus——de has at last opened his correspondence, but unless he writes something more significant than what is contained in his two first letters he will not meet with much encouragement from hence. . . . Having communicated the two letters . . . to Sir R[obert] W[alpole], he thinks them so insignificant that no other notice should be taken or return made, but your taking the trouble to write two or three lines in French to him, *to acknowledge his letters of the* 10 *and* 30 *of October, to let him know that you are glad to hear that he and his family are well; that he may do right to bring his children into Italy*, but that as Mr. Alexander Andrew of Rotterdam has no effects of his in his hands, he will not answer any bill, until he receives something from him more valuable than what he has hitherto had. The address to him is to be sent under cover to *M. le Comte de Mare à Pont-à-Musson en Lorraine*."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739, November 16 [–27]. Cockpit.—After all the noise and expectations of a warm opening of our Sessions Mr. P[ultene]y made a long, but, to say the most, a languid speech for carrying on the war with vigour, and without any inflammatory expressions, reserved to himself to be for such things as might be necessary to rectify our constitution, but in no manner to clog the measures for supporting the King in the war; declared himself for the present government and establishment in the strongest manner and indeed so strong, that together with his having let fall some words about resigning mean suspicions of those that he had acted with, gave great offence to the Tories, who held their tongues, but seem extremely out of humour at having been desired to summon their friends (for it was a pretty full House on both sides) to so little purpose. In short, after Bernard had complained that sufficient care had not been taken in protecting the commerce, in a very peevish and indeed low way which made people think he had been hurt by losses in insurance, and he was answered in some measure by Lord Baltimore who spoke for the Admiralty, Sir T[homas S[aunder]son spoke to the same sense as Pulteney (who I should have told you thirded the motion for the Address). The question being put for agreeing to it, there would have been a *nemine contradicente* had it not been for one poor *no* out of the Tory corner which nobody would own.

In the House of Lords there was a pretty long debate about *animosities and divisions*. The opponents would not allow there were any in the nation; the Duke of Br[idgewater] (?) and Lord Sc[arbo]rough, were with them, and I believe the latter is entirely gone off, for reasons too long and not proper for a letter. The Court carried it by 29 without proxies, it was not a very full House."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739, November 30 [–December 11]. Cockpit.—"You seem to be alarmed by a mischievous use made of some pamphlets printed in

England, and particularly of *The Examination of the popular Prejudices* as taking it for granted that they were published by the direction of the Ministers; when that is not true and the Ministers are as little answerable for any papers wrote in their favour, or at the time in behalf of Spain, as they are for the false charges and insinuations of the unministerial writers, and the truth is that almost all the papers wrote against the violences and preventions of the people here, were wrote at the instigation and encouragement of Geraldino. They are fathered upon the Ministers and their friends, and in consequence La Matinière pretends to make good use of them, but it is not worth while to clear up this fact but by conversation only. . . .

Notwithstanding the appearance of unanimity to carry on the war, the patriots and opponents are resolved to give us as much trouble as they can, but their efforts are very fruitless. They proposed last Tuesday very irregularly to give his Majesty advice about the way of raising the Marines, but we were 177 against 95. Yesterday we had several motions to have an account of all orders, memorials, instructions, &c., relating to the late negotiations and Convention with Spain. Upon the first question the House was very thin, but we were in the negative 95 against 51. Upon the second question there was no division, but we carried it in the negative; upon the third, which chiefly related to Mr. Keen's keeping La Quadra's Declaration, we divided against it 171 against 98. We shall have more squibs of this nature, which will have, I suppose, no other effect but to have the questions printed in the votes, and I suppose that is the principal end proposed by the motion of them."

*Postscript.*—"Poor Harry Pelham has lost two sons, all that he had of the sort, within 24 hours of one another by a sort of ulcerous humour in their throats that turned to a mortification."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1739, December 4 [-15]. Cockpit.—"It is thought we shall not have much to do till after the Recess, having yesterday voted 4 shillings upon Land without opposition. I hope all those that are not well inclined to us in Holland as well as our friends will recollect that I constantly told them as an undoubted truth that since we have been forced into a war we shall be as serious and vigorous in carrying it on, as we had been unwilling and backward to come into it, as long as we could keep out with honour. The opponents have determined to move for a call of the House to be made some days after the recess in order to propose a Place Bill in a full House upon the return of the members out of the country, but I believe, considering the secession of last year, that we shall endeavour to put a negative upon the motion of a call."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1739, December 18 [-29]. Cockpit.—"I moved this day and it passed *nemine contradicente* to bring in a bill to prohibit commerce with Spain, in consequence of their most notable Declaration of War. When this was over, a motion was made for a call of the House, and in return for the secession of the opponents last year, we put a negative upon it by 130 against 60 or thereabouts. As the motion was made to call the House on a certain day, which was to be the 14th of January, and as we put a negative upon it without any debate Mr. P[ultene]y, after the division, renewed the motion for a call to be on the 18th of January, and endeavoured to warm the House for our

silence, and for refusing without any reasons a motion so fundamentally necessary to the constitution of Parliament. He was answered by Sir Wm. Y[on]ge, and after some debate, partly serious, and partly pleasant, a negative was put upon that motion without a division."

Harman Verelst, Secretary to the Committee of the Foundling Hospital, to the Same.

1739, December 20 [–31].—By order of the Committee requesting him to procure from the magistrates of Amsterdam, a copy of the establishment and method of proceeding of the Hospital for Foundling Children there.

Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1739–40, January 4 [–15].—"In case of some great success on our side in the West Indies by making some extraordinary and beneficial conquest and settlement in the Spanish colonies, in that case I don't doubt but France will begin to speak out, and call upon Holland to join with them in preventing us from making acquisitions contrary to what they will call the fundamental rule to be observed by all other nations in not being suffered to gain any part of the Spanish possessions in America, or greater advantages of trade there, one more than the other; and this principle was the reason why the Dutch in the last great war would never agree to any expedition in the West Indies, lest our superiority at sea might give us an advantage there preferable to them."

The Same to the Same.

1739–40, January 11[–22]. Cockpit.—"As the frost here began in an unusual manner with a violent storm at East, it has caused as well as with you an infinite deal of mischief, for, as all the vessels in the river were drove from their anchors, they are now floating and beating against one another by the force of the ice and the tide, to the vast damage of many unfortunate owners, of which some, endeavouring to go on board with their men, and others that were on board to get ashore in boats have been interrupted by the ice, and perished with cold and hunger without a possibility of relief. . . .

I think La Roche's last letter much more to the purpose, than the three former, altho' it is as yet confined to generals yet some good inferences may be drawn from it, but whether it will deserve a remittance I can't tell till I have talked in another place; I am not for grudging a little money for the meanest intelligence at this juncture. Lord W[aldegra]ve has wrote word that the D[uke] of O[rmon]d has left Avignon to go for Spain, but we do not yet publicly take notice of it. As to the Gazettes, such as that of Cologne, treating us pretty freely, I do not believe it proceeds from economy on our side or from the generosity of our enemies, but if anything can be done to give a new turn to the Gazetteers abroad, I should be glad to hear it."

The Same to the Same.

1739–40, February 1 [–12]. Cockpit.—"We were mistaken in our computation of members on occasion of the Place Bill, which was strongly debated till 11 o'clock at night, with a great deal of obloquious declamation, especially by the youngsters of the P[rince]'s family, in behalf of it, and with as much strength of argument as ever I heard

against it by the gentlemen for rejecting the motion, the negatives carried it by 222 against 206, so that our majority calculated at about 40 was no more than 16; but I must observe to you, that this was occasioned by there being 26 absent that are actually in town; for we computed that the opposite party might be 208; and although some W[hig]s, who in other matters are constantly with us, voted for the question, there were some that we did not expect would do so. During the debate about 8 o'clock Sir Thomas Saunderson and Lord Chesterfield who attended us were sent for out of the House, on account as it was immediately rumoured of Lord Scarborough's being dead or at the extremity by a fit of an apoplexy; but the next morning the various accounts that had been given late the night before to those who sent or came to know how he did, the great caution taken not to let anybody into the house, not even his nearest relations, and other circumstances gave an occasion to extraordinary surmises about the nature of his death, and nobody cared to talk of it but by whispers. This silence and caution continues still, but *tête-à-tête* among friends I believe nobody doubts of his having been his own executioner and it is said he did it with a pistol clapt so close to his mouth, that it did not make a great noise, at least it did not alarm the house, nor did the bullet go through his head. He had been out that morning, had dined at home alone, had ordered his chair to carry him at six in the afternoon to Lady Harvey's to spend the evening and bespoke his own supper; and his not calling to go out, his valet de chambre went unto his room and found him stone dead, and cold. I believe this is a true account but I must beg you will not mention it to anybody but rather wait to learn the truth which by degrees will come from others, than make it in the least suspected that you had it from me. His will has been opened having not been made above a fortnight since and left in Sir Thomas Saunderson's custody, who 'tis said is greatly disappointed, for all the Scarborough estate he has left to Mr. James Lumley his youngest brother, charging it with 20,000*l.* to Sir Thomas Saunderson, and 500*l. per annum* a piece to two natural children during their lives, and an annuity of 100*l. per annum* to Lady Ann Frankland, and the said Mr. Lumley is made sole executor and has the absolute disposal of the whole estate besides, both real and personal."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739–40, February 5 [–16]. Cockpit.—"The opponents flushed with their not being beat by a greater majority than 16 have met, Lords and Commons, to the number of 13 of the first, and about 60 of the last at a tavern, and exhorted one another to steadiness and unanimity, and continuance in town to lay hold of occasions for the service of the public since which time several motions to be proposed in our House, have been whispered, the repeal of the Septennial Bill to make the Parliament triennial, the Prince of Wales' affair, the Riot Act, and La Quadra's declaration relating to the 68,000*l.*, and we shall certainly meet with opposition in everything in some shape or other, but our friends are zealous and steady, so that the end of this Session will be troublesome, though we have nothing to fear."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739–40, February 8 [–19]. Cockpit.—"I have got no orders for any money for La Roche, but if he should say anything more to deserve it, I think he mentioned another way lately for a correspondence with

Trevor MSS. him besides lodging money in Mr. Andrew's hands, but if you did not minute it down I will look it out against a proper time. I gave Ventidius 200*l.* just before I came away, and some time hence, when our great affairs draw to a conclusion, I will move to get him 200*l.* more, and thus from time to time half-yearly."

The Same to the Same.

1739–40, February 12 [–23]. Cockpit.—"The manner of Lord Scarborough's death is no longer a secret . . . The Coroner's inquest . . . brought him a lunatic, and it seems the present Lord is so little satisfied with the will, that he has entered a *caveat* and intends to dispute it, and 'tis said upon the foot of lunacy. People are highly scandalised at this proceeding. . . . The opponents continue in town, so that we are obliged to lie upon our arms. Several motions have been talked of, such as triennial Parliaments, the Princess' affair, in consequence of the meeting at the Crown and Anchor to stand by one another. However they are extremely divided among themselves, and matters appear at present more calm."

Theodore Baron de Neuhoff so-called King of Corsica, to the Same.

1740, February 25.—Requesting him to forward the enclosed to Lord Harrington, and to keep his sojourn in those quarters secret. "Après avoir heureusement echappé de mains assassins payés de l'ennemie à Venise, mon intention estoit de me rendre en droitture à Londres, mais mon indisposition survenu dans ce penible voyage m'en empesche jusquicy; pourtant ayant remis et receu certaines lettres pour sa Majesté je me procurerai le passage." Desiring letters to be sent to this address "A Monsieur le Baron de Droste à serden (?) Seigneur d'Elsen, Hurmulhein, et Monsbruck, Chevalier, et Grand Commandeur de l'Ordre Teutonique à Cologne."

In *French*. *Holograph*.

Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1739–40, February 22 [– March 4]. Cockpit.—"Sir Robert has very little to do in the military promotions; he recommends friends and relations of members of Parliament to be ensigns and cornets, but his Majesty himself keeps an exact account of all the officers; knows their characters, and their long services, and generally nominates at his own time the Colonels to vacant regiments, he frequently mentions those promotions to my brother, who, when he lets fall a word in favour of some officer is told, (that is between you and me) that he does not understand any thing of military matters, and by this means he has often the ill will of disappointments, which were not in his power to prevent.

In consequence of the small majority we had on the Place Bill and the call of the House fixed for yesterday the members being arrived in town, we have had several skirmishes in the House; particularly upon the accounts of the Navy, which being called for on several heads, and it appearing that Mr. Secretary Corbett of the Admiralty has a salary from the Crown, for executing an office constituted by assistants, that are to take care of the pensions of seamen's widows; it was moved to have a new writ issued for a member in his place as having either a new erected office or a pension during pleasure; but upon the debate

it passed in the negative by 223 against 132; then a general question was proposed to appoint a committee to enquire what new erected offices had been made, here the generality and popularity of the question carried a great many from us that voted against the personal attack of Mr. Corbett, however it was carried in the negative by 196 against 155—41 majority. But yesterday being the day appointed for the call, when the House must consequently be very full, great were the expectations of the motion to be made, many things were flung out abroad, but the main was kept a secret among some of their leaders; the Convention so far as related to la Quadra's declaration, was sometimes mentioned; but thought unlikely because all papers and instructions relating to that matter, had been already refused. However when the order of the day was called for Mr. Pulteney stood up, and in the most pathetic and elaborate harangue declaimed against the non-attendance of members, and at last seeing the House full, he made a sort of an encomium upon his readiness to grant all the supplies for carrying on the war against Spain, but now it was time to enquire how we came into the war and having exclaimed against the Convention in a most furious manner, which, he thanked God, was now no more, though it had been the occasion of the war, he said he was for appointing a secret committee to enquire into all the proceedings and transactions relating to the signing of the Convention, and as a precedent he quoted and caused to be read out of the *Journals*, what had been done with regard to an enquiry about the treaty of Utrecht, and endeavoured to run a parallel between those two cases as if those that advised the Convention were as criminal as those that made or negotiated the treaty of Utrecht. This comparison, and his strong insinuations against an administration that had lasted too long, occasioned as you'll easily imagine a long and warm debate, our enemies being prepared, and our friends being justly animated. At last my brother spoke in the most pathetic manner, and with the greatest temper and force I ever heard him as looking upon it as a personal attack and trial of himself; and after a debate which lasted from two o'clock till nine, the House divided upon the motion which was for an address to lay all papers relative to the Convention before them, in consquence of that motion a Secret Committee (if that motion had been carried) would have been appointed by ballot, but upon a division the motion was rejected by 247 against 196, a majority of 51. I never knew in my life people so hearty, nor ever heard people speak better, than our friends did; the call is adjourned for a month, and consequently the sessions as good as over, though we shall still have some skirmishes, but of no consequence. . . . .

TREVOR MSS.

*Postscript.*—The King of Prussia has certainly been very ill, but a good deal of his disease is political, to observe the behaviour of persons, and to avoid the signature of a project of a defensive alliance with France which he had for some time extremely desired and encouraged. . . . The son cannot certainly be worse than the father, and I believe his attachment to us will entirely depend upon our behaviour to him, which, I am afraid, will not long be so cordial as were to be wished, considering the notions and pretensions of Hanover in opposition to Brandenburgh."

THEODORE, BARON DE NEUHOFF, so-called King of Corsica, to the SAME.

[1740], March 10.—Hoping that his letter of the 25th of last month with that enclosed to Lord Harrington had reached him safely and that he had forwarded the latter. "I impatiently await the answer, and

TREVOR MSS. your passport to enable me to proceed to London, which I request you to address to me under cover to the subjoined address. I venture to flatter myself that his Majesty and the whole English nation will honour me with their support in those conjunctures, to enable me to return to my faithful followers in Corsica where my affairs are by no means in so ruinous a state as the suborned gazetteers publish. If you have any answer of the Court touching my affairs have the kindness to communicate it to me as quickly as possible in order that I may make my arrangements."

*Postscript.*—"Keep, I beg of you, my sojourn in these quarters a secret."

The said address "Monsieur le Baron de Romberg, Seigneur de Bruninghausen, Bladenhorst, Dönhoff, Colvenburg et Ruddinghausen Drossard de Lhumen et Hoerde pour sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, par Wesel et Horneburg à Bladenhorst."

In *French. Holograph.*

*Enclosed:*—A paper describing the coasts and harbours of Corsica.

GUY DICKENS to the SAME.

17[39–]40, March [4–]15. Berlin.—"His Prussian Majesty's disorders are now come to a crisis. Since Saturday last he is in danger of being suffocated every moment, to prevent which the doctors are obliged to give him blisters, or to purge him almost every day, and as his fever as well as the swelling in his legs increase we think that if some alteration does not happen very soon it is impossible for his Prussian Majesty to hold much longer."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1739–40, March 9[–20]. Cockpit.—"What you wrote as coming from Curaçao was the only intelligence we had for a great while from or about Vernon, but private letters from New York rather made his attempt upon the coast of the Caracas a disappointment than anything like a successful attempt. There are now letters from him dated the 5th of November which takes no notice of that affair, but in a brave heroic style, like that of the Oliverian days, he acquaints Sir Charles Wager, that he is setting out on that auspicious day, which confounded the attempts of Popery, and brought about the glorious Revolution, to thunder out his Majesty's just revenge against the Spaniards by attempting to take Portobello.

I continue still of opinion that the Cardinal will not strike, he may be persuaded to make the appearance of maritime preparations to alarm us and divert us from our American expeditions, but the war of France will in my opinion depend upon his death, or some great success in the West Indies, and should the last happen I believe his Eminence will first begin with negotiation and mediation.

Mr. Assebourgh at Paris has acted in a manner we could wish, and I hope that by the report of his conferences the King of Sweden has been persuaded by Diemar and Burnaby to send P[rince] William a full power to conclude with us.

Our discovery of the negotiation between Denmark and France has in a manner put a stop to it, and I hope by the death of Lewenorn, the Secretary of War there, a bold enterprising fellow, and a creature of France, it will be entirely disappointed; the King of Prussia continues in the same desperate state both of body and mind, and the French will

not be able to do much there, and although Tessin seems to keep up his spirits, yet Count Gyllemburgh begins to be frightened and desirous of a reconciliation with Russia, and Mr. Pu[lte]ney says (perhaps he has it from Keith who is come hither for no good) that France will bring those two powers to a good understanding by her mediation. I don't doubt, but when the Cardinal finds his projects in the North abortive and a more peaceful disposition in Sweden he will attempt it in good earnest, and General Munich and others, that are inclined to France and no friends to the Imperial Court, will forward anything that may bring France and Russia to a better understanding any way; what are Golowkyn['s] politics on this head, and his sentiments of his own Court? Prince Czerbatoff speaks and behaves well here. I wish Finch was at Petersburgh, he sets out I think this next week, and takes Dresden in his way.

We hear of no design that France has to bring home the galleons in her own bottoms; I should have told you that the *Diamond* man-of-war has taken the Spanish Burnavento ship with money and provisions on board for the Spanish garrisons, worth above 100,000 dollars.

We know nothing of the story of the French gentleman arrested and examined at Dublin, but what you saw in some of the newspapers, so it was a lie for the day.

If La Roche's galley-slave was not literal but figurative he must send a key to it, for it is beyond my capacity to decipher. . . .

*Postscript*:—'Tis whispered that the K[in]g has thoughts of going abroad this year, but he has not yet said one word to Sir R[obert] W[alpole] about it."

The SAME to the SAME.

1739–40, March 14–25. Cockpit.—"His Prussian Majesty by our best intelligence cannot possibly recover. That will be a great and, if we please, a happy crisis, but I am afraid Electoral considerations will get the better of Royal ones; nay, would you believe it, and indeed you must not seem so much as to suspect it, we think of going this year to [Hanover].

The Bill for Princess Mary's fortune is near upon passing, which puts me in mind of what you mention about the arrival of Mr. Donop, and as you rightly judge I have little to say upon that subject, you know the situation of our Court as well as I do. His immediate address will be by the introduction of Mr. Alt to the Secretary of the Department, Lord Harrington, and as to the preparations for the ceremony he has already wrote to Mr. Alt, who will without doubt make it his business to be informed of every particular before the arrival of the other. There is still some difficulty about marrying according to our Canons and Laws by Proxy; 'tis thought the Canons may make it more practicable than the law, because of our Act of Uniformity, which is enacted by law, and Lord Chancellor's doubts arise from thence; but there is to be another meeting on that subject; but at the worst the procuration may be made here, and the Church of England ceremony performed abroad.

You will have seen I suppose in the *Gazettes* last post, that Admiral Vernon had taken Porto Bello and that a vast sum was offered him to compound for the effects. The first part was believed and yesterday an express arrived from him . . . with letters of January 13th. He came before Porto Bello the 6th and having taken the first fort called the Iron Cross, he sailed to attack the two others called the Glory and Jeronymo, which guarded the entrance to the town on each side, where-

Trevor MSS. upon the Governor agreed to capitulate, and on honourable terms to surrender the town, to which the Admiral agreed, and he has taken 40 large brass cannon, besides other field pieces, all which, after having demolished the forts, he carried to Jamaica, and the town . . . is quite open and accessible, which without doubt by the moderate behaviour of the Admiral will open a free trade between Jamaica and Panama. He took in the harbour two 20 gun ships one snow and five sloops, and although he has got no great riches, yet he got enough to afford a division of 10,000 dollars among his seamen."

Lord Harrington to the Same.

1739-40, March 14[-25]. Whitehall.—"The persons who will deliver you this letter are two Greek priests of a convent in the neighbourhood of Athens, who having behaved themselves during their stay here in a manner to gain the estime (*sic*) and commendation of all those who have had occasion to converse with them particularly of his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, I could not refuse them this line of introduction to you, upon their acquainting me with their intention of paying their respects to you in their passage thro' Holland towards their own country."

M. de Harlé to the Same.

1740, March 25. Maestricht.—Stating that he was a French Protestant who had left France ten years ago on account of religion, and had entered a Dutch regiment, but had been obliged from ill-health to return to his native air, that one of his relations, Pierre de Joncourt, was under the protection of a Milord, at the head of a manufactory of linen and thread in Ireland, that conversing secretly with his countrymen of the pleasure of living under the government of these happy Provinces where the public exercise of their religion is permitted they agreed, but said that it was necessary they should be able to gain their livelihood, that the land in Holland was not fit for growing the materials for their manufacture, which is one of the fairest branches of French trade, that thereupon he told them he had read an account of Virginia, which, if true, was a country that would suit them perfectly, that on consulting they determined to send a person of confidence to examine the quality of the land there, the meadows, and the waters, and selected him for the purpose, and that he had accepted the mission, and desiring permission to take wine for his consumption on the voyage without paying duty, and also to be naturalised, and to have some commission as a king's officer, not for the sake of the emolument, but solely for the name, and the protection of the Governor to enable him to make his observations with safety. "I hope also to ascertain if the 7, or 800 French, which the late King William of glorious memory caused to be transported there at his expense in 1699 and 1700 are well established, on the James river, at a place called Monacan." Knowing that passengers have been harshly treated, I should wish the opportunity of a passage on a man of war. As for the families who would go there, if things there turn out to be as they hope, they only desire "une protection naturalizé" and for ten years exemption from all taxes. *In French.*

Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1739-40, March 21[-April 1].—"Nothing has been mentioned relating to the army this great while. Sir W. Yonge has been extremely

ill. Sir R[obert] W[alpole], if he begins, is told he does not understand these matters and all vacancies of regiments at home are so at a standstill that I believe the competitors and promises are almost forgot." TREVOR MSS.

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, March 25[–April 5]. Cockpit.—"All things are preparing for Princess Mary's espousals; but when she will set out, what route she will take, how far she will go, &c. I cannot yet tell. All I know is, but that's not yet declared, that the D[uke] of D[orse]t will wait upon her Royal Highness to the place of her being delivered into the hands of the Hessians. As to the rest nothing will be, I believe, precisely known, until another journey shall be absolutely determined and declared. It is, between you and me, fixed in the mind of one person, and God knows whether any change can be made, and what may be the consequence if we remain positive, but this to yourself alone."

THOMAS ROBINSON to the SAME.

1740, April 9. Vienna.—"According to advices from Rome the Pretender's eldest son had been invited to Spain, but he refused to go unless provided with the passport and safeguard of France through the French dominions, which passport had been demanded of France."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1740, April 4[–15].—"I can't think the *Hic Lemnum* is laid aside; should it be serious I shall not be of the party, but it is not much talked of at present on one side or other, but is certainly determined in the breast of one, either for the negative or affirmative. When the last word will be given no one can certainly tell."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, April 15[–26].—"I have obtained leave for you to remit to La Roche 200*l.*, and since you have advanced the money to Ventidius you may draw upon my brother for 200*l.* more. . . . I am extremely sorry at the uneasiness of our friend Bentinck on account of his mother's affair with Lord Pembroke. But I am now to tell you in great confidence that although his Lordship has been very boisterous and not extremely civil in his conduct towards her, yet she has been both untractable, and imprudent with regard to her own interest, for upon hearing counsel on both sides at the Treasury, it appeared to my brother, that the Act of Parliament relating to grants from the Crown, had not been pursued in the grant made to her Ladyship, and in one strong and particular point which Lord Pembroke's counsel had not hit upon. Sir R[obert] W[alpole] said nothing but has often since intimated to her by persons of quality, her near relations, his private and concealed opinion, advising her to come to some reasonable accommodation, by allowing Lord Pembroke so much of the terrace as lies immediately before his windows, and by getting a confirmation of her former grant with some additional advantage, but she would give not the least attention to anything of that nature, and this has been the reason why this matter has laid still; since which Lord Pembroke has been extremely busy and earnest for some decision, and his counsel Fazakerly and Murr[a]y, have upon a stricter examination laid their

finger at last upon my brother's observation, and connecting it with other points in the grant compared with the Act of Parliament have given it under their hands that Lady Portland's grant is void, and I am told that both the Attorney and Solicitor General are of the same opinion, as well as Mr. Scrope of the Treasury, who has been the greatest advocate for Lady Portland, and you know very well, that female passion, and positiveness, or blood are not respected by the law; and as to the thing itself which was the original dispute, it is but a trifle to Lady Portland but of vast consequence to Lord Pembroke, for it relates to that part of the terrace which lies immediately before Lord Pembroke's house towards the Thames, and her Ladyship by planting trees upon it, had by their growing up, entirely blinded his Lordship's house on that side. What will be the end of it now I can't tell, but I am afraid between you and me that her Ladyship has carried her resentment so far as to wound herself instead of her adversary; I believe there is a disposition still to put matters upon a reasonable foot, but she is so vain, that nobody can tell how to speak to her without being suspected of being her enemy; at present I don't know what you can possibly say to our friend Bentinck. Upon the separation of the Parliament this thing will and must be immediately considered, Lord Pembroke will push it, knowing now his advantage, which he did not sometime since, with the utmost warmth, and if I find room to say anything that may accommodate matters, without burning my fingers to no purpose, I will let you know it. . . . You may depend upon it there is not the least foundation for a treaty of peace with Spain; not the least intimation or surmise for a negotiation has passed either on one side or the other. . . . We have heard nothing of the journey lately."

Extract from a letter from Rome.

1740, April 30.—From several interviews that Lord Dunbar, the Pretender's confidant, has had with the French Cardinals at the Conclave, and from a long conference of the Duc de St. Aignan with the Pretender it is inferred that the French are pressing the Pretender to send his son into France immediately, and that the Pretender does not wish to decide without some assurance from the French that something will be given to his son in case the designs on England fall through. *In French.*

Horatio Walpole to Robert Trevor.

1740, April 29[-May 10].—"We have been in a great agitation about the journey. It is known but by few, and altho' the Chief seems determined for it, I do not think it absolutely certain, but it will not be mentioned in the speech. . . . There has been and is still a good deal of motion about the D[uke] of A[rgy]le's behaviour; considering his and his brother's power in Sco[tlan]d, it was resolved to let him have the command of a camp this summer, for there will be three encampments. The King acquainted him with it himself, he accepted it, but has since insisted that by the title of Marshal he should be called Commander-in-chief of all the forces. This has been refused by his Majesty with indignation, and I suppose a reconciliation with his Grace is absolutely become impracticable. . . . We are persuaded that no squadron of ships have joined from Ferroll those of Cadiz, because those from the first place which are about half of any in readiness on that side were fitted out to cruise upon our trade and one of them of 70

guns having sailed to intercept our convoy from Oporto fell in with five of our men of war, and has been taken after a desperate fight with three of them, and they are all just arrived at Spithead. The Spaniard (whose men I suppose were Biscayers) made a gallant defence. . . . The hartychoaks (artichokes) in this country are all destroyed. Are there any left in Holland and can any plants be sent over from thence hither?" TREVOR MSS.

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, May 2[–13].—"The D[uke] of Argyle is removed from all his employments to the great joy of all the W[hi]gs, but that joy is quite smothered with the great concern that affects all sorts of people, and most those that are best intentioned, by his Majesty's declaration that he will certainly go to Hanover, altho' all our intelligence from various parts agree that the Cadiz squadron is put into Ferrol; and the Spaniards are resolved to make an attempt upon some of his Majesty's dominions."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, May 6[–17].—"The resolution of going to Hanover continues in an odd way. However the yachts are ordered and things are to be in readiness this day sevennight. . . . The celebration of the marriage or the espousals (for by our laws it seems proxy will not do, and all must be done over again when they meet in person by a Church of England Divine) will be performed on Thursday in the evening."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, May 13[–24]. Cockpit.—"My brother has been so fatigued with business and chagrin on account of the journey and having encountered many disagreeable shocks and reproofs in opposing it that he has been a good deal out of order, but is very well this morning. All our news seem to confirm the intelligence of the Cadiz squadron being at Ferrol, and that the Spaniards meditate some expedition against us. We have it not only from France but also from Italy; and particularly that the Pretender's sons, under pretence of going to shoot quails near the seaside, are, at least one of them, to embark for Spain; our friend La Roche, as you will have observed, though ignorant of the design, takes notice of that motion, which in my opinion strengthens our other advices on that head.

But his Majesty despises all these advices, and is gone early this morning for Gravesend, but the wind is I think at present contrary; the best colour we can set upon this journey is the expected death of the King of Prussia, and indeed I believe by an intelligence which seems very good he can't hold out long, although Hop by Ginckel's accounts fancies otherwise, but we are better informed and know that even the French minister at Berlin has given him over. If we should make a right use of this death I think we should upon our return home stop the sound of all clamour, but we shall pass some compliments at first, have for a little while a sort of a domestic friendship, and in a few months old jealousies and rivalships will revive, when in my poor opinion the future security of Europe will depend upon that crisis, and our gaining or not gaining the new King of Prussia, but I have done and hope I am a bad prophet. . . . . .

TREVOR MSS. I did not intend that you should buy me any artichoke plants when I wrote to you, before I knew whether there were any preserved in Holland and what they would cost, because the season for raising them is for this year past, and I hope that I have some left in my garden, although my brother has lost all his."

*Postscript.*—"Our master has absolutely refused Saurin's petition, abusing his father and the whole race. However, if Mr. Obdham will write me a letter, we will make another attempt, when the King shall be at Hanover and in better humour than when he went from hence."

### HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1740, May 24. Florence.—"The news from . . . Rome, keep me in constant alarm, as I have had lately great reason to suspect the elopement of the Pretender's eldest son. It is certain they are in hopes of sending him somewhere very soon which, with many circumstances I have been informed of, convince me that they believe it, so that unless the family itself be imposed upon, one might be in expectation of seeing the execution of it. The old Pope, before he died, told the Pretender that both Spain and France meant nothing by their great promises to him, that they made a tool of him to answer their own ends, and yet I believe Cardinal Tencin still makes him believe the contrary. A medal has lately been struck for the eldest boy which by the greatest accident I discovered with *Hunc saltem everso juvenem* for the motto, the end of the First Georgic.

The dissensions run to the greatest height in the Conclave, so that Cardinal Albano wrote word last week that they were as far from an election as when they first assembled. All agree that Corsini's party is demolished.

I have this instant heard a great piece of news for this country which will destroy all the reports of the Island of Corsica falling into the hands of Spain in the person of Don Philip, which this Government so much dreaded. General Wachtendonck has very lately received orders in conjunction with M. de Traun, to prepare six battalions and some hundred Hussars to pass into Corsica under the command of a person of equal rank with M. de Maillebois, who is to remain there with a like number of French."

### HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1740, May 26[–June 6]. Woolterton.—"I find my artichokes are not all dead, and therefore you need not give yourself any more trouble on that score. . . . I send you enclosed an extract of a letter I have received from my most intelligent friend upon the proposal of your Leyden projector, relating to the art of pulling wool from the sheep, so that I imagine you must discharge his expectations of any encouragement from hence."

*Enclosed:*

### JOHN GURNEY to HORATIO WALPOLE.

1740, May 23[–June 3]. Norwich.—"As to the proposal made by the Dutchman . . . relating to a discovery of a manner of pulling the wool from the sheep skins in a way more beneficial to the manufacture than what we are already acquainted with, I believe there is nothing in it, but a project of the man to get some money . . . for the reward of his discovery. I confess

myself not much acquainted with the manner of working skin wools, that is, wool pulled from the skin of fat sheep after they are killed, . . . but we don't esteem that sort of wool so good when made into yarns as what is made from fleece wool, . . . nor do we use it in our sort of manufactures, unless the yarn maker deceives us, and sometimes they do, by mixing skin wool and fleece wool and working them together, but it is always a prejudice to the goods to be made of such materials. But in the Bay manufacture about Colchester and Bockington and in several fabrics of goods made in the West of England they use skin wool, but I don't remember to have heard them complain of any want of skill in the pulling it, though I know they prefer some sorts, but then it is because the nature of the wool is better, and not because they have any peculiar art in separating it from the skin."

TREVOR MSS.

*Extract.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, June 7[–18]. Woolterton.—"So much good and bad depends upon the sort of understanding that shall happen between our master and the present King of Prussia, with respect to private pretensions and public good; that I know what I wish, nay I can almost tell what may be done, but am entirely at a loss to guess what is like to be done; being apprehensive that the narrow views and jealousies of one particular country will get the better of the more solid and extensive interests relating to the public; although I think I can prove that even the peace and security of that particular country depends upon pursuing on this occasion what the public interest requires. Had the K[in]g some years since, as was most earnestly recommended to him, and even by his Hanover ministers, concurred in and supported the scheme by his credit and good offices for making the succession of Ostfrise a feminine fief, and that had been settled before the death of the late King of Prussia, the jarring disputes on account of that pretension might have been over, and had he had at the same time shown a good disposition towards procuring for Prussia some part of Bergue, without any additional strength in conjunction with the States, things might have been so settled before his late Prussian Majesty's death, or in such a forwardness as to have facilitated a stricter friendship and alliance with the new King than was indeed possible to complete with the last; but instead of that, France certainly made some treaty, and stipulated, not an actual guaranty I believe, but the strongest good offices with the Palatine family for procuring some part of, or some satisfaction for the succession of Bergh and Juliers to that of Brandenburgh, and although the Cardinal would not in the defensive alliance to be made, actually guarantee the reversion of Ostfrise, he showed himself in that negotiation much disposed towards favouring the Prussian pretensions, and I don't doubt but if his Eminence had thought he could have depended upon the constancy of the late King of Prussia, he would have gone much farther, and therefore 'tis not to be doubted but he will immediately go as far with his present Prussian Majesty as he did with his father, and if his character for steadiness and courage joined with the temptation of interest in points so essential (wherein I am afraid we shall appear cool) should incline him to hearken to the Cardinal's flattery and invitation, I am persuaded his Eminence, in order gain such a power from us, and such an additional strength to France with respect to the North and South, will not stick at satisfying one way or other that Prince, who as Elector of Brandenburgh will never yield to, or be governed by the



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Elector of Hanover, although he will have the greatest deference for the King of Great Britain, and if sought for by us in that quality would perhaps, on proper considerations, enter into the strictest alliance with his Britannic Majesty upon the foot of preserving the liberties of Europe.

What are these considerations you will ask; although they will only prove the imaginary effects of my brain I will hint them to you.

I don't doubt but the immediate relation and apparent friendship will soon let the King into the knowledge of what had passed with France relating to Bergh and Juliers, and I think the engagements of France are of such a nature and so moderate that his Majesty should make no difficulty of going as far as France had done, and in case of a war go much farther.

The next great point is that of the succession of Ostfrise, to which the King of Prussia has certainly a better title than the Elector of Hanover. Although I am persuaded that the pretension of a feminine fief is still better than either, France has certainly given as yet nothing but fair words on this article, and this point should be forthwith put into a course of negotiation, to see whether his Prussian Majesty may be brought to come into an accommodation, and agree to the succession in the female line, in a matter that will give great jealousy to all the neighbouring powers and states, should it fall into the hands of a considerable potentate. I am very apprehensive that this will not satisfy his Prussian Majesty, his own ministers (some of which France will certainly gain) and the intrigues of France, joined with the opinions that the professors in Holland have given to his father in support of his pretensions to this reversion, will not suffer a young active Prince to give them up by altering (as he will call it) the course of succession without any consideration at all. What is then to be done; why, it is to be considered that the maritime powers, who were formerly able by their own strength and money in purchasing foreign troops to check the power of France, are so greatly involved in debt, and so reduced (especially the States) that they will never be able to make the same efforts on their own bottom again; they must have some additional strength, and a supplemental power in proportion to their weakness and the increased strength of France. Nothing of that nature can offer but Russia and Prussia, and I think one alone will not be sufficient, nay, I am of opinion that we shall never be able to get the Czarina (for reasons that are obvious) without making sure of the King of Prussia, and we shall never secure the King of Prussia without making him find his particular interest, besides acting purely upon that of the public; and we must not be content to have him upon that foot only on which his father and grandfather were engaged in the two last great wars, which was only to furnish troops to be paid by the maritime powers, we are not able to do that now, but we must make him part of our defensive alliance by mutual guaranties, that is, that he shall on occasion of any war with France take a part with us, and furnish his proportion of troops in the beginning of, as well as during the war, and as he will never think himself so immediately affected with the danger of France, as the maritime powers must be, without some temptation or consideration, I don't see what can be sufficient for that purpose, but supporting his pretensions to Ostfrise, taking care to have it done in such a manner, that the people of Embden, and the Dutch garrison may be maintained, as well as the commerce there, upon the foot they were established, and continued for many years. I see several possible inconveniences that may arise from any plan of this nature, but nothing equal to the advantages we shall obtain from having the King of

Prussia on the foot I propose, or to the disadvantages of his being gained by France, and he is too considerable a power not to be engaged more or less on one side or other. Our real friends in Holland, although they dare not speak out, can't, when they consider their condition and ours, and the neighbourhood and power of France, be in their hearts against a plan." TREVOR MSS.

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, June 21[–July 2]. Woolterton.—"I have nothing but acknowledgements to send you from hence, except I would give you an account of the disposition of people here in their politics, which, without entering into particulars, is in our Metropolis as well as can be desired towards the Government, and the administration, and in the whole county better than I expected, in so much that had we resolved to have set up two persons at the next county election I am persuaded we should have carried it for both, but a compromise which has been settled is best of all, because of peace and quiet, and because our enemies here are broken into pieces by it; but all this is nothing to you, but it is natural to talk of the business of the place where we reside.

I am glad to hear that Lord Harrington has undertaken to venture to serve you; his lordship is certainly well with his Majesty, but he has things I know to ask for himself, which have hitherto been refused; but the native air of Hanover, the attention of the subjects to please, and the good humour in consequence of it, may afford favourable minutes for requests, and you may depend upon it that nothing in your behalf will meet with any difficulty here, but all possible forwardness and encouragement from my brother.

I am glad to hear that things look so well between Hanover and Berlin. But although I have a very great respect for the mediatress as to her disposition, I have no opinion of her conduct, she has never yet succeeded. Besides I apprehend that a reconciliation in this way will only relate to family concerns, which is a poor narrow view; we want, I mean Europe, England, and Hanover want, a political union and intimacy, and as the safety of England depends upon the balance of Europe, I think I can demonstrate that the security of Hanover, and the possessions belonging to it depend upon both; here I fix my point of view, and shall date the duration of our apparent friendship with Berlin upon the measures pursued for this end.

These measures will fix or unfix Sweden, Russia and Denmark, and check or let France loose against us in the present great juncture of affairs.

As to the notion prevailing with you of our being tired of the war, it is made current here I suppose with the same views, and by the same sort of politicians, and you may depend upon it there is at present no manner of foundation for it, which you may assert not in confidence only but with open assurance; and if what the King's servants say, and all our preparations, operations and expenses will not remove such a groundless impression, I don't see any remedy; we must go on to act our best, and they must go on to be incredulous, until time and events undeceive them. . . . . We shall take the King of Denmark's declaration to us in so sincere a manner as to go on and pay him the subsides, although we know (between you and me) for certain, that he has given the most explicit declaration to France, that as soon as our three years are expired he will make a subsidiary treaty with that Crown, so that we shall, with our eyes open, pay for keeping up the troops, which France will have the use of, for I reckon by that time that it is likely that France (for the

TREVOR MSS. Cardinal is now 90 years old) will enter the list of the present disturbances, unless prevented by a proper union between us and Berlin with other Protestant powers."

HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1740, July 5. Florence.—"My correspondent who is very frequently at Albano with the Pretender's family acquaints me by the last post, that on the 25th of June a gentleman believed Irish departed for France in a great hurry, but by being over cautious omitted his name. Captain Melwind, a Scotchman, passed by Florence lately, having left his ship at Ancona, to be brought to Leghorn under the Pope's colours. That person stayed some time at Rome where he constantly frequented the Pretender's people, and boasted that their schemes were now so well founded that they could not fail of success. Such discourses are constantly among the servants and adherents of that family, though, except this particular, everything there appeared quiet. The Prince of Craon has assured a person in confidence that whilst he was at Rome, the Pretender told him, that as the present war with Spain was a national quarrel, he would not seek to take advantage of it, and he had resisted strong solicitations of the court of Madrid to send his son thither. . . . There is no making any judgment when the Conclave may be at an end, though the Cardinals seem tired of their confinement now the hot weather is come on. It is generally believed if Cardinal Cenci had lived a very little longer that he would have been chosen. Last week there was every appearance of their making choice of Cardinal Firrau (?) ; many of the cardinals had complimented him upon the resolution and some had begun to unfurnish their apartments, but the next morning when they came to a scrutiny he wanted three votes.

*Postscript.*—Since I have wrote the above I have a letter from Rome which says that the Scotchman was to stop at * and then proceed to Scotland. This resolution was taken upon their having received letters from Spain. The Duke of Ormonde wrote them word that the Spanish fleet had express command to seek his Majesty's and to engage them."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, July 26. Florence.—"Everything appears quiet at Rome with regard to the Pretender's family ; in the Conclave it is quite the contrary, where the most scandalous disorders daily happen. The last letters from thence say that Cardinal Acquaviva is now quite detached from the Albani party and is gone over to that of Corsini, which will make the latter's interest very strong. The enmity between Albani and Corsini is so great that it is no wonder the struggle is as great, as the latter foresees his entire ruin if a creature of the former should be made Pope.

*Postscript.*—Mr. H. Walpole has been with me for near a month and proposes to stay the whole summer."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1740, July 21[-August 1]. Woolterton.—"Another thing which lays upon my spirits . . is the uneasiness my dear friend Bentinck is under on account of the squabble between his mother and

* Blank in original. This postscript and most of the letter are in cypher, and the symbol for the place referred to is not deciphered.

Lord Pembroke. The great regard for him in particular joined with a real respect for her and her relations and friends here, which, besides the Royal daughters, are many of them extremely good to my brother, made him use all possible management and tenderness for her Ladyship by all ways. But she and indeed her relations of the feminine gender would hear no reason, and she would be in such passions with those of our sex that they were forced to shrug up their shoulders and desire not to be employed, after one attempt, in the affair. The law she said was on her side, and she would abide by it, but now it proves otherwise, the intention of the grant is with her, and that defect should be made up by a new one notwithstanding the great injury it may be to another and no good to her besides gratifying her revenge against Lord Pembroke. Can a minister of State make her Ladyship's resentment to a particular person that may have used her uncivilly the rule of his advice and actions? . . . I will not conceal from you any longer that my brother Walpole has recommended me to succeed Lord Onslow as Teller of the Exchequer for life as all the other three Tellers are; my name has made, I suppose, the equivoke relating to my nephew."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1741, August 2[–13]. Houghton.—"Should the Princess of Ost-Frise bring forth a Prince it would be a most fortunate event, for I learn in confidence that the Prussian Minister at Hanover, who I look upon to be that king's favourite, has begun to move towards an alliance with us, the conclusion of which upon a right foot would I think at this juncture be the most advantageous measure in all respects that could fall out, and therefore I can't imagine that his Prussian Majesty has any thoughts of making a tour in France, since it is more than probable that he has already sounded that Court how far he may in consequence of Mr. Luiscius' negotiation with Fenelon depend upon their assistance in favour of his pretensions to Bergh and Juliers, and that has not received a satisfactory answer."

### ROBERT TREVOR to THEODORE, BARON DE NEUHOFF, so called King of Corsica.

1740, August 18. The Hague.—Stating that he had forwarded his last letters to their addresses, and that he had been ordered to inform him that they were not inclined to meddle with the affair in question, and that they adhered to the resolution which they had caused to be communicated to him. *In French.*

### HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1740, August [10–21]. Woolterton.—"As to those vacancies in the Guards. . . . Lord H[arringto]n being at Hanover will give the turn of the scale in favour of the person he likes, for the King often tells Sir R[obert] he does not understand the army, nor who is proper to be promoted there."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1740, August 23[–September 3]. Woolterton.—"I am sorry for the cruelty there, it must needs tarnish the Czarina's reputation, but their friendship in politics is absolutely necessary to us, especially since I do not find that we are like to do much with the Court of Prussia. The old Ministry still subsists there, and they will consequently pursue their

TREVOR MSS. old measures, which are confined to little low selfish cunning, playing fast and loose with all courts and concluding nothing great or solid, and their present king although he has not the bad qualities of his father has no very good ones, at least no great ones from what I can learn at this distance; I heard that before his father's death he wrote a copy of verses to Lord B[altimo]re in praise of Liberty; that might be a natural and innocent amusement when he had nothing else of greater moment that he dared to say or do, but whether he has corresponded since his accession to the throne with that Lord I can't tell; a poet will make but a pitiful prince. I never apprehended that Sir L[uke] S[chau]b would have any foreign politics to transact especially from France, but I was and am still jealous, if he continues at Hanover, of his domestic intrigues amongst the women to hurt the Ministry here at home, in which I believe he will not be discouraged by Lord H[arringto]n, (but that between ourselves)."

HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1740, September 13. Florence.—"Cardinal Lambertini being chose Pope is like to be attended with great changes in that State, and particularly in regard to the economy of it. He has already reduced a great number of expenses, particularly in his own family, 80,000 *crowns per annum* and allows only one *zecchin* a day for his table. It was thought by the first steps that Cardinal Corsini would have a great share in the management of affairs but now the opinion is different, and that Cardinal Acquaviva has great weight. There is one Melari, a Bolognese gentleman, who was a great favourite with the Pope when Archbishop of that place, who is soon to go to Rome and naturally will, as he has hitherto done, engross his whole favour. I have learnt nothing new in regard to the Pretender's family, though every day may bring some alteration."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1740, September 16[-27]. Cockpit.—The Prussian monarch's "Manifest against the Bishop of Liege. . . is so full of points and sentiments that one would think Voltaire and Aberrot and such wits were his chief ministers. But one thing, and a good one too, if he will unite to us, 'tis plain he has; that he will strike, which his father would never do, but to tell you the truth and to you alone, I don't see we have taken one proper step to gain him, and all that has hitherto passed and has been wrote from H[anove]r on that head shows more the cunning and art of a minister to avoid reproach than any lights or informations to found an opinion upon here, while every post demands our opinion and advice. In short if Prussia cannot or will not be had, I think England first and in consequence Europe will be lost, and if we could have Prussia, I think we could make France tremble once more."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, September 23[-October 4]. Cockpit.—"I think all is at stake; the whole power of France employed jointly with that of Spain against England without a special Providence will prevail; nothing but a diversion upon the Continent can save us, and that diversion cannot be had without the Emperor and the States, and the Emperor and the States cannot stir without a supplemental aid of men and money which cannot be had without Prussia and Russia, and we shall never have the last without the first, and I am afraid we have taken not one step to have Prussia that is likely to succeed by all that I have seen."

## The Same to the Same.



1740, September 30[–October 11]. Cockpit.—As Lord Harrington must be sensible that the Dutch "will be brought to do nothing without a greater security against France than they can find from their own strength, and that the K[in]g will do nothing with the King of Prussia for reasons I don't understand, and which I am sorry to say, I hear Lord H[arringto]n approves extremely in order to make his C[our]t; I say this being the case, it will naturally lead his Lordship to give into the scheme of a neutrality, though it will be difficult to bring it about, or even to set it on foot, but should it be possible with honour to get it upon the *tapis*, on some such condition as you mention if the French should refuse them, the Dutch as well as all the world must be convinced of the dangerous views of France. But I desire you will never name me in any notion of politics whatsoever to his Lordship because I have certain indication of his not being my friend, I could say more, but I can't forbear adding that notwithstanding his own self-conceit and vanity, he has more obligations to me than perhaps any man ever had to another, on account of his title, of his being in the great station he is, and particularly for his not being removed out of it for two years together, which was entirely owing to me: but this between ourselves. I shall act with caution as to my opinion in public affairs, and with so much prudence as to conceal the reason for it.

The wind is fair for the fleet to sail for the West Indies consisting of 28 large men-of-war; but I find there seems to be some doubt whether the Toulon squadron is gone thither. It was seen off Malaga the 2–13 instant, and we have no news since of its further progress. Should that fleet have had orders not to go, and all ours be sent to America, we shall be in a sad condition at home, for although we have yet a certain number [of] ships, we have no way to get sailors, the Parliament will not come into any forcible measures for listing sailors; and the old way of pressing is resisted by the mariners to such a stubborn and resolute degree that the press gangs have got no more than 200 men out of 600 that are come home in the East India ships. This puts me in mind to speak more seriously about being furnished with seamen from Holland, this is the time of year for their sailors to come home, and must be had at this season if at all, I therefore hinted to you whether the States could let us have any ships ready equipped and manned; and I would have you now enquire farther into this matter, as to the possibility of getting sailors only from Holland, or if that is not possible whether they can let us have, for example, ten or twenty large men of war, complete in all respects; and at what price, by computing the whole according to the rate or tonnage, &c. and in what time; for as they are obliged to furnish us with twenty men of war according to the treaty of 1678–9, may not that be done, and we pay for them, as we did for the 6,000 men sent into England by virtue of the Barrier treaty? But these are crude and indigested thoughts and it is not worth the while to reduce them into a plan, because as well with respect to what may be done or should be attempted in Holland, as also in other courts my advice, if known to be mine, will never be followed, though ever so just, and if not just, or not relished although just, they will be made use of to my disadvantage; however I fling things out in confidence to you. His Prussian Majesty is certainly of an odd composition, he seems resolved to have it thought that he does every thing himself, and therefore will not be advised by those that

TREVOR MSS. appear to be his ministers, but he will have a *bel esprit* or two by him under the notion of passing with them his idle hours, he will draw up everything himself and take their correction in private and even advice in the weightiest affairs, which he will make his own, and order his ministers to execute it without any reasoning or variation. The way therefore to get him would be to have a person about him, that by his turn and humour may get well with these *petits maitres en sciences*, and by a powerful argument prevail with them to lead the King of Prussia to the point and views we desire, but this can't be done without letting him see some advantage relating to the affair of Berg and Juliers by our assistance, which we are resolved not to do, for (by-the-bye and in great confidence) he has been lately inquisitive about a *certain will*, which will scarce be forgiven. Had we once at Berlin a *petit maitre* too of condition and parts, and of a certain taste, to which I imagine his Prussian Majesty is addicted, we might gain some footing there, by the means of those favourites which I believe, especially one of them, has the same taste, and in the mean time, although the Czarina and Count Biron seem well intentioned for finishing (?) a treaty with us, yet I am persuaded that Count Osterman will never suffer it to be concluded without our having hopes of getting the King of Prussia, for which he has plainly offered his good offices, but Mr. Finch receives no answer on that head; but could he, I say, receive proper instructions on that point, and orders to suggest the gaining of the Elector of Saxony by the means of Russia, and to make, upon some thing to be allotted to him for his pretensions to Berg and Juliers, that Prince a party to the treaty, I own I could see some glimmering light for our forming an alliance, to which the Emperor, and the Protestant Princes of the Empire and at last even the States may accede. . . . . Between you and me I am surprised at "your friends in Holland" desiring to send any money hither, for if there is no diversion by a land war upon the Continent, and we have no security against an invasion from France besides our own strength, and the whole strength of France is to be employed against us, as is likely . . . . for our present allies can't help us, and we are resolved to seek or get no new ones, I say, I am afraid that by next spring or summer, the seat of the war will be in this island. . . . The best thing you can do is to burn this as soon as read."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1740, October 3[-14].—"The condition of France will enable you to frame a judgment of our being able alone to measure our arms by sea only against that power without saying anything of the Spanish maritime power.

The revenues of France are or at least were so when I was Ambassadeur there near ten millions sterling *per annum* without reckoning the extraordinary *dime*. She maintained near 400,000 men by land in armies out of her kingdom. In King William's war, when the forces of the maritime powers acted jointly, they were scarce superior by sea to those of France, who after the battle of La Hogue, where we had destroyed 17 large men-of-war, appeared the next year with a squadron of 90 men-of-war: In Queen Anne's war the French fleets were equal to those of the maritime powers; and the latter never gained in any battle any considerable advantage over the first; the ill-success of France by land, and their want of money to defend their own country, made them lay aside the use of their maritime force; and the loss of their ships at Toulon brought their maritime strength very low, but the activity of Mons$^{r}$. Maurepas, who piques himself in making it equal, if not superior,

both to ours and the Dutch, having gained of late years upon the Cardinal to suffer a larger share of the revenues to be applied to that service, has brought their naval power to be respected, and it will daily increase by an extension of their commerce, and particularly that to the East Indies, where they now employ almost 40 ships, and of those, ten from 60 to 70 guns, instead of three only in my time.

France has, I count, in regular troops about 140 or 150 $^{m}$ men, and can raise 60 $^{m}$ militia immediately to be kept in a manner for nothing. If France, therefore, should employ the rest of their revenues, besides what is applicable to their Civil List and to their land forces at present on foot, against England, I will at first say by sea and land, I desire to know why they will not be superior to us, the naval stores they will constantly have from Holland or Sweden; their men on board their merchant ships are all registered and must be had if called, for, while we find the greatest difficulty in getting men, the Parliament will not enable the Government's hands to have them, and the seamen that come home in merchant vessels are taught and encouraged to resist, with resolution and arms; the Admiralty could not get above 200 men out of 600 that lately arrived in our East India ships.

France will continue to say they mean no disturbance by land, at the same time they will, as they actually do, bring forces down and quarter them on the coast opposite to us; they will give us constant alarms with various bodies, and if they meditate a descent either in Ireland, Scotland, or on the coast of Wales, or in some of the more Western parts, they will take care to have 5,000 men quartered on the frontiers of Flanders, and as many in those towards the Rhine to keep those in *echec* that may be willing but will not be in a condition to help us, until perhaps it is too late, and this France after the Cardinal's death may do, I am afraid, and declare they mean nothing against our Government or against our treaties, as they now have the assurance to do with respect to the works which they are raising at Dunkirk; in the meantime, if there be no neutrality established for Europe, will it be possible for us to fit out and man sufficient fleets to defend at the same time, our several and extensive coasts at home, Port Mahon (not to say anything of Gibraltar, which is certainly impregnable by land though not so strong by sea) and to be superior and make great conquests in America? I must own to you that if the revenues of France exceed ours so much, and if their industry and application will be as great to increase their maritime force, as their facility to do it is to me evident, I say I must freely own that without a special partiality of Providence on our side I do not see how we can cope with that nation, even by a maritime war only, for besides their resources being greater, their situation with respect to their maritime ports is much more convenient for them to distress us by sea, both in Europe and America, than we can hope to annoy them, not to say anything of the miserable weak condition of our Islands in the West Indies; and therefore I do not see what seems clear to you, any likelihood of crushing their naval power, which I think will increase by a war that shall be purely naval, and in proportion to their strength at sea, they will be as able, if not abler, to disconcert our commerce and credit as we can theirs; and therefore I do not see any probability of our *carving some good slice out of America that may secure a door and inlet for our commodities and manufacture into the New World*, on account of our scarce having strength enough to maintain our own dominions and commerce there from and to our Colonies. There is one thing which if we can be able to do, would disable both France and Spain to maintain long their maritime force, which is, if we could hinder them from being furnished with salt provisions from

TREVOR MSS. Ireland, and with fresh provisions from our northern Colonies; for their fleets are now victualled by this means. Some endeavours are using to stop that commerce from Ireland, but it will be difficult to compass.

I have heard several cry out, it is time to check the commerce with France before it gets root, and to wonder how it comes about, that their trade is grown so extensive.

I ask these people why the sparks fly upwards or two and two make four, natural causes will produce their natural effects, have patience to hear this bold assertion and comparison proved with respect to France.

France then is so situate for trade with respect to the Ocean, Mediterranean, &c. their subjects in all their various and extensive coasts so industrious and as naturally fall into trade as a fish loves water, their produce and growth as well as manufactures of various sorts are so copious, that nothing but the arbitrary Government of France interposing can hinder France from being as great a commercial nation as any other whatsoever, and there is no other mystery in their becoming so, but only that the Comptroller General of the finances should let the merchants alone, and never think of making any alteration in the denomination of their money, but keep it constantly to one value, and although their denomination should be of a greater value than the intrinsic value of their coin to a certain degree, that is although a *Louis* should pass in France for more *livres* than it is really worth abroad, far from hurting (if the difference be not very great, and care is taken to keep it always to the same price) it will promote their trade, for it invites foreigners to go and buy their growth, without being any prejudice to France, for this plain reason because the growth of France for all necessaries of life is so great that they can never have such a demand upon foreign countries as foreign countries have upon them (excepting some times in corn), and as the Cardinal has never suffered any variation in the money since he has been first minister, and peace has continued, this has increased and must naturally increase the trade of France; and will continue to do so; this indeed was not the case formerly, and why? for this plain reason, because Louis the 14th had set his heart upon extending his dominions by land; his want of money made him constantly alter the value of the denomination, according as he was to receive or pay it, this constant variation of the money confounded all trade, nobody knew what his money was worth for a day together, nor what he was to buy or sell goods for, and therefore while *Louvois*, flatter[ed] his master with the prospect of universal monarchy, Colbert signed and groaned to see what an enemy ambition was to commerce; and therefore . . . the flux and reflux of the trade of France has been and will always be according to the more or less pressure of the Government. If the Government will let their merchants alone, they will and must have in times of peace a most extensive trade; and if France has a mind to be the formidable power by sea, without pushing conquests by land, I do not see how we can hinder it; without doubt a war will interrupt their trade as well as ours, but must we be therefore in a perpetual war with France; or must we resolve to break every five or ten years with that nation, or in short come to that plain point of *Delenda est Carthago* because we are incompatible friends. I pray tell me which nation is like to be the *Carthago Delenda;* I leave you to determine. And therefore to tell you the truth, I have no comfort in the present rupture with France, and I see but one of two things to be done; the first is a diversion by land with powerful armies and allies. I think I see how that may be done, but I don't see any one step taken towards setting it on foot, I don't mean by that, that I flatter myself with doing any thing where

you are; I am of your opinion with regard to the present unavoidable inaction of the States, if anybody could move them nobody has talents equal to yours to be able to do it; but their back should be first secured, by such allies as I have formerly hinted; the Emperor's accession might follow, and the States after him, but these are empty notions of my own; piques and punctilios in those that should undertake it, flattery and courtship in those that should but dare not advise it, make all such imaginations vain, and from thence I am naturally led to the second thing which is your notion of a neutrality, not as the best, but as the only resource. But unless it be for all Europe, as well in the Mediterranean and Straits as on this side, it would signify little; and I am afraid France will not consent to it on the extensive conditions that are necessary, and if she does for some time, it would not be long observed. However gaining some time is gaining something in this juncture; and if, as you hinted, something is to be explained about America, France will certainly insist upon our not keeping anything that we may conquer there, if it is to [be] expected that they should not take new possessions either by grant or conquest: this leads me to the point, which is that those plausible expressions, *no search, take and hold*, which are the points in view for this ruinous war, are pompous chimerical words, for should we distress the Spaniards ever so much, what security can we have for the future for *no search* besides verbal articles, and therefore we must *take and hold*, but how shall we be able to *take*, if France joins with Spain? as I always thought she would, and how should we by chance *take*, [should we] be able to *hold* against France and all the world? and therefore this is the only war which I never saw a possibility of ending, with honour and satisfaction, by gaining the ends proposed by the war, though attended with some success; while the hazard of innumerable mischiefs not only to ourselves but even to all Europe, is and appeared from the beginning obvious to those that has the least notion of our own or of the situation of the rest of Europe; but we are in, and we must go on as well as we can, and with spirit and vigour, and I hope I have reasoned wrong; and that things may go better than I can from my poor reflexions promise myself."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1740, October 7[–18]. Cockpit.—"The thought of hiring ships from Holland arose purely on account of our want of sailors here or rather of our not being able to get them, and that it would be very difficult to get any from your side but as they are or might be actually engaged on board the Dutch ships. If you could find any way for us by a proper encouragement to entice those sailors which generally arrive about this season of the year from various parts in the Dutch commerce, to come into our service on board our ships, we shall have no occasion for hiring any vessels, we can build fast enough. But the French will certainly be more expeditious in manning theirs; and I think the more I reflect upon it grow more powerful by sea, without our being able to give them a diversion by land; for it was their inabilities to supply otherwise the expense of the last [war], that made them lay aside their naval force; and therefore a neutrality by land, could it be had, would be a sad *pis aller*, and, unless we should be sure of being masters by sea, end perhaps in a more certain destruction to us; for should the French on a sudden shock given us by sea attempt to invade us, and march at the same time a body of troops towards Flanders, I can't see how our friends in Holland, although ever so desirous, will be able to prevent a

Trevor MSS. war in the bowels of this nation, but I have said too much on this melancholy subject; which does not arise from imaginary fears but from obvious possibilities according to the usual course of things, and the nature of circumstances considered on all sides.

In the mean time I do heartily pity your disagreeable situation, but as to the epoque of your misfortunes being dated from the ill undertaken and worse supported measure of the Princess Royal's match, give me leave to say, that if I had known so much, as I have since, relating to the situation of affairs in Holland, and especially could have foreseen the conduct of the Prince of O[ran]ge, I should have wished it had never been made, but believe me had his Highness followed any other measures but what he has done from that time, and made King William's behaviour his pattern and example, the time would have come, and indeed is now coming, when he must have been, what he most earnestly appeared and desired too hastily to be, and what he will now never be, for believe me, his being now reduced to have not so much as one real friend, but the Princess Royal herself, of consideration in any of the Provinces, not even in that of his birth and inheritance, is by no means owing to his being so ill supported from hence."

### The Same to the Same.

1740, October 14[–25]. Cockpit.—"The S[icilian] A[bbo]t that remains of the two in France has desired me to send him a name by which he may . . . address a letter to some person in Holland in case of a rupture of peace, and he continuing at Paris may write by that means to me. He has sent me [a] name by which I may write or remit to him his usual allowance. I desire you will think some confident at Rotterdam &c. for that purpose."

### Robert Trevor to Guy Dickens.

1740, October 29. The Hague.—"The French Ambassador and all the Catholic priests have fallen so foul upon Voltaire for certain passages and sallies in the *Anti-Machiavel* which make free not only with some of the heroes of Holy Writ, but (which I take it to be with them the greater crime) with the Courts of Versailles and Rome, that the poor man, to try to make his peace with such formidable and long-handed enemies has published a second edition of that treatise with suitable castrations and alterations. I believe indeed he may have been the better entitled to take this liberty with this performance as I suspect the boldest and most exceptional passages in it, especially the few which those people tax with irreligion, to have been foisted in by himself. I have indeed so far a quarrel with Voltaire myself, as he has not obliged the public with this valuable manuscript in the very same dress and condition that he received it in."

### Horatio Walpole to Robert Trevor.

1740, October 21[–November 1]. Cockpit.—(The material part is printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, i. p. 435, where it is misdated 1741, with the following mistakes:—p. 435, line 19, for "dulness" read "darkness"; line 25, insert "of" after "thinking"; line 26, for "does" read "dares"; p. 436, line 2, for "to incur displeasure" read "that can displease"; lines 8 and 12, insert "done" and "hiring" before "last" and "foreign"; lines 17, 19, 20, and 22, for "that," "him," "Empire," and "this" read "their," "here,"

"Emperor," and "that"; p. 437, lines 13 and 17, for "here" and "the" read "there" and "that." TREVOR MSS.

HORACE MANN to the SAME.

Same date. Florence.—"The Court of France has lately consented that the Pretender should send his eldest son thither in consequence of which a courier was sent back to Paris, on whose return to Rome he is to depart. Murray and Fitzmorris are to accompany him to Avignon. There to be left by the former to the D. of Ormond, who is to conduct him to Paris. He adds that Fitzmorris, with whom he is very intimate, and who has had the charge of making what few preparations were necessary, told him that the courier was expected back by the middle of November; and that it was settled as yet the young man should go by sea to Marseilles; that, however, four post-chaises were prepared, but would not, he believed, be made use of." *Cipher.*

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1740, November 13[-24]. Cockpit.—"A report . . . is come from our Consul at Ostend . . . dated the 21st N.S. as if the King of Prussia was dead, being unfortunately killed by a fowling-piece that accidentally went off in his coach, which would at this time be extremely unlucky by reason of the good disposition he has lately shown of acting in concert with us . . . and this disposition has been so luckily improved here as to have made an impression and to obtain in a great measure a suitable return."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, November 18[-29]. Cockpit.—"It seems the King of Prussia has given such orders for generals, troops and artillery to be in a readiness to march as alarms some, and causes various speculations in others. I was in hopes when I wrote last, that we should be disposed to enter with cordiality and confidence with that prince in consequence of the handsome overture he made, but I have since perceived something that makes me quite despair of our taking so useful and seasonable measure. Some few of us meet and seem entirely to degree (?), but a different language or at least deference governs some in the Closet afterwards, but that's between you and me. I hope you burn all my letters of this free nature for fear of accidents. . . .

"The House will be full. It has been doubted whether Mr. P[ultene]y would be well enough to come this day, he having been out of order in an ugly way the middle of last week, but as he has been since abroad, I don't doubt of his being in the House. Sh[ip]pen is not well enough to come to it. Sir J. B[arn]ard has absolutely refused to be chosen for the next Parliament, but I suppose he will undoubtedly attend this session."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, November 25[-December 6]. Cockpit.—"I waited upon the King myself with Mr. Obdham's letter, and introduced it in the best manner I could. His Majesty began to read it, but as soon as he came to the word *Saurin* he would go no farther, and put himself in such a heat and used such a disagreeable expression that I could not possibly calm him, nor persuade him to read the letter through, which is indeed full of so much submission and respect, conceived in such handsome

TREVOR MSS. terms towards the King, as must have made some impression, had not there been any question about *money*, and I was obliged soon to retire by his Majesty making the first bow to me."

The DUKE OF MONTAGU, Master-General of the Ordnance, to the SAME.

1740, December 2[-13]. London.—"We do not make use of any machine to prove it, but the method is to lay as many parcels of powder upon a long table as there are barrels to be proved, about the quantity of a large thimble-full out of each barrel, and then these parcels are fired one after another with a hot iron, and that powder of which the flash is the brightest without having little lights in it like small sparks of fire, that the smoke is the whitest and rises quickest in the most compact cloud, and of which the puff the powder makes when it is fired yields the smartest sound is esteemed the best powder, so that our powder is really proved only by the eye and ear. . . I am ordered to provide 10,000 barrels of powder in Holland, and tho' our powder mills here are working as hard as they can it is absolutely requisite to furnish our magazines that we should have that quantity from Holland."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1740, December 12[-23]. Cockpit.—"The question debated the first day in the Committee was upon the augumentation of 5,705 men to be raised by new corps of marching regiments being part of 10,000 demanded, the remainder being afterwards proposed by way of Marines. Some opponents argued against the necessity of any augmentation, but the greatest part of the debate turned upon the manner of raising, which they insisted upon was by increasing the regiments already raised with private men, instead of new corps. The Secretary at War in opening the whole state of the Army, the present disposition of it, the necessity of the augmentation, and the utility of doing it by new corps instead of additional private men, did it in so clear and so intelligible and indeed unanswerable a manner and was so well supported by General Wade as to the method of raising, that indeed I never heard so languid and insignificant a debate from the opponents since I have served in Parliament. Neither Mr. P[ultene]y nor Sir R. W[alpol]e spoke the first day, because they waited to answer each other. Upon the Division the question was carried by 252 against 197, which was a majority of 55. Upon the Report yesterday Mr. P[ultene]y began the debate, and he was so well answered by the Secretary at War, that my brother and several others used to speak sat silent. There was a good deal of skirmishing among the ordinary troops on both sides, [so] that we sat yesterday till 8 o'clock, and upon a Division we carried the Question by 232 against 166."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740, December 19[-30]. Cockpit.—"As my private opinion I see nothing can be done besides endeavouring by degrees to reconcile the two Courts of Vienna and Prussia; it must cost the first something considerable, but any other more vigorous measure, although ever so just, will I'm afraid be attended with more fatal consequences, and give France still greater advantages over the rest of Europe than she had before. As I suppose Lord Harrington will send you for your private information a copy of the King of Prussia's letter to his Majesty, you

will see the plan the young hero proposes, I could wish to have Saxony substituted in the room of Denmark. Should we oppose by force his Prussian Majesty's views, we know from undoubted intelligence that he keeps a door open to make France his friend. Our m[aste]r is divided between resentment and fears; he can't bear to think of augmenting the territories of his Electoral neighbour on one side, and he justly apprehends that his own dominions should fall first a sacrifice should he stir on the other. His servants I think are all here of one opinion, blame and abhor the extravagant step, but see no remedy but palliating and accommodating remedies; how to apply them and make them take place is another great difficulty. There seems some difference in the Prussian pretensions from those of other princes, who claim in consequence of the Emperor's death to have the whole or part of the succession which is an immediate and direct infraction of the Pragmatic Sanction, because the Prussian demands are founded upon rights to fiefs in Silesia upon the House of Austria's encroachment from time to time in prejudice to the pretended rights of that of Brandenburgh, and consequently these claims were against the Emperor himself. Whether just or no, or whether they had not all been satisfied by former agreements, especially one made in 1686 by Leopold, I do not pretend to decide; but a claim upon fiefs detained by the power of the House of Austria, is different with respect to the Pragmatic Sanction, from one made upon any part of the succession that did justly belong to the last Emperor, because nothing can well be supposed to be indivisible but the possessions which belonged to him at the time of his death in sovereignty; I don't say this reasoning runs upon all fours, but it may be sufficient to show that the Court of Vienna by parting with something on this foot does not actually break herself into the Pragmatic Sanction."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740[-1], December 29[-January 9].—"I hope our old friends the States General, will not think of bringing General Keith any nearer to us than he is at present, for he is a most determined J[aco]bite, and although he affected while he was here to go often to Court, and to visit the ministers, yet he spent most of his time, as well by night as by day, with the J[aco]bites, and took a frivolous pretext to go to Oxford, in order to converse with the heads of that party there."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740[-1], January 6[-17]. Cockpit.—"However desirous I have always been and still am, to engage his Prussian Majesty in a common alliance with Vienna, Russia, the States, and us, and if possible, Saxony, yet I cannot but applaud extremely the resolution and spirit of the Queen of Hungary, as well as the courage of the Republic, which should by no means be damped, and I hope it will not flag at Amsterdam, because as it has arisen from thence, which is not usual with respect to land operations, the other Provinces that are limitrophe to the Prussian dominions will, I dare say, heartily concur in this vigorous effort of Holland. I own I am no less pleased with Mr. Robinson's presence of mind, not only in supporting the resolution of that Court, but more particularly in pointing out an expedient to save his Prussian Majesty's honour by means of the affairs of Bergue and Juliers. We generally approve of what falls in with our own thoughts, and I had in our particular meeting, upon the first news of this extravagent and extraordinary step on the part of Prussia, suggested the making up matters

Trevor MSS. by concurring with that Court's former inclinations relating to Bergue and Juliers, but it was not relished by one, who for some time has either disliked or made an ill use of my thoughts, and sometimes has done both, so that matter was then dropped, and I am assured it will not be extremely relished by [the King] for the least appearance of spirit and courage in others immediately hurry us into greater courage and resolution to check, and even crush that growing power in our neighbourhood, although the King of P[russia] in all events may be able to destroy us entirely there in one morning. What resolution that Prince may think of taking with other Courts, (for he applies to all the Courts of Europe with offers and professions at the same time), upon hearing from Holland and Vienna as well as hence a second time in consequence of Mr. Bassecour's proposal, I can't tell, but the generality of his applications may render him perhaps equally suspected to all, and consequently France will not be so ready to enter into his views; although I dread an alliance between that Court, Bavaria, and Prussia, joined by Sweden and Denmark, as what would cut into chips the Imperial succession, and should Prussia betray the offer hinted to him relating to Bergh and Juliers to France, as he makes no scruple to let others know what France desires of him; such an intimation may contribute more than anything towards an union between the three powers before mentioned, but I am apt to believe, that this blustering Prince is somewhat sick of his heroism, and I have concluded so, ever since I read in the papers his declaration upon his marching into Silesia, for 'tis very remarkable that he does not mention so much as once, his having any *right or pretension* to any part of Silesia."

The Same to the Same.

1740[-1], January 9[-20]. Cockpit.—"You will, I suppose, receive by this post ample instructions for your concurring with the States in what had been proposed to you by Mr. Bassecour, and for authorising our ministers at Berlin to join in a proper expostulatory representation to his Prussian Majesty to divert or recall him from his unjustifiable enterprise with proper insinuations of friendship or resentment according to his behaviour in consequence of this step.

In canvassing this affair, it was questioned whether you should, upon a supposition that such serious representations should make an impression, and bring his Prussian Majesty to reason, suggest to the Dutch ministers to instruct our ministers, at Berlin, to let fall to that Prince a disposition in the maritime powers in concert with the Court of Vienna, to procure him satisfaction in his pretensions relating to Bergh and Juliers, as a means to save his honour in laying aside his present desperate undertaking; some were of opinion, that as it is reasonable to suppose that this vigorous resolution on the part of Amsterdam, must in some measure, besides the nature of the case, proceed from their being persuaded that they could not give any offence to France in such a step, that town and others of the States may start at any proposition that must, if known, be very disagreeable to France, considering her obligations and interest in behalf of the Palatine family in this nice affair, and consequently such a proposal may be a means to cool and damp their present vigorous disposition, which ought by all means to be encouraged, and brought if possible to a joint concert of measures between the Maritime Powers in this extraordinary juncture of affairs; others observed that it could not be expected that the Prussian hero could be persuaded to lay aside his thoughts and attempts upon Silesia without some hopes of getting something else, after all the bluster

and expense he has made, and that, as you seem to intimate in your dispatch, that you had communicated to some of the Dutch ministers the steps taken by Mr. Robinson (who had flung out the affair of Bergh and Juliers to Gotter and Borck) and that they had approved his conduct, those ministers must be in some measure prepared for something of that nature; and I suppose you will be instructed to talk and sound the Dutch ministers on this head; of which I thought fit to give you this hint in confidence, that you may be prepared to manage this point according to your usual discretion for the benefit of the whole. It can hardly be expected that his Prussian Majesty will be brought immediately to desist from his military exploits, and agree to a negotiation without knowing upon what point he is to negotiate, in order to find his advantage, and if the Court of Vienna persists in not parting with any part of Silesia, what object can be hung out to him besides Bergh and Juliers? and such an object may certainly give umbrage to France, although it is well known that that crown had agreed to obtain the greatest part of Bergh for the late King of Prussia, but if this notion should take place it must be managed with secrecy.

If this affair should be brought to a negotiation, and in consequence of that a treaty for an alliance should be set on foot, it is certainly very desirable to make the Elector of Saxony a contracting party to it. And indeed an union of Russia, Saxony, Prussia, Holland, and Great Britain with the Queen of Hungary would be a chain of such strength and extension as might still secure the liberty and balance of Europe, but the behaviour of Saxony seems extremely doubtful and equivoque. There is indeed a vast deference from that Court to his Majesty, a constant application for union, councils, and concert of measures, and a fixed resolution here to have a suitable regard for Saxony, chiefly founded I am afraid on an equal aversion on both sides to Prussia. In the meantime there seems also to be a sort of awkwardness or coolness between the Courts of Vienna and Dresden; this latter does not declare against the Pragmatic Sanction, but seems willing, and prepared to get a slice of the *gateau*, if others break in upon it; and in my poor opinion affects to lay hold of all handles to blame that of Vienna; they object against the co-regence of the Duke of Lorraine as an infringement upon the Pragmatic Sanction, which seems to me a most absurd refinement; they will not allow of his having in consequence of that dignity a vote for the Electorate of Bohemia at the election of the Emperor, they are very loud against the proceedings of the Elector of Mayence in having summoned that Prince for that purpose to the Diet, all which steps must have given uneasiness to the Queen of Hungary, who on the other side has not shown, I am afraid, that regard to the Court of Saxony immediately after the Emperor's death as might have been proper and prudent for her to do, for although the steps taken by her Hungarian Majesty in favour of her husband may be justifiable, yet methinks she might have had some greater management and regard in taking them for the Elector of Saxony. We shall here endeavour to keep by proper and friendly exhortations those two Courts, if possible, well with one another. But I am afraid we shall be very loth to take any step to bring Saxony and Prussia to a better understanding, which seems however absolutely necessary for that union, which I have mentioned, and which the exigency of affairs seems to require in preference to all private piques of neighbourhood, and family disputes, but the King's servants that are consulted on these occasions are all unanimous as to our present measures. . . . The opponents threaten a personal motion in the House of L[or]ds upon Sir R. W[alpole], and it was confidently said that the D[uke] of A[rgy]le would make it on last Wednesday for

TREVOR MSS. a removal of him from councils and presence for ever, but he has found so little encouragement that he has deferred it, at least for the present, but now an examination of the reasons why his Majesty did not grant succours to the Emperor in consequence of the last treaty of Vienna upon the war with France is much talked of, and I believe Lord C[artere]t will naturally rather promote such an inquiry than anything more personal."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740[-1], January 13[-24].—"All the King's servants are of opinion that we must support and promise the Queen of Hungary our contingent of 12,000 men and name the Hessians and the Danes for that service, which Count Ostein will in delivering her Hungarian Majesty's letter to the King this day demand; it is likewise generally agreed that we should encourage that spirit and vigour which has lately appeared in the States, and besides what you will have received from the office in answer to Bassecour's proposal of representations by a joint concert, you will have the same assurances by this post, and by the next, or a messenger, his Majesty's own explicit sentiments; which can't go sooner by reason of the shortness of the time, and Lord Harrington being confined at home with a fit of the gout. Methink I saw in the heads of the letter you sent as suggested by the Committee in answer to that from the Queen of Hungary, that the first warmth and spirit against his Prussian Majesty's Matchiavell enterprises, was somewhat abated; perhaps it proceeded from their being as yet uncertain about his Majesty's sentiments, or upon your prudent enquiry of them about the consequences of coming to a rupture with the House of Brandenburgh, in order to sound and discover their real and firm intentions. Those consequences are certainly great and dangerous; but what can be done? It is impossible to be indifferent at such a lawless, faithless, and diabolical behaviour, and as to what you hint of some of the States being disposed to take France into the concert, because his M[ost] C[hristian] M[ajesty] has told Wasner in general terms that he will fulfil his engagements, nothing can be more fallacious, none of the French ministers in all their professions have yet once articulated the Pragmatic Sanction to those of Vienna, and we know for certain that their language in other places is, and even at Berlin, that they understand the accomplishment of their engagements in no other sense, than as far as the Queen of Hungary has a right to her possessions and not in prejudice to the right of others, which is a door to evade the whole obligation. Whether this will be hinted to you from anybody else, I can't tell, but 'tis from an undoubted intelligence, which I must desire you will manage; the nature of it makes us loth to let you know it. We are all extremely displeased with the Elector of Saxony, for reasons that are obvious, for notwithstanding his hatred to Prussia, he is certainly in his heart inclined to share of the spoils. However he has not yet come to such a resolution, and we have the satisfaction to learn that the Court of Russia has declared in the strongest terms in favour of the totality of the Pragmatic Sanction, and therefore we hope that his Majesty by his personal credit, and more particularly by the influence of the Russian Court, will be able to divert his Polish Majesty from such rash and unjustifiable thoughts as he has certainly entertained. In short my notion is that all the powers concerned, or that we should desire be concerned in the common cause, should have ministers of credit and with full instructions at the Hague to negotiate a treaty and measures to be jointly pursued at this great juncture. The powers I mean are

the Queen of Hungary, Russia, Saxony, his Majesty and the States, and as Denmark has declared that they will make good their obligations relating to the Pragmatic Sanction, that power may with others such as Hesse Cassel be by degrees taken in. What I write on these occasions you will look upon as coming from a friend and for your own information only, and to be made no use of, if it is not entirely conformable to the orders from the Office."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740[–1], January 23[–February 3]. Cockpit.—"The opponents in the House of Lords have after having threatened terrible questions against Sir R. W[alpole] to be personally named, have reduced their enquiry into foreign affairs, have called for extracts of all treaties relating to guaranty and subsidies (which was done the day before yesterday) that have already been laid before either Houses of Parliament and yesterday they talked of the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction and desired to know what requisition had been made by the Queen of H[unga]ry for succours, and in what kind, money, troops, or ships. This was refused by a majority, 72 against 37, and by the tendency of the debates, they now seem resolved to go into an enquiry of our conduct in not going into the war against France in support of the Emperor in 1733, and they intimate as if I was sent over by my brother Walpole to prevent the States going into that war, and for concerting the neutrality for Flanders. I have mislaid and cannot possibly find the deduction you made of all my negotiation for that time, and I suppose you have not a copy of it, but I would have you enquire into the steps taken by the States to learn the state of the Barrier with respect to the troops, magazines, and fortifications under the Emperor's immediate care, previous to their having concerted the neutrality, while I in the mean time shall consult my own papers and the books in the office, and as they flatter themselves that they shall find me busy in diverting the States from that war, they will make me the instrument of my brother, and fix a personal question upon him. This is at present their great and formidable thunderbolt, in which Lord Carteret and Mr. P[ultene]y have, it seems, concurred, altho' I do not know that this matter will be stirred in the House of Commons, but we shall certainly have business, for they have all their people to a man in town, and must find some work for them, or else they will soon disband."

The SAME to the SAME.

1740[–1], January 29[–February 9].—"As to what you hint of a notion prevailing as if something for a peace between us and Spain was privately negotiating, there is, I can assure you, no foundation for it, altho' the rumour is as great and positive here, and, as we are told, in France too. There is no doubt that the Qu[ee]n of Sp[ai]n heartily repents her having forced us into a war, which must mightily distress her views and pretensions upon part of the Emperor's succession. We have had some hint of this from Dre[sde]n, and other parts and by-ways, but nothing directly, but there is no doubt but Spain will industriously endeavour to make such a persuasion take place, and particularly at the Court of France, in order to intimidate the C[ardina]l, and make him believe that if we will not promote the Spanish pretensions in Italy, and let their troops pass to make them good, Spain must be obliged to make a peace separately and upon our own terms

Trevor MSS. with us . . . . Sir R. W[alpole] will consider catalogue of pictures and if he likes any of them will trouble you on that head."

The Same to the Same.

1740[-1], February 19[-March 2]. Cockpit. — "What has happened relating to the reciprocity demanded from Hanover and the consequential reflexions upon it was foreseen and foretold at the time that we would persist to begin with our concern for the Electorate as a previous condition. Whereas those favourite dominions would have been secure and succoured of consequence as they were after the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, had we proceeded in the plain and natural way, but there is such a predilection on that side and Lord H[arringto]n had learnt at H[anove]r such a complaisance in that respect, which I believe he heartily repents of at present, that I will say no more on that head. However, I hope, your last orders with a reciprocity on both sides in respect to Prussia only, and directions to concur in what has been projected relating to joint application to the Courts of Vienna and Prussia will have removed this rub for the present, and how we shall proceed afterwards, God knows, for we are violent one day for attacking, and we sink the next into the necessity of accommodation." (The rest of the letter describes the debate on the motion for the removal of Sir R. Walpole, of which there is a full account in Coxe, *Life of Walpole* i., pp. 644–669).

Sir Robert Walpole to the Same.

1740–1, March 3[-14].—"There is a pamphlet, and by the account I have of it a pretty large one, sent over by the opponents to be printed in Holland. It is certainly a most virulent one, for the printers here, who print the worst of their scandal, would not venture upon this, but they have sent the copy over with two journeymen printers from hence, who are to have the care of it, and when it is finished are to bring it over to be published here; you know best what can be done on your side to prevent the printing of it, and even to seize the copy and the whole impression, if the Government will assist you in it. Mr. Wiggs, the messenger, will explain the whole matter to you, and I really believe this is a matter that deserves attention; as such I recommend it to your prudence and management."

Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1740–1, March 17[-28]. Cockpit.—"Our scheme is to support the Pragmatic Sanction *contra quoscunque* (are the States for that measure?) but the delays in the States in every step preparatory and essential, the differences between these courts and that at Vienna who should act in concert with us for the same great end, and the irresolution of other considerable powers on account of these differences, the intrigues of France to encourage both Prussia and Bavaria (which we dare not tell the States for fear of frightening them), make us think it advisable to bring if possible (but with the previous consent of the Austrian Court) Vienna and Berlin to an accommodation, still in all events determined to support the Pragmatic Sanction, and we have, as our friends in Holland may see, actually demanded the Danes and Hessians (making our quota of 12,000 men) to be in a readiness, as they will certainly be immediately, and we do not get close our Committee of Supplies, that we may before the Parliament meets, as exigency may require, ask for more men or for a power to provide more."

The Same to the Same.

1740–1, March 20[–31]. Cockpit.—"I do not know in what manner Lord H[arringto]n may have stated to you the notion of bringing matters to an accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, which I do not understand by any means ought to supersede the preparations to be made by the respective Guarantees for the support of the Pragmatic Sanction, nor can I see there is the least contradiction in it to any other measures, deliberations, or resolutions, that have been made by us to any other Court, or should be in the least understood to slacken our vigour or that of our friends to have our quotas ready. The object of our operations will indeed be altered according to the success of this negotiation, but we should however all be equally in readiness to act accordingly and we have exhorted our allies to lose no time for that end. I am only apprehensive that the Elector of Saxony may enlarge his demands in case of an accommodation with Prussia upon cessions made, altho' by way of mortgage only, to that Prince. But surely all rational people must think it extremely right to prevent Prussia falling into an alliance with France and Bavaria, if that can be possibly effected, and if the King of Prussia has any steady principle he must prefer our offers upon less favourable conditions in appearance to more advantageous ones from France, who will drop him at last, as not being willing to suffer such a Protestant power to grow more considerable in the Empire, and for the same reason I am somewhat apprehensive that the bigotry and pride of the House of Austria, which seem not at all reduced with their fortune, may be averse to hearken to the accommodation so desirable and so necessary for their real interest."

The Same to the Same.

1741, March 31[– April 11]. Cockpit.—"We are now in daily and indeed hourly expectations of knowing the effect which our proposals for an accommodation between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin will have had upon them. I am inclined to believe that the latter will apparently seem to give in to it, and perhaps all things considered, especially with regard to Russia, may be in earnest, but whether the progress and expenses made in Silesia will not make his Prussian Majesty insist upon higher terms than at first I can't say. I do apprehend that the Court of Vienna will be less pliant, from the nature of their way of acting who can do nothing even for their own interest, where they are to part with some thing, but in a most untoward manner. Though I think the reasons you mention for their unwillingness will have a great influence, yet in the present circumstances they are soon answered; the birth of a son gives great joy, but no greater power or force is born with him; Munich's disgrace will in reality carry no additional strength. He was certainly gained by the King of Prussia, which made Osterman, his rival, the more biassed in favour of Vienna, to gain the greater influence and confidence with the Regent and her husband; but the removal of Munich will make the other act like a prudent minister for the interest of his own Court; he has already declared that they will make good their engagements in support of the Pragmatic Sanction but they do not think it necessary for that reason to destroy the King of Prussia and divide his dominions, as Saxony and others seem to intend, and you will find that when Osterman comes to consider the violent and determined motions of the Swedes supported with the power and influence of France, he must naturally incline, in

Trevor MSS. order to keep up an union so necessary for Muscovy as that of Prussia is, to reconcile that Court with Vienna. The Porte's recognition is a terrible and impendent danger removed; but the situation of Viziers is so precarious, that no solid measure can be framed upon their present disposition. I can easily believe that the personal as well as Protestant behaviour of the King of Prussia must create resentment, and aversion in the Great Duke and his Court, but as to the first, the King of Prussia begins already to disclaim that scandalous report of a design upon his life, and if the House of Austria will persevere in treating their necessary friends on all occasions very cavalierly and ungratefully when they have not an immediate occasion for them, and indeed when they have, they must be undone, there is no help for it; I can't tell what despair may do, but I have no notion of a practicable scheme by which the Court of Vienna can make up with that of Munich and France; one of them desires to be in power and dignity in the place of the House of Austria, and the other to have that House entirely destroyed, and therefore any temporary accommodation by plast[e]ring matters for the present with these two Courts, without the concurrence and perhaps against the will of former allies who desire the preservation of that House, must only serve by degrees to set the Bavarian family above them, and to make the House of Bourbon mistress of the whole; we shall all feel the ill consequence of it, but nobody so much as the Austrian family, and therefore to resolve to be quite undone, unless they can be entirely preserved and as great as ever, is to me an unaccountable notion although we shall be threatened and frightened with it.

I did not intend by what I said to you relating to the States and their laying the want of concert and vigour at our door to have ruffled you so much, but I was vexed to see them, and particularly Bassecour, and even some of our friends, pretending to blame our conduct, while they act in such a dilatory weak and distracted way, that nobody knows when they will come to a conclusion upon any point, nor when they will be able to execute any resolution they take, and whether the manner of execution will not be worse than if they had taken no resolution at all. But I don't doubt but you convince our friends that any pretended weakness from hence entirely arises from their conduct, and I agree with you in not representing home their behaviour for fear of exasperating matters. The States are not in good odour here already, and I have often lamented how little they are regarded sometimes, for our concert, if possible, ought to be as inseparable as our interests; at the same time in the present deliberations, although I have a good and great opinion of Mr. Corver, yet Bassecour is entirely governed in his pretended vigour by motives, that do not in the least regard the Pragmatic Sanction, and consequently can the deliberations and resolutions be of any great use to the common cause? While I talk thus freely to you I do not hold the same language here, it would do more harm than good; and therefore if our friends in Holland will not take upon them to direct the measures to proper views and ends, what will our complaisance and indulgence for their general weakness and distraction signify"? . . .

### Horace Mann to the Same.

1741, April 11. Florence.—"Everything of late has appeared quiet at Rome with regard to a certain family, except the usual and frequent conferences with the chief of it and Cardinals Acquaviva, Tencin and Monsieur de St. Agnan, which have given room to suspect that their designs were only postponed, and that they waited for instructions from other parts. Whenever these should come the person may depart in a few

hours as everything has long since been prepared. By the letters which I have received this morning my correspondents are in fresh alarms and think the departure near. Things are managed there with the utmost secrecy, and as the young people are continual making parties of pleasure, the present circumstances give room to believe, that under some pretence of that kind it may be executed." TREVOR MSS.

THOMAS ROBINSON to the SAME.

1741, April 22. Vienna.—(A duplicate of that of the same date to Lord Harrington, describing the adventures of M. de Maupertuis, which is printed in Coxe, *House of Austria* ii., p. 238 note.)

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1741, April 24 [-May 5]. Cockpit.—"I must do Lord Harrington and all the ministers justice to say that the king is constantly solicited on your behalf. He is brought so far as not to refuse, but he will not yet articulate *yes*, though I hope it will soon go through, and before his Majesty goes for Holland, which he is determined to do, but where he will take his residence with safety and honour in the present situation of affairs I must own I cannot see.

The perseverance of the House of Austria in their stubborness and pride not to hearken to reason in the lowest circumstances does not in least abate the steady resolution here in continuing the strongest representations to them to accommodate matters with the Court of Berlin, and that Court, even since the last action in Silesia, is still ready to enter into a reconciliation, and even upon more moderate terms than proposed at first. I hope the treaty between Vienna and Saxony will not interfere with this accommodation. I don't believe the Court of Vienna will ever be able to pay the 12 millions; however, that of Saxony is so afraid of Prussia, that I really believe, although against their real inclinations, they will rather forward than obstruct a reconciliation between the King of Pr[ussia] and the Queen of Hungary."

The SAME to the SAME.

1741, April 28 [-May 9]. Cockpit.—"You mentioned once to me the making the infant in the cradle Emperor. Was there ever such a precedent, and is there any regulation by the *Golden Bull*, or by any known rules of the Empire for the government of the Germanic Body in such a case? Who will have the chief authority, and will it be any advantage to the Elector of Saxony? for I must own to you that I like such a scheme if it be practicable, and I despair of making accommodations upon the terms now on foot with Saxony and satisfying at the same time the King of Prussia, and I see no salvation but by getting of Prussia.

I believe La Roche's letters begin to be opened; they are indeed of little moment, and deserves little encouragement; but as to his pilot on board the galley,—I never understood what he meant, and I think he should be told that he need not be at any trouble or expense about that dark story, for, if it had been understood or thought worth while, he would have had notice to pursue it."

TREVOR MSS.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1741, May 12 [–23]. Cockpit.—"Upon my return to town from my election in Norfolk (where I met with no opposition, but my partner Mr. Vere was opposed, but carried it by a majority of two to one) I found your letters of the 9th, 12th and 16th. . . .

I think we are at cross purposes in our measures and negotiations. I do not see any contradiction in them, if those who should execute them, or whom they may affect would understand plain facts and one another right; the Queen of Hungary has indeed reason to thank his Majesty for his proceedings in Parliament, but she must not be so elated as to imagine that we can contribute one farthing more towards her support, than the 12,000 Danes and Hessians, and 300,000*l.*, although 1,000 men will be ready here if wanted by the States, and not wanted here, and, while she remains inflexible to all negotiations unless the succours should precede them, she is most unexcusable towards us; have not our succours preceded our negotiations? has any delay or backwardness in assistance been occasioned by our proposals of an accommodation with Prussia? but the question is whether the succours we do give, and all that we are able to give, can with the assistance of others balance in any degrees the opposite alliance which may be formed by France in conjunction with Prussia, the Swedes, Bavaria &c. On the other side the King of Prussia cannot blame us for supplying our succours in a case so flagrant as the present existence of the *casus fœderis*, while at the same time we are seriously exerting ourselves to procure a reconciliation if possible between him and the Queen of Hungary; as to his tampering with the Swedes, if the Queen of Hungary continues to act the unaccountable part she does, there is no doubt but that he will do it, and as to France we know by an undoubted intelligence that advantageous terms have been offered to him by the Cardinal, and the Court of Vienna has been informed of it.

I do not, I must own, comprehend Lord Hyndford's proceeding in forbearing to execute his orders jointly with Mr. Ginckel. He has, since that transaction has been settled, received orders from hence to let the King of Prussia know that his Majesty continues to renew and press his instances with the Court [of] Vienna to come to an accommodation, and he is to endeavour to learn the *ultimatum* of Prussia for that purpose, and I can't believe that he had received before, or at that time, any directions to suspend the execution of the concert between his Majesty and the States; for he might have, I think, reconciled those two negotiations, by letting the King of Prussia know on one side, that his Majesty must continue in consequence of his engagement, and of what he had at first declared to the world, to fulfil them, while at the same time it is evident by his friendly endeavours that he will do his utmost to put an end to them by an accommodation, and I suppose Lord Harrington will explain this matter in this manner, for indeed these two transactions of succours and good offices seem to me entirely conformable to the sense and even expressions almost of the States' resolution in joining with us, how Lord Hyndford come to understand the matter otherwise I can't imagine.

La Roche does by no means give satisfaction, and I believe he will if he sends nothing more material, get no more money, perhaps you would do well to let him know that his curiosities (speaking in the style of a virtuoso) do not answer expectations, and as to his man to be delivered from the galleys, and sent into England; if he means that literally he

will find no encouragement from hence upon his arrival; if he means anything else I don't understand him. He should methinks, be let to know these things in a covered way, because else, if his letters are opened (as I am apt to believe they are) he may be exposed to danger." TREVOR MSS.

HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

1741, May 23 [– June 3]. London.—Recommending the bearer, Mr. COMPTON, whom he is sending over to Amsterdam as Deputy [Pay-] Master to the Danish and Hessian troops and all such other troops as shall be in the pay of Great Britain.

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1741, May 27 [– June 7]. Cockpit.—"I set out early to-morrow morning for Norfolk, and stay there as long as I can, being quite weary of the weak, absurd, distracted, and contradictory counsels and motions of those whose steadiness and union is more necessary than ever for the preservation of the whole."

The SAME to the SAME.

1741, June 10 [– 21]. Woolterton.—"I wish, as you hint, the case was such that we could lie by, but it is impossible. We must be ready with our quota as guaranties, but we must let the Queen of Hungary know what that quota is, if even extended to *totis viribus*, that is, it cannot be by reason of obvious circumstances, what it was formerly, and that without some supplemental help, which can arise nowhere to purpose but from the King of Prussia, the Maritime Powers if both of them would do all they can do, joined with Russia, &c., will signify nothing supposing the King of Prussia should continue against us. I think this assertion (according to probable and a common way of reasoning) carries self evidence and demonstration with it, let the King of Prussia be what he will; formidable or not formidable, useful or not useful, considering him and his humours abstractedly. If he will continue to act against the House of Austria, and be sooner or later joined with, or give sufficient encouragement to the other enemies of that House to declare and act openly against it, is it not demonstration (that is according to human understanding) that the Austrian Dominions must be infallibly torn in pieces; but if the King of Prussia could be gained to join heartily with the other powers who declare for the Pragmatic Sanction, I think there is a possibility of preserving that succession in the main.

As to your apprehensions of the King of Prussia's joining with the Swedes, if you have evidence of facts for it, I can't say anything to that, nor indeed can I wonder at any turn he will take as long as the Queen of Hungary is irreconcileable to him, and that he must apprehend in consequence that her friends will be his enemies; such extremities must cause and may have already caused unnatural turns and measures; but naturally the King of Prussia should desire above all things to keep his friendship and confidence with Russia, because their views cannot, in my poor opinion, interfere either in the North or in the Empire, and rationally speaking they must have the same rivals or enemies in both. Should the King of Prussia encourage or enable Sweden to reconquer upon Russia or any other power lost provinces, and Sweden should be able to do it, who would save the rest of Pomerania from falling in time into the hands of Sweden too? Prussia must always apprehend, that

TREVOR MSS. France will favour, neither in the North nor in the Empire, the King of Prussia any longer than to serve as a tool for the present to her interest, neither do I much apprehend that the Swedes will now turn their arms on any other side but towards Russia, or that Russia can sit still and suffer it, for the same reason, because she must be apprehensive for her self as soon as Sweden has succeeded elsewhere."

The SAME to the SAME.

1741, June 24 [– July 5]. Woolterton.—"I am glad to find that you think there is some small prospect of a possible reconciliation between Vienna and Berlin, the first having muttered to Mr. Robinson an inclination to yield some thing for the sake of peace, but for my part, until they speak out, I think it only like gaining truce, and I can't believe that his Prussian Majesty will continue to sit still, considering his superiority and the temptation he must have from France, unless the Queen of Hungary will speak out and plain at least to his Majesty, and for that purpose we should speak plain to her and the Duke of Lorraine, and make them sensible of the impossibility of our doing what will be necessary to save them in our present circumstances, with this heavy war with Spain upon our hands, and destitute of such allies as formerly were equally useful, and inseparable from us; and these instances cannot be inculcated too often at Vienna, and therefore, although what I sent under your cover to Mr. Robinson is not fresh, it may be possibly of some service to our friend to repeat, what may indeed have beeu suggested before (but what Mr. Bar[tenstei]n may have willingly forgot) as not only the sense of the ministry in England but of the nation; for I am fully persuaded that the Austrians, whose imagination turns all events on that side where they desire, even often contrary to facts and truths, were persuaded that the resolutions of Parliament in their favour were the sentiments of the nation independent, and perhaps contrary to those of the administration; and purely levelled at the King of Prussia, and with a design to crush that Prince. The nation was not pleased with the behaviour of that Prince, but everybody that meant well meant very earnestly a reconciliation between him and the Queen of Hungary, and therefore I believe the papers I sent will still come time enough to Vienna, and may be perhaps, if they would have ever been, of some use still.

Our disgrace before Cartagena is . . . indeed an unfortunate accident. I never saw any daylight in getting well out of that war even though successful, I mean so as to have a future security for our trade. What is now to be done I can't tell; it must not be abandoned, and yet how to support it is difficult to see. It is said by the returns of the General he has not 1,700 men fit for action left; the climate and sickness have made such a havoc with them. *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.*"

The SAME to the SAME.

1741, July 1 [–12]. Woolterton.—"I say nothing of our disappointment before Cartagena . . . . Misunderstanding between land and sea commanders, as usually happens amongst Englishmen, did, I dare say, a great deal of mischief . . . but as this war must necessarily be still supported at such a distance and such an immense expense . . . I don't see, as indeed I never did, how we shall make a good end of it; especially if things should, as I am afraid they will, from the proud and ever untractable temper of the House of Austria continue to go ill upon the Continent. . . . Forward my

letters to Robinson; tho' of an old date the Court of Vienna will open and read them, and time has but too well verified the arguments in them." TREVOR MSS.

### The SAME to the SAME.

1741, July 15 [-26]. Woolterton.—(Printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, ii. p. 21, with the following mistakes. p. 21, 6 lines from bottom, insert after "justice," "that is at last," and read "post" for "parts"; and in next line "merit" for "merits"; p. 22, lines 1 and 10, read "but my" and "or" for "than" and "and"; line 11 insert "I suppose" before "by"; line 16, insert "the" before "public," and read "went" for "were"; line 25, for "that" read "he," and "managing" in the blank; last line insert "But" before "as"; p. 23, lines 6 and 16, for "England" read "Europe," and for "a" read "the"; p. 24, line 20, insert "now" before "no"; lines 21 and 24, for "England" read "Europe," and for "part" "turn.")

### The SAME to the SAME.

1741, August 10 [-21]. Woolterton.—(Part printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, ii. p. 24, where p. 25, line 15, insert "at" before "all," p. 26, lines 11, 12, and 15, read for "thrown in" "struck on," "Dutch" for "deputies," and "found" for "find.") It continues thus:—"His Majesty will be forced into a neutrality on shameful terms as Elector, the Dutch will be pressed by France to do the same thing for the Netherlands, the Elector of Saxony will by some advantageous conditions make up with France and Bavaria; the Princes of the Empire will be frightened into a Congress to choose such an Emperor as France shall direct; the King of Sardinia will come to an agreement with France and Spain about the Austrian dominions in Italy which they will be able to execute in autumn; the Cardinal will then speak to us directly or through our old friends the Dutch to have a Congress for peace or to frame preliminaries for that purpose, in which Dunkirk will be to continue in such a situation as France shall think fit; it will be proposed that Port Mahon, Gibraltar, and the Assiento of Negroes shall be taken from England; the Dutch will not say one word against it, as being under the ferule of France, and looking upon those things as no concern of theirs; and if France suffer us to escape without an invasion or a civil war at home or giving us the Pretender, they will think we are mightily obliged to them; we shall perhaps in the meantime be obliged to abandon our attempts in the W. Indies, out of which I never saw a good *exit*, not even with all imaginable success, and our famous words *No Search, Take and hold*, for which we entered into the war with Spain will end, as I always thought they would, in smoke, but a few general words for all nations to carry on the lawful trade in the W. Indies without molestation will be granted, and observed as Spain shall think fit."

### ROBERT TREVOR to SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1741, August 22. The Hague.—On the 15th an Englishman, of the appearance of a gentleman, a middle sized, plump, fair faced man, about thirty-two years old, speaking French and several other languages, arrived Post at Brussels. At the same inn, another gentleman of about 28, who by his accent appeared to be Scotch, arrived the day before from England by Ostend, and seemed to wait for the other. They supped together with other company at the Table d'hôte. There was no

TREVOR MSS. English talked during the supper, but afterwards the two fell to drinking very hard, and, probably imagining nobody understood English, began to hold treasonable and mysterious discourse together, and muttering something of a negotiation and articles signed at Frankfort, so roused the curiosity of an honest English chapman, who carries Birmingham wares up and down Flanders, and happened to overhear them, that, when they retired to their chamber, he hid himself in an adjacent one, where, through a crack in the wainscot, he could hear and see what further passed between them. He learned that the Englishman came direct from Frankfort, and was going with all expedition to London, whence the Scotchman came, who was to set out Post next day, but he could not hear whither, and that they were both concerned in the same intrigue, and talked with great intimacy of Count Montijo. The Scotchman recommended the other to one Wedgewood, a chandler in London, and they agreed on the Spread Eagle, in Gracechurch Street, for their interviews on the Scotchman's return. What chiefly alarmed the honest pedlar's zeal was, hearing the gentleman from Frankfort say in plain words: "He hoped he had now done King George's business for him, and that he would never set his foot in England again." He then saw them exchange several papers, and observing they had left a few of them on their table, when they went to bed, he stayed till he heard them begin to snore, and then ventured in, and carried off the same without being observed. Finding the contents of the two letters he could read to be in the same mysterious strain as the discourse he had heard, and not knowing the purport of the Spanish ones, which he could not read, he resolved to set out hither immediately, and put them into my hands, which he did yesterday, relating all the above particulars, and offering any further service he could be of, in tracing out either the Englishman, who is gone over to London, or the Scotchman, who, though perhaps originally destined for Stockholm, is now probably gone for Frankfort for new credentials. He has now left me his directions, and is returned to Flanders, I having with difficulty prevailed on him to let me reimburse him the charges of his journey. You will find these few odd papers enclosed, and will be the best judge, by combining their contents with your own extensive information, of what attention they may deserve, and whether Montijo's transaction relates to anything beyond some secret contract for provisions to be clandestinely furnished by some honest merchants in England or Ireland for the Spanish fleet. (The rest of the letter contains a request for permission to draw for the amount of any disbursements he may expend for intelligence.)

*Draft.*

HORATIO WALPOLE to the ROBERT TREVOR.

1741, August 22 [–September 2]. Woolterton.—(Part printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, ii. p. 26, where on p. 27, line 13, "strong" should be "dexterous" and "a" "the"; line 16, "their" should be "this.") A subsequent part is:—"For my part I always looked upon a neutrality with the King of Prussia for the sake of Hanover, while that King continues engaged with France either as impracticable or as hedging in a cuckoo; his Prussian Majesty dares not, indeed I think cannot, do it in a manner to be of any use to the common cause; but I suppose that point of the neutrality will be determined before this time. I do not well see, should the Elector of Hanover obtain a neutrality with Prussia, how that will give any other encouragement to the States than that of following the same example in procuring a neutrality for themselves, and I am afraid the Elector of Saxony

would think of the same thing in one shape or other, and so by degrees (now Russia is wholly taken up with Sweden) the alliance for the support of the Pragmatic Sanction will crumble to pieces.

My brother thinks of coming into the country next week. When I see him I will desire that you may have liberty to draw for such sums as are necessary for procuring intelligence, for I don't doubt but the Jacobites will soon be in motion."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1741, September 12 [–23]. Woolterton.—(Printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, ii., p. 28, with several mistakes; among them p. 28, line 25, "motives" should be "motions," p. 29, line 23, "consider" should be "considered.")

### The SAME to the SAME.

1741, September 16 [–27]. (Printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, ii. p. 34, with the following mistakes: p. 34, line 11, read "this" for "the"; line 16, insert "actual" before "increase"; p. 35, lines 7 and 10, read "that" for "the" and "this" for "their"; p. 36, line 7, read "as that king was, must be absurd and impracticable or useless"; p. 37, line 9, after "said" add "which is true"; p. 38, line 3, add "own" after "their"; line 5 read "look" for "looked"; lines 17 and 18 insert "even" and "the least" before "England," and "regard"; p. 39 in blank read "same"; lines 16 and last read "that very" for "every," and "Colognes" for "Colognes"; p. 40, line 5, omit "on" and line 11 read "Hanoverian" for "Hanover"; p. 41, line 24, omit "very," last line read "can reproach" for "reproaches"; p. 42, lines 5 and 10, read "knew" for "heard," and "Europe too" for "England"; line 7, omit "the" before "F—h.")

### JOHN GOURAUD to the SAME.

1741, September 18 [–29]. Whitehall.—"Mr. Reide, contractor for transporting the convicts to America, having represented to the Lords Justices, that he had shipped about three weeks ago twenty-nine convicts on board the ship *Sally* . . . . for Potomack in Virginia, and that he has lately received advice that in their passage North about they had risen upon the ship's crew and carried her by force into the Texel, where they all went ashore. . . . I am commanded to signify to you their Excellencies' directions that you should make the proper instances to the States-General, that orders may be given for assisting Mr. Reide's agent in retaking and reshipping the said convicts on board the *Sally*, or otherwise securing them."

### HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1741, September 19 [–30]. Woolterton.—(Printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole* ii. 31, with the following mistakes:—p. 31, line 10, "Hanover" for "Hanoverian"; p. 32, line 18, "Electorate" for "Elector"; line 20, "in" for "to"; line 25, omit "of"; p. 33, line 14, "their" for "the"; line 19, insert "and" before "Therefore"; line 23, omit "that"; last line, insert "at last" after "pensionary.")

Trevor MSS.

## The Same to the Same.

174[1], October 6 [-17]. Cockpit. "I received your letter inclosing the King of Prussia's answer to Lord Hyndford, which would look like an extraordinary piece from any other prince but himself; and notwithstanding the sovereignty of his style and actions, between you and me I should not be surprised to see him take a very different turn rather than come to another battle, for I take him to be at bottom a most errant (*sic*) coward; but then on the other side his fear of the French troops whom he has made his own master will frighten him out of his wits; but as uncertain as he certainly is, whom no law nor faith can hold longer than his own humour and passions will allow, could we have got him at first and held him but five or six months, the Cardinal would not have ventured to have marched one man out of France either towards the Maes or the Rhine; but he has now both his friends and his enemies in his power.

Since my arrival here I have received the *Gazettes* of the 3rd, 6th, and tenth from the Hague, but no letter from you besides a short *memento* in the cover of one of them, and indeed I do not wonder at it considering your extraordinary situation and hurry, on account of that mysterious proceeding of the Electoral ministers about a sort of a neutrality. I have read the account of your behaviour and particularly your letter to Bassecour with great pleasure; nothing could be better calculated either with respect to the time and the person, it is a most impudent thing that such a jackanapes as he with his narrow views and bias to France should take upon him to censure any proceedings on the account of inactivity. I hope you take care to let both the Pensionary and Greffier and even Corver of Amsterdam see that piece, which with respect to the behaviour of the States is certainly unanswerable, but what goes to my heart is the mystery and darkness of that Electoral proceeding, that the King's minister at the Hague should not have been authorized in a plain and honest manner to inform his Majesty's friends there what he should be obliged to do as Elector, since his friends would take no step to prevent his ruin; but the shovelling manner in which you was instructed to talk I am afraid will hurt the King's character on account of what he has done, whatsoever it be, as Elector, for I don't yet understand it; and while you and Fenelon are directed to contradict one another I should not be surprised, if France from that contest should fly off from the execution of that which they had promised to perform about the inaction of the troops on both sides; I have indeed seen in the long packet from the Hague, that Hop himself has wrote from Hanover, that Bussy was told that means should be found out for setting a negotiation on foot for accommodating matters with Spain. I hope Lord H[arringto]n on his arrival at the Hague will set all these matters in a clear light to the satisfaction of our friends there.

I have never yet seen a clear account of the number of troops which France has marched through Liege, &c. nor of those sent to the assistance of the E[lector] of Ba[varia] nor whether any other body has been in motion from France, I should be glad to have particulars as to the exact numbers and of the time when they first moved.

If Roussett has published any volume of facts and transactions since the late Emperor's death, relating to that succession, I beg you will send [it] me by some body that comes over in the yachts.

I have received your favour enclosing directions for propagating melons together with the box of seed from Mr. Neuville, and what you sent in a letter, for which I am infinitely obliged to you.

*Postscript.*—I opened this letter to acknowledge your favours of the 6th and 10th and to express my concern that anything that I should have let fall in my free, friendly and familiar letters for your information, and to give you as you seemed to desire oftener than they can deserve it, my thoughts on extraordinary occasions, should have ryled (*sic*) your temper and occasioned such expostulations with respect to your behaviour between Lord H[arringto]n and me; so far from desiring you to show the least coolness towards his Lordship on my account, if it would do you any service I don't care if you act the quite contrary part. At least I beg you will continue to show him all the respect deference and veneration imaginable, I know his pride under a false modesty so well that assiduity and personal respect towards him (I don't speak out of pique but from various instances) will have a great influence with him and gain his favour sooner than the greatest merit, and attention for the public service, and that no merit will have any effect upon him without a personal attachment and even devotion to him; and therefore in your station of life and situation, I beg without rallery (*sic*) that you would most earnestly cultivate his friendship. He can do you good, I can do you none: he is all powerful at Hanover, but between you and me after he has been here six weeks he has perhaps as little power as the meanest minister, and whatever he has hitherto gained even for his own children here, he has constantly made use of the credit of my brother to gain it, and he is never satisfied, and his views and desires increase every day, but I will never trouble you any more on that subject, and although I think it is your business not to know it, or to dissemble your knowledge of it, do not deceive yourself in thinking, that he was not fully apprised of every step taken by the Electoral ministers in this transaction with France. He is certainly in the utmost confidence of whatever the Elector of Hanover does. I thank you for your good intentions in reconciling Lord H[arringto]n to me, 'tis what he does not, nor can desire. His behaviour to me, after the greatest marks of friendship from me to him, in having, as inconsiderable as I am, been the channel by which he has obtained all the dignity and employment which he now enjoys, and not only that but in having been the instrument to keep him twice in the high station of Secretary of State when the resolution was taken and fixed for removing him,—he knew this—and I say his behaviour to me with this knowledge and consciousness, is the strongest indication of his resolving never to have any thing to do with me. But I have done, I shall put you out of humour if I say more on this subject, and be not afraid of the curiosity of the Germans, for I shall not write any thing more to you, that may expose you to their malice. As for myself I should not be at all concerned if they and Lord H[arringto]n had seen every word I have wrote, it would not hurt me, but it might indeed be a disservice to you, for whom I have, ever since I knew you, had and shall ever have the greatest esteem and affection, and by degrees, without giving you the least reason to suspect any diminution of that esteem and affection which is founded upon your many amiable and valuable qualities, I shall drop our correspondence, which cannot be of service to you, and may on the account of my natural and invincible freedom when I have my pen in my hand, give you (I say it *sans rancune*) some uneasiness in your ticklish situation, for I have now by way of postscript wrote a whole sheet full, when I intended to have said but few words."

The Same to the Same.

1741, November 27 [–December 8].—(The material part is printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, ii. p. 43, where the word

TREVOR MSS. omitted is "conceived" and in p. 44, line 1, "complaisance" should be "compliance.")

The SAME to the SAME.

1741[–2], December 25 [–January 5]. Cockpit.—Asking his interest to obtain an ensign's commission for Mr. Alexander Baird, a cadet in General Collier's regiment. "The recommendation comes from a member of Parliament that is zealously attached to the present Government and ministry, and it is a time of day to oblige our friends, for you will have heard of some unpleasant divisions we have had. The questions relating to the public we have constantly carried; but the Chairman of the Committee for Elections and the Westminster Election has been lost by personal engagements and other incidents of a private nature, so that those divisions must not be looked upon as a measure of the strength of the contending parties, and I flatter myself that in matters relating to the provisions to be made for the public good we shall have a sufficient superiority for the despatch of business and therefore I hope our friends in Holland will not be discouraged; and in particular that their augmentation may be finished by way of concurrence against our meeting again, as one of the best motives for inducing our friends to join in keeping up at least the present number of forces for the security and defence as well of our neighbours as ourselves."

The SAME to the SAME.

1741–2, January 19[–30].—"You will have had a surprising account of what has passed to obtain a reconciliation between the K[in]g and the P[rin]ce, and how the offers intimated by his Majesty have been rejected without the removal of Sir R[obert] W[alpole]; as your accounts may be very imperfect I send you, for your own use only and on condition that you will not suffer a copy of it to be taken by anybody whatsoever, the substance of what passed on that occasion as stated by the B[isho]p of Ox[fo]rd himself in concert with Lord Ch[olmonde]ley."

*Enclosed:*

"An account of what passed between H.R.H. and the Bishop of Oxford."

(Printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, i. p. 693 note.)

E. FINCH, Ambassador to Russia, to the SAME.

1741–2, January 19 [–30]. St. Petersburg.—"Yesterday ended in a melancholy manner the process against the State Prisoners, when the Counts Osterman, Munich, Goloffkin and Lowendahl, with the President Mengden and a Secretary called Swortzkoff, were brought from the citadel to the place before the colleges, where a scaffold was erected, upon which Count Osterman being carried in a chair, after a long enumeration of his crimes, had his sentence pronounced to be broken on the wheel, for which terrible execution there was no preparation. However his head was laid upon the block, as if it was to have been struck off; but immediately that capital punishment was reversed, and changed into perpetual banishment with an entire confiscation of all his estates. The Felt Marshal Munich's sentence was afterwards read, which was to have been quartered, then that of the rest to be beheaded; all changed into perpetual banishment and confiscation."

### Horatio Walpole to the Same.

Trevor MSS.

[1741–2], January 22 [–February 2]. Cockpit.—"As our opponents knew yesterday that we had several members absent on account of the Yorkshire election, and other incidental occasions [they] did in a manner surprise us with a motion that under pretence of secrecy with respect to the papers of State to be laid before the House, and of being enabled to give the King advice at this great juncture as demanded by his speech, without betraying the secret, [and] did propose that those papers should be referred to a secret committee of twenty-one persons, who upon examination of those papers and such other papers as they should demand should report their opinion as to what it is proper for his Majesty to do on this occasion. This was the pretext, which in the nature of it was argued to be destructive of our constitution, as erecting as in the time of 1641 a Committee of Safety independent of the Crown, and indeed independent of the House itself, who should blindly subscribe to the opinion of that Committee, but indeed the real view was, though denied by some, to find, if possible, matter of accusation against the administration. In short the debate lasted till 12 at night when upon the question, the proposition was rejected by a majority of 253 against 250, so we carried [it] by three in which the opponents were certainly mightily disappointed, for they had brought down to the House persons, that were almost ready to expire, and we wanted about twelve people that we hope will be here to-morrow; the state of the nation is put off for a fortnight, but they have called for papers relating to the correspondence with Prussia, which I believe the King must refuse to give, some of them at least. We would not hazard a division because one or two of our members, who voted with us on the other occasion, had declared for having papers before the House to be considered in a full assembly, although they never would submit their opinion blindly to that of twenty-one members."

### The Same to the Same.

1741–2, February 9 [–20]. Cockpit.—"My brother, now Earl of Orford, gives up the Seals as Chancellor of the Exchequer to-morrow or on Thursday at furthest. Who is to succeed him is as yet uncertain. Lord President has the King's inclinations, and has been talked of for some days, and he proposed to take two new Commissioners from among the Patriots to be with him of the Treasury, but they absolutely refused it, declaring they will act with their own friends only. Mr. Pulteney declines taking any place, but seems to insist that Lord Carteret with Mr. Sandys, Sir John Rushout, Mr. Guybon, and Waller should immediately take possession of the Treasury, and this day the talk goes in favour of them altho' nothing was finally determined upon it last night; in the meantime the D[uke] of A[rgy]le is very active, does not yet declare what he will have, cries out for justice upon the offenders, and is joined in this cry by Cob[ha]m, Ches[terfie]ld &c. that do not love Lord Car[tere]t, altho' they keep tolerably with P[ulten]ey. In short things are in great confusion, and the great point of all relating to the reconciliation between father and son is quite unsettled and little done in it."

### Lord Carteret to the Same.

1741–2, March 2 [–13]. Whitehall.—"The Duke of Marlborough shewed me a letter to-day from you of the 6th, which gave me great

TREVOR MSS. satisfaction in seeing your dispositions to me, which I will endeavour to deserve. His Grace knows my sincerity and will answer for it, and that you may take as *Special Bail.* I was raised by his father and am father to his brother, and have ever been a faithful friend to the whole family; and as you are in that alliance, you may be sure that I will cultivate your friendship, and since your friend Lord Harrington is removed to another station, I hope you will think that his Majesty's choice could not have fallen upon any person more desirous to do you service than myself."

EDWARD WESTON to the SAME.

1741 [–2], March 19 [–30].—"I am to tell you that Lord Stair will set out the beginning of the week, and as to the great business he (Lord Carteret) orders me to write to you in these express words "*That he stakes his whole upon keeping the El*[*ector*] *an Englishman.*"

LORD CARTERET to the SAME.

1742, April 27 [–May 8].—Authorising him to draw for the 100*l.* "remitted to *our friend at Rome* and also for what is due to Count W. You may assure the Count that his secret is very safe with Lord Wilmington and me."

HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1742, May 8. Florence.—"The letters of this morning from Rome mention that four gallies of the Pope were ready at Civita Vecchia to conduct Cardinal Tencin to Marseilles There were some suspicions that the Pretender's son might take this opportunity or to speak more properly that it may have been made on purpose to carry him off. It is some time the people about him speak very confidently of his being to go into France but they are so extreme visionary that there is no depending on what they say."

THOMAS ROBINSON to the SAME.

1742, May 31. Vienna.—"Do not think that what goes to Breslau has been got with a wet finger. *A quoy bon aigrer les choses?* Lord Hyndford may talk at ease of amputations at a distance; but though an assistant at a great operation does not suffer as much as the patient, yet he suffers with him, for him, and very often from him. The G[rand] Duke has said downright hard things, and though C[ount] Uhlfield and I have agreed never to have *words* yet he has told me; *Voyez vous si je ne vous dis pas ce que j'ai sur le cœur, M. Robinson, le diable n'y jura rien.*

Would you know the true reason why *he* covets Pardubitz? It is the spot of Bohemia the fittest for horses, and why Konigsgratz? The Bohemians make the best cavalry of all the Queen's subjects. With these *two* trifles, he would have in a few years $10^m$ horses, $10^m$ horsemen, and wherewithal to maintain them. Why is not he content with Silesia? *Non est aptus equis Ithacae locus,* but for foot, there is as good as any in Germany. Lord Hyndford has now more than ever I promised. He is authorised to do what I would have taken upon myself to have done, if at Olmutz in January, and all this for the *neutrality.* Nor would there have been occasion for so much, if M. Finch was *now* upon the point of returning from Russia,—he might, it is said here, be accompanied with 30,000 Muscovites—and if the Saxons were in a

condition to do either good or hurt. A propos to these last, a trumpet having been sent to Breslau the King of Prussia would speak to him. *Monsieur, dit-il, on pretend à votre armée que les Saxons ne sont pas avec moy ; on se trompe, j'aurai ordonné de garder mon baggage.*"

The SAME to the SAME.

1742, June 17. Vienna.—"I wish this Court could with a better grace than it does sit patiently with your *Quod perdidisti perditum ducas.* I mean in general, for as to particular points I see that there will be no appeasing them, that is to say, *Debts* and *Religion.* I have heard of the famous M. Lockhart, that he used to say, we had two modern objects unknown to the old Romans capable of puzzling the greatest politicians, *Credit* and *Religion.*"

EDWARD SHORT to [the SAME].

1742, June 29 [–July 10]. Office of Ordnance.—"I am commanded by the Board to desire you will make no deduction from the contractor on account of the 89 wanting to be new stock'd or the 94 repairable" out of 1028 "they being willing to free him . . . in regard to his having delivered some bayonets more than his contract, tho' very few were good for anything except the 52 supplied over and above from Solingen."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1742, October 2 [–13]. Woolterton.—"I am persuaded the chief design of Lord Ca[rtere]t's journey was calculated to enable him to make such a report of the situation of things, as to prevent the King's voyage, especially considering the dilemma the ministers must be under with respect to the Regency; they dare not venture to press the making of the Pr[ince] of W[ales] Regent lest they should disoblige the King, and they are afraid of disobliging the P[rince] of W[ales] by a Regency without him at a time when things are in a critical situation with respect to the Par[liamen]t, and his R[oyal] H[ighness] or at least his friends do not yet act so clear a part in support of the ministry as is desirable, and I am afraid necessary."

The EARL OF STAIR to the SAME.

1742, October 21. Brussels.—"By your letter of the 16th, I see with great admiration the Queen of Hungary's noble and I think wise resolution to reject the advice of her husband, though supported by all the Generals, to let the French troops return back into France; I am afraid that if the Queen's Resolution is not supported by something very vigorous on the part of the King our master, her Majesty will find it impossible to hold out both against the power of France, and the opinion of her own subjects. It is very easy to see what the consequences will be of the Queen of Hungary's submitting. I heartily wish that these consequences may be well weighed by our Court, and that proper measures may be taken in time to prevent that submission. In my opinion that can only be done by our army's taking such quarters as may keep the French in respect during the winter, and may make it difficult for their armies to return into France, and by which quarters our army may be in a situation next spring to act either upon the Rhine, the Moselle, or in Flanders. The rainy season and the late

TREVOR MSS. arrival of the Hanover and Hessian troops have prevented the execution of projects we had on this side, which God knows the enemy was in no condition to have obstructed. I hope our neglect of so fair an opportunity will make us attentive not to lose occasions that may offer to remedy what is past, by doing what is yet in our power. If those opportunities should be again neglected, I am afraid the consequences will be very bad; I heartily wish my fears may be disappointed.

By your letter of the 18th I see that C[omte] de Saxe has surprised a body of Hungarians at Elbogen, who, though they are not prisoners but have capitulated to go back to the Great Duke's army, yet have given up the town which, they say, might have been easily defended; what I look upon to be the worst of all that matter, is that I am afraid, that the Generals who have given their opinion for a capitulation will not act with that vigour; it does not appear to me natural, that the French army in presence of the Austrian army, should decamp so often, without having their rear attacked.

The Duke of Arenberg is gone into England, with a project to have our army employed in the winter towards distressing the French, and supporting the Queen of Hungary, and in the mean time a courier is despatched to the Court of Vienna, to keep up the spirits of the Queen of Hungary. It is very probable that the Duke of Arenberg's project may not take place in all its extent, but if something of that kind is not done, I foresee that it will have very ill consequences. Great ministers sometimes imagine that they can do great things without the assistance of armies, but in my opinion, the proper operations of armies are great helps to the skill of a minister. Our negotiations at the Hague, have not been quite so successful as we could have wished during this summer, I shall be very glad to hear that they go better in the winter, I own to you I am a little apprehensive, that it will happen otherwise; in the mean time I do not conceive that the States can do a wiser thing, than to strengthen their garrisons in their frontier towns."

### HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1742, December 3 [–14].—Cockpit.—"As I was going to acquaint you that a motion made on Wednesday . . . by Mr. Littleton and seconded by Sir W. Williams Wyn to revive the Committee to inquire into the conduct of the Earl of Orford during the last ten years of his administration was rejected by a majority of 67, Ayes 186, Noes 253, I was favoured by yours . . . letting me know you had turned your thoughts to a matrimonial life and according to the description that you give of the lady that is to share in your happiness I cannot doubt of the hopeful prospect you have of enjoying it in the fullest perfection."

### W[ILLIAM] MURRAY to the SAME.

1742 [–3], December 28 [–January 8].—Lincoln's Inn.—"As to the question you ask I will tell you how the matter stands which will easily determine you what to do.

In England every contract *per verba de præsenti* is a marriage in fact, they are not punishable in the Spiritual Court for cohabiting, they are compellable to celebrate the marriage in the face of the Church, and neither party can marry again, but then it is not a legal marriage, because by a positive rule of the Ecclesiastical Law received in England, all marriages must be celebrated by a Priest in Holy Orders. When

the claim of rights consequent upon or derived from marriage, occasions a question whether the parties were *lawfully* married, and the question is to be determined by the Ecclesiastical Court, either by the matter being originally of Ecclesiastical conusance, as where debts are due to the wife which the husband cannot recover without taking out Letters of Administration to her, or where issue is joined in the Temporal Courts upon the very point whether the parties were ever lawfully married and they write to the Bishop to certify, the Ecclesiastical Court always determines and certifies against marriages where the ceremony is not performed by a Priest in Holy Orders, therefore marriages by Popish Priests are good, but not by Dissenters, independent of an Act of Parliament which makes them good.

It is true a marriage in fact is sufficient for almost all Temporal rights, because there are few actions now in use where the parties are allowed in pleading to join issue upon the legality of a marriage, and when it comes to be tried before a jury or otherwise in the Temporal Courts as a matter of fact, which is now almost always the case, cohabitation as man and wife and constant acknowledgement is sufficient.

The case of a marriage in a foreign country according to the laws of that country is of a very different consideration; and I should think in my own opinion that even our Ecclesiastical Courts must allow them to be good; because the contract makes the marriage, and the positive rule of our law which requires the intervention of a Priest is of no force there; and a contrary doctrine would make strange confusion, all the regular marriages in Scotland are by those whom the Church of England don't consider as Priests, so likewise in most of the plantations and in some by positive Acts they are to be by Justices of the Peace. But I don't know that this point has ever come in judgment; for it is very seldom that the question whether lawful marriage or not, when there is in fact a marriage, comes before the Spiritual Court. I have stated these things shortly to you, that you may see upon what grounds I advise you not only to be married according to the Laws of Holland but likewise by a Priest of the Church of England according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Though the first kind of marriage would in my opinion answer all intents and purposes to the greatest degree of probability, yet I can't say with absolute certainty that no question can arise upon such a marriage, for I take it for granted that marriages in Holland are either performed by the civil magistrate, or by Calvinist ministers whose ordination the Church of England disputes. Besides your public capacity seems an additional reason for your being married according to the laws of your country. There seems to me no possible objection to performing the ceremony twice, and I do by all means advise your so doing."

The Earl of Stair to the Same.

1743, February 18. Brussels.—"I am now come as far as Brussels, and all the British troops are in mouvement (*sic*) in their way to pass the Maes at or near Maestricht, to enter into the Pays de Juliers and so on to the Rhine; for my part I can foresee no manner of obstacle to the march of our army or to that march having all the effects we can desire, that is to say, to oblige all the Princes upon the Lower Rhine to enter into such measures as may be concerted by the Maritime Powers for obtaining a good peace for themselves and for all Europe, that in time to come the Maritime Powers and all Europe may have the prospect of continuing in peace and tranquillity for many years, and not to be in the situation we have been in for many

Trevor MSS. years, obliged to expend vast sums of money to hinder France to become absolute mistress, and living in the mean time in continual fears distrust and uneasiness. I take it for granted that the views of the Republic are to get out of this disagreeable and perilous situation without any particular views of making conquests for ourselves which, I believe, is neither the aim nor the interest of the Maritime Powers. Luckily at present drawing together, taking measures in concert, and following out those measures steadily, in my humble opinion we have the thing in our power, and I hope we shall not have ourselves to reproach with not having profited of so fair an opportunity, where morally speaking the enemy can do nothing on their part to hinder the execution of our designs, and in the deplorable situation of the affairs of France with regard to their troops I think it is highly improbable that France will be able to pick up any new allies, but to arrive at the desirable end above mentioned it appears to me absolutely necessary that there should be a concert among the allies, and that that concert should be made without loss of time."

The Same to the Same.

1743, February 28. Aix la Chapelle.—"The many advantages which I foresaw from this march do every day appear more certain and less difficult; I am pretty sure that we shall find all the Princes concerned, that is to say the Princes thro' whose territories we are to pass, very complaisant, and they will be so more and more every day from the modesty and moderation of our troops and our indulgence to the people, which they did by no means expect, and from the plainness which every man must conceive, that our business is to protect all the Princes of the Empire from oppression, and to deliver the Empire itself from the yoke, under which it has groaned for many years, and under which in all probability it must labour for ever, if the present favourable opportunity is not laid hold of."

The Same to the Same.

1743, March 26. Aix la Chapelle.—"Our troops are now all in motion towards the Rhine. General Ligonier and Brigadier Huske set out upon Friday next from hence for Deuren, and I believe on Sunday I shall leave this place in order to take my quarters within four or five leagues of Bonn to be near the head of the troops and give such orders from day to day as may be necessary; in the mean time there does not the least opposition appear on the part of any of the German Princes concerned, on the contrary they very cheerfully send their commissaries to provide fourage (*sic*), and every thing that may be necessary for the troops on their march; I do not know what colours Monsr. Podewils may give to this, but I can easily perceive that very false colours have been used at the Hague and elsewhere to deter the States from their accession and other Princes from pursuing steadily the only salutary measures that could be taken for the honour and for the advantage of the Maritime Powers and for the safety of all Europe."

The Same to the Same.

1743, April 5. Aix la Chapelle.—"We are going on with the diligent execution of our project, the Austrians have been passing the Rhine since the 2nd, to be followed by the British troops; the Hanovers begin to pass the Rhine to-morrow, and all the bodies are in motion to support

their heads. This motion is, I believe, very much unexpected in many places, but I am very confident, that in a little while it will appear to have all the good effects that can be desired from it, many more than at first sight will occur to most people."

### Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1743, April 25 [–May 6]. Cockpit.—"Since his Majesty is determined to go, and stay I do not know where, and to do I don't know what, I heartily pray that he may be glorious and successful abroad, in order to be easy in his government when he returns again to us; for in the confusion things are at present here under a divided, distracted, and I am afraid weak administration, without any one person having the credit and confidence of his master or the goodwill of his fellow-subjects; any disgrace on the other side or even inaction will cause a most troublesome and boisterous scene the next sessions. . . . . The pamphlet of the *Case of the Hanover Forces* made a great noise, and had a bad influence upon the minds of all sorts of people. Friends called loudly for an answer, the ministers were uneasy, addressed themselves to Mr. P[oyn]tz, to the Bishop of Salisbury, and even hinted coolly to Lord O[rfo]rd to take the pen, but the two first absolutely refused it, and his Lordship was not *au fait* with respect to foreign affairs. However (for I was never spoken to by them for reasons too long to tell you, and which perhaps you may guess at yourself), I told his Lordship, an answer might be made, and accordingly in about a fortnight or three weeks time, the *Interest of Great Britain steadily pursued* appeared, which had the good fortune to be extremely desired, and was at first called Lord C[artere]t's, but some days after the publication our friend Weston, in a visit he vouchsafe[d] to make me on purpose, pumped me about the author, saying that he had received orders jointly with Mr. Stone to collect facts, which he told the Duke of N[ewcastle] he was not able to do it in six months. He spoke then of this answer as what was in a narrow compass very complete as far as it went, and as it was not done by any body in the office, he was pleased to call me the author. I told him that I was not desirous to be thought the author, either of a good or bad thing, where I was not concerned; in the mean time the pamphlet sold extremely well, and every body called for *Part Second*, but the ministers would give it no countenance, read it with uneasiness, and discouraged the vent of it, of which I will give you a particular instance. The printer told me, that as the *Case of the Hanover Forces* had been industriously dispersed at the expense of the opponents all over the kingdom, the friends of the Government were surprised, that the same care was not taken to spread abroad the antidote. I bid him without naming me let our friend Weston know it, which he accordingly did, and the stately Commis[sioner?] immediately grew warm; and wondered at the presumption of any body to pretend to write anything that related to the affairs of the Secretary of State without consulting him, and then to publish it without a previous communication, and therefore the ministry was in the right to give it no encouragement, so that nobody must serve the Government without their leave; I heartily wish they wanted no assistance; and now you know why Part the Second never came out, but this is between ourselves."

### The Earl of Stair to the Same.

1743, May 19. Höchst.—"We have assembled in this neighbourhood a noble army just ready to pass the Main, our bridge is just ready to be

TREVOR MSS. laid. I am persuaded the war in Bavaria will go in the same manner, in which it has begun; all these things will probably produce a very great consternation at Paris, but in my humble opinion they should produce a jubilee all over the kingdom, for when the French King shall have been obliged to yield up such a barrier as may be necessary to make all the rest of Europe quiet, the whole kingdom of France will be infinitely more happy than they have been for a hundred years past, they may then daily increase in wealth and happiness which none of their neighbours will ever think of disturbing."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1743, May 25 [–June 5]. Woolterton.—"I heartily congratulate you upon your successful endeavours in having procured the march of the Hessians and of the 20,000 men, two very essential points towards the success of affairs abroad and to stop the mouths of clamour at home; which together with the daily success of the Austrians against the Bavarians cannot fail of having a great effect upon the minds of the people in this inconstant and licentious country."

HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1743, June 11. Florence.—"The person from whom I have frequently sent letters under your care for Count Benti[n]ck is still in this neighbourhood seemingly totally neglected. He has a violent disorder upon his nerves which he supposes proceeds from a poisoned letter, but he is extremely visionary and capable of believing anything."

C. WETSTEIN to the SAME.

1743, June 16-27. Dettingen.—"By my Lord Carteret's order I have only time to acquaint you of a very great and considerable action, that has happened this very day near this place, being but just come hither from the field of battle. His Imperial Majesty's allies having proposed to hinder our junction with the Hessians and the last 6,000 Hanoverian troops which we were a going to meet about Hanau, they crossed the Meyn by this place, between 25,000 and 30,000 of their best troops, which after a hot engagement from 10 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon were absolutely repulsed, and forced over the river back again, with the loss of a great number of men and many persons of distinction (the troops of the Household having greatly suffered) killed or taken prisoners, among which last there was the youngest son of Monsieur le Marquis de Fenelon, who got an ugly cut in the head, after having behaved very gallantly, and was brought in prisoner. My Lord Carteret, as soon as he knew it, had him brought to him, and had him dressed by Mr. Ramby, our best surgeon in the army, gave him his chaise and to a comrade of his wounded at the same time, and at the same time gave orders that the most particular care should he taken of them, for which his Lordship further recommended them most particularly to my Lord Stair and other general officers. M. de Fenelon desired that my Lord should acquaint his father with it, which his Lordship promised to do; I found him in very good spirits. I must add as a thing I have been a witness of that his Lordship has behaved as nobly and with as great humanity and generosity towards all the officers that were taken prisoners, and offered them all possible assistance and care, which was effected accordingly."

HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1743, July 2. Florence.—"You should know the great alarm all Italy is under on account of the plague at Messina which increases daily. Every state of Italy takes all imaginable precautions to prevent the infection being brought into it, of which there is great danger from the number of vessels with people that are fled from Messina and who seek to put on shore whereever they can. The Court of Rome and this Government have placed guards all along their coasts, and all the states of Italy in general have agreed not to receive any vessels or barks in their lazarettos or permit them to perform a quarantine, in consequence of which an express was sent to Leghorn two days ago to oblige all those that were performing quarantine there immediately to depart, allowing them only time to receive provisions on board. Amongst them there was one, on board of which two people died in a very few hours with many symptoms of the plague upon them. This method of sending those barks away is not approved of by everybody, as it is greatly to be feared they may find means to get on shore somewhere and propagate the infection."

THOMAS VILLIERS to the SAME.

1743, July 4. Hanau.—"Upon an information that the French intended to cross the Main below Frankfort and take possession of Höchst, General Sommerfeldt was sent that way on the 2nd instant with a large detachment, and yesterday he let his Majesty know that he had taken up our old quarters at that place without meeting with any opposition, so that I think we may stay here sometime, secure from our late danger of being starved."

The DUKE OF RICHMOND to the SAME.

1743, July 7. King's Quarters at Hanau.—"By the account printed here by my Lord Carteret's direction, which I suppose you have had, I believe you will think that the attack of *la maison du Roy* was only upon our centre, and that they alone were engaged, whereas I do assure [you] that the whole French line and all our first line was engaged, tho' very little of the second. I know this to be true, because I was on the spot during the whole battle and saw it myself, but certainly their whole army, that is all that crossed the Main, was beaten by our first line which was composed of most English and some Austrian foot, in all not 15,000 men. It was a deep stake, and God knows what would have become of all Europe, if they had failed, but, thank God, I think (at least according to our present situation) that it cannot happen again. We were then certainly in a *cul de sac*. Then as to the numbers of the killed and wounded that paper is quite wrong, for instead of 1,500 we have certainly lost that is *hors de combat* by killed and wounded above 2,200 and the French have certainly lost between 7 and 8,000. . . . Another mistake there is, which is, that the village of Dettingen is represented as in the rear of the left of the French line, whereas it was in the rear of their right wing. These are particulars that I suppose are set right by this time, for as to the printed account my Lord Carteret told me it was all he could get collected at the time, and in the main it is a tolerable good account."

THOMAS VILLIERS to the SAME.

1743, July 11. Hanau.—"Since our retaking the post of Höchst, which makes us masters of countries and towns enough to be supplied

Trevor MSS. with provisions and forage, I think no motion has been made by our troops. The late victory still grows on us: two more French standards, which make eight, were found yesterday, and it is now generally assured that their loss amounts to about 8,000, the wounded included. They are however endeavouring to strengthen themselves by fresh regiments and Broglio's corps; but the union of two beaten armies may augment the general fear, as that of Prince Charles with his Majesty must add, if possible, to the spirit of each others."

THOMAS VILLIERS to the SAME.

1743, July 13. Hanau.—"Yesterday morning about 3 o'clock Marshal Noailles marched with his whole army towards Darmstadt, and, as it is said, will go to Worms, but I cannot affirm that his design is known here; some even apprehend that he may turn again towards the mouth of the Main."

The EARL OF STAIR to the SAME.

1743, July 15. Hanau.—"I was entirely ignorant of all the operations of our army, excepting on the day of battle, when I thought it was my duty to meddle. The consequence of our victory might have been as great as our hearts could desire, but those whose advice the King took have not thought fit to take any advantage of the French; however upon the approach of Prince Charles they are retiring with great precipitation behind the Rhine. When Prince Charles and your Dutch troops arrive, I do not know what operations we then propose to make; I have long solicited in vain the sending up our artillery from Ostend, we have evidently for a good while together had everything in our power; I am still of opinion that we may yet do whatever our hearts can desire."

EDWARD WESTON to the SAME.

1743, August 5 [–16]. Whitehall.—"*Entre nous* our friends here are full of dissatisfaction at the dryness and reserve of their correspondent abroad, and I much apprehend that the *mala sarta gratia* of 1742 will not be long lived."

The SAME to the SAME.

1743, August 12 [–23]. Whitehall.—Explaining that no absolute prohibition against ships from Sicily and Calabria can be enforced without an Act of Parliament, and giving other reasons against it. Quarantine is imposed by virtue of the King's prerogative; and by the Proclamation and subsequent Orders in Council, no ships can be discharged from quarantine without obtaining at the end of the term a special order for release, so that the Privy Council have reserved the power of detaining ships and goods in suspicious cases, as they shall judge fitting.

The EARL OF HYNDFORD to the SAME.

1743, October 19. Berlin.—"I would long ago have acknowledged the honour of your letter by Monsieur Voltaire if I had had anything to write from hence worthy of your attention. That gentleman was so occupied by the King of Prussia and the rest of this Royal Family during his stay here that I had not an opportunity of showing him the regard which I have to your recommendations."

### The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE to the SAME.

1743, October 28 [–November 8]. Newcastle House.—"I am very much concerned to find that you at present decline coming into Parliament, where I think you may be of great service to the King, your country, your friends and yourself, of which last to be sure you are the best judge. I must own I had flattered myself with the hopes of it, and did not see any incompatibility between your attendance in Parliament some few months in the winter, and your business in Holland."

### HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1743, November 29 [–December 10]. Cockpit.—"Things are here in great confusion, and as the opponents are very resolute and bold, and have summoned all their friends to be in town the first day, we may expect warm debates upon the meeting of the Parliament, altho' I am told that all imaginable care is taken in the King's speech to give no handle for it."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1743, December 13 [–24]. Cockpit.—(Printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, ii. p. 60, with the following mistakes; p. 60, last line, insert "the state of" before "our"; p. 61, lines, 6, 14, read "willing" for "acting," and "will" for "is to"; p. 62, line 4 insert "and" after "sanguine," and line 8 read "the" for "his.")

### The SAME to the SAME.

1743–4, January 3 [–14]. Cockpit.—"Next week we expect warm work in Parliament upon the Treaty of Worms, which I suppose will then be laid before the House, the Hanoverian forces etc. The clamour on this last head is most industriously propagated, and it is even given out that the Dutch have conceived as great animosity against the Hanoverians as the English.

*Postscript.*—I think you would do well to write Lord Hobart yourself, and desire him to prevent those manuscripts you sent him from being made (*sic*) for the reasons you can allege."

### HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1744, January 28. Florence.—"I wrote again to his Grace . . . yesterday, to confirm the departure from Rome of the Pretender's eldest son, for which dispositions had been making for some time, though with so much secrecy that it was impossible to make any clear judgment about it, though I constantly acquainted his Grace with my suspicions. The young man has for some years past always gone to Cisterna to hunt, under this pretence he now got off unobserved for some days, Cardinal Acquaviva having provided everything necessary for his departure at Caprarola his country house, from whence he departed in the habit and with the arms of a Spanish courier, with one person only. I apprehend he could not long support the fatigue of riding post, for according to the accounts which I have from the posts on the cross roads in Tuscany two people passed by (who answer exactly to their description) in a chaise belonging to the Post with two saddles tied behind. The accounts do not agree exactly about the day of his departure from Rome, though I believe it was the 9th, nor are the post masters on roads of Pisa more exact in the relations I have received from them about the day of his passing there,

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though many of them agree in the description of the two persons. I have not received any accounts from Genoa, but by another express I have received this day from Rome I am informed that on his arrival there a courier was despatched to the Pretender with an account of it and to acquaint him that his son was lodged at the Director's of the Spanish Post, where he proposed to rest 24 hours and then to proceed by land to Finale (still as a Spanish Courier), where an embarkation was ready to convey him to Antibes. This is all we know of him as yet, which I believe will occasion a very great alarm in England. As to their views in this step, it is impossible to say anything with certainty. By the extract of M. de Thun's letter you will see he thinks the young man is to go on board the French squadron at Brest, others think he is to serve in Flanders. Whatever light he appears in public in, it cannot fail of producing bad consequences by reviving a party that was almost forgot, though I cannot persuade myself that there is either in England or Scotland any considerable number of people that would be so mad [as] to espouse his cause, neither can I persuade myself that the French King would condescend to marry him to one of his daughters as some pretend. The only view that I can see in this step is to cause an alarm in hopes of engaging his Majesty's attention to the security of his own dominions and draw it off from the affairs in which the nation is engaged."

ANDREW THOMPSON to the SAME.

1744, February 14. Paris.—"The person who left Rome on the 9th January arrived at Antibes the 27th in company with another unknown. Those of the French ministers whom I have seen since the news was first talked of, which are Cardinal Tencin and M. Amelot, disavow their having been concerned in this undertaking. The latter assured me, that he was so far from having had any hand in it that he knew nothing of the matter, before the young man had actually left Rome, and to convince me the more, he said he was under no necessity of owning so much, and that therefore if it had not been true, he would [have] told me at once that he had no account to give me. The Cardinal talked very lightly of this enterprise, saying, it was a *tour de jeune homme qui l'avoit pris sons son bonnet sans consulter personne.* He said, he supposed the young man was grown weary of the idle life he led at Rome, and that he was come away with an intent to make a campaign with Don Philip. . . . Both the Cardinal and M. Amelot assured me, that, whatever I might hear of this person's being on board the Brest squadron, I might depend upon it, it was not true."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1743-4, February 27 [– March 9]. Cockpit.—"I hope . . . that he [Sir John Norris] has left in the Downs a sufficient number of ships to watch the Dunkirk embarkation, for notwithstanding the many zealous addresses, and particularly of this city, I don't wish to see a French army in England. Richard Cromwell was wont to point at an old trunk he had in his chamber full of the lives and fortunes of the good people of England.

You will receive, I suppose, the Address of the House of Commons upon the communication made to us of the master of the pacquet-boat's information from Calais, and of the French Court's answer to Mr. Thompson. Perhaps you will receive that also from the Lords, but I am not, between you and me, so certain of that, because it was occasioned very unexpectedly. It seems, as the House of Lords have nothing to

do in matters of money, and they consequently could not make an Address for making good expenses in the same manner as the Commons, the Ministers had agreed to make only a bare communication of the papers above mentioned to the Lords without any motion upon them. Lord Orford hinted to them in private in the House not to let the French Court's answer pass without animadversion at so great a juncture, and thought their silence would have a very bad effect; but as he was not much regarded, and the question was putting to call in counsel to hear a cause, his Lordship, though firmly resolved not to have spoken this session, had so great an impulse upon him that he could not forbear representing the necessity there was for their Lordships to take notice and resent in a proper manner the behaviour of France in meditating an invasion in favour of the Pretender; and in giving so evasive and presumptuous an answer to the application of his Majesty's minister at Paris. The D[uke] of N[ewcastle] was a little touched, as if it was a sort of a slap for his not moving anything, but the whole House agreed to a proper Address by way of Resolution. You will take no notice of this, which I should not have troubled you with, had I not had so safe a conveyance.

I take the liberty to hint to you likewise (but in the greatest confidence and assurance of secrecy) that the D[uke] of N[ewcastle] is not perfectly well pleased with you; and I am persuaded that the reason is because I am told your despatches are full of flattery to Lord C[artere]t; for you must know that, notwithstanding the common danger, they are, if possible, greater enemies than ever, and that appears in all the deliberations in councils at this great and critical juncture. The truth is that his G[ra]ce is generally not much esteemed; and his Lordship is as generally, I am afraid, hated, not to say worse.

You will burn this as soon as read, and not to take the least notice of these particulars so as to be understood by the Post."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1743–4, March 9 [–20]. Cockpit.—"We are all easy and quiet here, imagining that the expedition of Dunkirk is entirely over. Lord O[rfor]d and myself are almost the only persons that seem not indifferent about it, and think our precautions should be continued; I am whispered that the re-imbarkation at Dunkirk is renewing, I don't believe that; but to be persuaded that it will not be renewed depends upon the motives France had for undertaking it, and the more or less unanimity in the French councils for that undertaking. If it was a unanimous scheme there, as a serious and determined measure, connected with their general plan of operations for this campaign, and grounded upon a disposition in a great many to receive a new K[ing], and an indifference in many more with respect to this f[amil]y, and their being able to have more regular troops to invade, than we shall have to oppose, besides the hearts of the people; I do still apprehend a new attempt, unless Providence interposes again."

### HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1744, March 31. Florence.—"It is certain that the Jacobites and the adherents of the Pretender at Rome are so visionary that they expect to hear of an insurrection in England in favour of the Pretender's son; it is probable that they will be undeceived when they see that both Houses of Parliament have unanimously presented Addresses to his Majesty to assure him that they will sacrifice their lives and fortunes

TREVOR MSS. for the support of his person and government and that the city of London has done the same. . . . . .

Soon after the Pretender's son's departure from Rome a pompous account of it was printed and distributed to all the Cardinals by Murray, called Lord Dunbar. The author, who is Cardinal Monti, compares his escape to that of Demetrius in Polybius, and draws a magnificent parallel between them. The piece is very bulky and not worth your notice, *sencé* that others have exercised their parts in print; the enclosed is a copy of some verses on that occasion." *Enclosed :—*

Two pieces, each consisting of twelve Latin Hexameters, headed "*Demetrius, Seleuci filius, Soter postea dictus, clam ex urbe ad patriam liberandam proficiscitur*" and "*Demetrius ante discessum amicis mentem aperit.*"

The SAME to the SAME.

1744, April 7. Florence.—"The dispersion of the transports at Dunkirk . . . has greatly dejected the spirits of the Pretender and all his adherents. The news of it arrived at Rome by a French courier from Paris a few days before the last letters departed from thence. The Chevalier Tencin, the busy nephew of the Cardinal, announced this fatal news to the Pretender and his second son, the latter fainted on the recital of it, and it struck the former with a most profound melancholy, which soon dispersed itself throughout the entire family."

Field-Marshal GEORGE WADE to the SAME.

1744, April 12. Brussels.—"Unless they send us our drafts from England we shall make but a poor figure by the weakness of our squadrons and battalions. As to the Hanoverians they are all on their march, but by a letter I have had from their general the hindermost cannot be here till the 29th of this month, I mean of the 16,000 in our pay, for we are to have no more . . . this campaign, and as to the Hessians, as I don't hear of their having begun their march I despair of seeing them this year. . . . I don't find that they have any plan of operations on our side nor indeed do I think, in the situation we are in, we can have any but what must be produced by the motions of the French."

HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1744, April 21. Florence.—"It is impossible to describe the consternation that appeared all over Rome and particularly in the Pretender's family on the arrival there of the notice that the intended invasion in favour of his son had failed. The Pretender complained greatly on this occasion that the Court of France had totally changed the first scheme that had been concerted and in consequence of which he said he had consented to his son's departure. An accident happened afterwards which explained his meaning: The Abbé Goddard, an Irishman, who was formerly inter-nuncio at Brussels and strongly attached to their interests, being with Murray (there called Lord Dunbar) and many others, in the heat of discourse inveighed against France, saying that, if the first project had only been followed of invading his Majesty's dominions in Germany with the Pretender's son, it could not in all probability have failed of producing the effect they proposed, that it would have fomented the divisions and animosities in England and have distressed his Majesty's measures more than any other after the spirit

that has been raised and the many indecent invectives that have been published with regard to the Electorate of Hanover. This discourse pronounced with the utmost warmth drew severe reprimands from Murray, who immediately acquainted the Pretender with what had passed, in consequence of which the Abbé received an order the next day from the Pretender not to approach his house any more, nor have the entreaties of Cardinal Corsini, Acquaviva and others who have interested themselves for him been able to obtain his pardon, being accused of indiscretion in discovering their secrets and as unfit to be entrusted with them for the future.

The parallel of Demetrius, which was published and distributed by Murray, is now with great industry called in, having displeased, it is said, the Court of France, two pistoles are offered for each exemplaire."

### Henry Pelham to the Same.

1744, April 19 [–30]. Arlington Street.—Introducing the bearer, Mr. Vaneck, and opening "a little to you my thoughts and those of many of your friends in this country upon the present situation of our affairs abroad. . . . Nobody knows of my writing to you on this subject but Lord Harrington and the Duke of Newcastle."

### Robert Trevor to Henry Pelham.

1744, May 15. The Hague.—"It is this part of my letter, which will put my courage in telling and your candour in hearing truths to the test. . . . A further discouragement to vigour in this government . . . is its want of a due reliance upon our Royal Master thro' its discovery of the prevalency of his Electoral bias; to which I have daily instances pointed out to me of his postponing not only the interests of the Republic, but those of the common cause, and even of his Crown. Under this head I am twitted with his Majesty's management of his Imperial Commission in Oostfrise: With the demand, I was forced to make in February 1741 of the Republic's guaranteeing the Electorate previously to the establishing any avowed concert of measures, and union of forces (which I was then just upon the point of obtaining) between her and England in the support of our common guaranty of the Pragmatic *contra quoscunque:* With the neutrality struck up the end of the same year with France, at the expense of the reputation of the British Secretary of State then attending the King's person; With his Majesty's conduct at the Diet of the Election; With the languor, and inactivity, with which our last campaign closed, and with the confusion with which the present one opens: With the detention of the Electoral succour; With the tenderness, backwardness, and independency of the Hanoverian Corps that is in the Netherlands; and lastly, with the ill-blood, and disaffection, which this same unhappy bias has bred in England, to the visible weakening of our administration, not to say possible endangering of our very constitution. Under this head I must also range another reproach of this Government's, which is the perpetual dodging between the King's two qualities. Today, they say, the King, and the Elector, are to be considered, and treated as one and the same individual person: The next, there are no two Princes in Europe, who are less intimate with, or less accountable to one another. When any guaranty, or advantage is the question; All the allies of the British crown are to be deemed allies of the Electorate; but when any danger, or *onus* is the question; Hanover is a distinct, independent State; and nowise involved in the measures, nor even fate of England.

TREVOR MSS. At this very hour, they observe, whilst Lord Hyndford is labouring at Berlin to extend the virtue of the Great Seal of Great Britain to the Hanoverians; These last pretend not to understand the French King's late Declaration of war, as regarding them; and whilst his Britannic Majesty's Privy Counsellors sign a Treaty of Subsidy with the Elector of Cologne; they seem nowise admitted into the knowledge of the bargain existing between that Prince and the Elector of Hanover; the stipulations of which are now pleaded here by the Court of Bonn, as one of the circumstances, which incapacitate it from complying with our Declaration, and accommodating the Republic with any troops for the present.

Now I have thus far put my heart, and my fortunes into your hands, I shall not suppress another great discouragement to vigour here, of a nature little less tender and delicate, than the foregoing one; and this is the knowledge this people has got of the want of harmony and union amongst the King's servants in England, to which they attribute the want they pretend to discover of forecast, system, and steadiness in our measures. They reproach me with the incoherence of our several heterogeneous corps of troops; and with their unsubserviency to the defence of the Netherlands; Wade seeming to keep his eye chiefly fixed upon our Islands; and Wendt his upon Westphalia. The lavishness of our last campaign makes some imagine, it must be impossible for England to sing the tune through in the note she has begun it. Our land operations have not yet given the Dutch a better opinion of our Generals, than they have of their own; nor have our sea ones any wise answered the expectation of the public; nor raised the credit of our naval arms. But what staggers all sorts of people here is, the seeing England after having been the first to seek the danger, and after having all along taken the lead, and in a manner invited, and defied France to the present issue, now at a loss to know how to turn herself; without any plan of operations; and without any determinate concert, or thorough understanding not only with this State, whose fault it may be as much as ours, but even with the Queen herself; and lastly without a chief with authority to write, and instructions to employ indiscriminately, and without favour or affection, all the few troops the allies have left, to the greatest advantage of the common cause; in the strengthening whereof alone the several powers ought to seek their peculiar safety."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1744, May 26. The Hague.—"The foregoing hasty sheets have been lying by me these ten days for a safe conveyance to my brother's hands by a messenger. What I have now to add . . . is that the hopeless and succourless situation, in which Menin, Ypres and Tournay and the Dutch garrisons therein . . . now find themselves had raised a very bad humour in this country, where this misfortune is universally laid at our and the Hanoverians' door, who would not, they say, turn time enough out of our warm winter quarters; nor advance in time to form upon the frontier, nor lend a single regiment to reinforce the garrison. The very Pensionary tells me the Netherlands were lost, and lost by our fault; whilst our old opposers revived, pluckt up new courage and preacht up afresh with but too much success the doctrine of neutrality. By good luck the high language the French hold to Mr. Twickle on one hand, and the several popular and obliging instructions I have just received from England on the other, have a little sweetened this sour humour in Holland, tho' I must still expect to feel some effects of it in some of the other Provinces. . . . In the mean-

time it is impossible for me to get the second corps of 20,000 men into Flanders. This people's plea is, we do but follow the example of England and Hanover, and must take care of our own house as well as they do of theirs. . ." TREVOR MSS

HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1744, May 18 [–29]. Cockpit.—"Ever since the unaccountable *hiatus* from the 16th of June 1743 to the end of the campaign and what appeared to me the ridiculous causes of it I have had the most melancholy ideas, especially considering the perpetual and irreconcileable discord among our M[iniste]rs here."

HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

1744, May 29 [–June 9].—"I have, by that accident, lost the opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for the most useful and confidential communication of public affairs that I ever received from anybody. You may depend on my care that nothing shall transpire that has, or shall, come from you to me. I am sorry to find the people where you are, so well informed as to the interior of our Government, though I hope, by a firm and steady adherence to that which is truly national and for the benefit of the whole, *some people* may be able to stem many overt acts taking place from that quarter, from whence you apprehend the greatest mischief. And in order to that you will have seen h[is] M[ajesty] has been at last prevailed upon to open himself without reserve in a paper delivered by his servants to Mr. Boetselaer, to be by him transmitted to the Pensionary, which paper will, I hope make the well intentioned in Holland more at ease with regard to the King's views either as to peace or war. The melancholy picture you have drawn *too like the original in every feature*, fills me with the greatest fears and apprehensions. Nothing but a thorough concert with Holland, and each power exerting itself in a proper manner, can bring us out of these difficulties, you see therefore we are willing to do what we can, and if an expedition is not approved on, we shall then, forthwith, not only permit the six thousand Dutch to return home, provided they are to be employed in strengthening the confederate army; but also send over six battalions of national troops, which upon the present compliment, will amount to about five thousand effective men; no inconsiderable addition to what this country already furnishes. But that which must put all these salutary ideas into proper motion, is, in my poor opinion, the entering immediately into the Treaty proposed at the latter end of the paper; in that, the several Quotas may be settled, and in settling them, regard will and ought to be had to the interest and ability of each party. When this is once done, all those melancholy consequences, which are properly apprehended from the temper and partiality of our master on the one hand, and the humour of the Court of Vienna with respect to indemnifications and aggrandizements on the other, must naturally fall to the ground, each party will be kept to its proper bounds, and the interest of the whole will be considered by all. And what to me, is most material, this country will venture further and be able to exert itself without reproach, notwithstanding the malevolent spirit which reigns too much amongst us. But, on the other hand, if Holland should draw herself out of the scrape, and appear backward in contributing what is in her power, towards carrying on this unavoidable war, I am apprehensive we should have Electoral difficulties to deal

TREVOR MSS. with in the Cabinet, and an utter impossibility of supporting in Parliament, what in private an honest man might think just and necessary to undertake. The expense this country is now at, is immense, and if no fruit is found from it this year, nor expectation or reaping any the next, who can promise for success another session of Parliament? "

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1744, June 1 [–12]. Cockpit.—"What application, now the Parliament is up, to business can be of use amongst M[iniste]rs that have different notions and never agree when they meet? and as to the Council at Kensington it is generally agreed the King will go abroad this year. I depend upon the effect of the prayer in [the] Liturgy '*for it is thou only that fightest for us, O Lord.*'"

HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

[1744], June 12 [–23]. Arlington Street.—"We were very near falling to pieces upon the demand made by the Pensionary for our paying the 6,000 Dutch as auxiliaries even after they came into Flanders. Mr. Boetselaer with whom I had a long conference in the presence of Mr. Hop, who served for our interpreter, tells me that he has wrote to the Pensionary his observations upon what had passed first between him and Lord Carteret alone, and then what he observed, when my brother and I met with them. He thought he discovered a good deal of uneasiness in my behaviour, and apprehended that I was somewhat irritated, more than he wished, with the answer that was made to the paper transmitted from hence some time ago, as also with the proposition for our paying the staff, contingencies and extraordinary expenses of 6,000 Dutch during the campaign. I assured him I had no such intention, but could not deny but that I thought it a bad symptom of vigour in the Republic, to desire England to pay any part of the expense of Dutch troops employed in the defence of the Barrier to their own country. That this was still my thoughts, but since the rest of the King's servants had advised his Majesty to comply with that request, I acquiesced. But at the same time I wished, that this might be done in a manner more agreeable to former presidents (*sic*) and more consistent with the rules and customs of this country. He seemed to agree with me, and hoped he might receive some advices before they embarked, which might put this affair in a more agreeable light. I thought therefore it was not improper for me to give you these hints, though far from desiring that you should do any thing from them, that was not consistent with your orders and conformable to your own opinion. I told him further, that what occasioned some emotion in me was, that as I was at the head of the revenue, I was particularly answerable for the expenses of this country, and that I saw with too much concern, that every ally we had, and for whose interests we had exerted ourselves to so great a degree, were every day calling upon us for more, that therefore, if Holland, who I now take to be personally attacked by the French, hould think it justifiable to call upon us in the same manner, I did not see where this could end, and therefore it was my duty to put in some check, to prevent our running away with an opinion that we could comply with every thing that was demanded."

ROBERT TREVOR to PELHAM.

1744, July 4. The Hague.—"I am not a little pleased that my last liberties have met, not only with your forgiveness but even sanction,

. . . I was sorry to see by your favour of the 12th O.S. that the article of our paying the staff and extraordinaries of our Dutch auxiliaries, whilst they serve in Flanders, was so little to your liking. . . . I had understood the bargain as being rather to our advantage than otherwise, seeing we thereby continued to all interests and purposes as much masters of that corps, which may be thrown over again into England on any emergency by the King's own authority at the shortest warning as if it had remained in Essex; whilst on the other hand we in the meantime have the service of it in Flanders and are eased of the supplemental pay of six regiments, not to mention their load upon the counties wherein they must otherwise have been quartered." TREVOR MSS.

General THOMAS WENTWORTH to ROBERT TREVOR.

1744, July 8–19. The Camp at Berlinghem.—"If there be really any want of a chief, it is occasioned by those whose independence authorises their daily raising unreasonable difficulties. Were all the steps made by the Marshal since his coming over to be impartially weighed, it would, I am well assured, evidently appear, that it is owing to his counsels and firmness that the French are not now in possession of Ghent, Bruges, and perhaps Ostend, with all their dependencies, which in all probability must have happened had he followed the advice of those very people, perhaps, who now arraign his conduct. . . .

A Council of war was held yesterday at the Marshal's quarters . . . The time was principally taken up in disagreeable expostulations, which never can do any good. Every party seemed to have their particular interest in view, to which all other points were to be sacrificed, nor after consuming some hours in fruitless debates, did they conclude upon anything very material, and, as far as I can judge, did not break up in very good temper."

Colonel WILLIAM GRAEME to the SAME.

1744, July 25.—"There is nothing in the world I would not do to see us do something that looked like men, though I despair of succeeding, knowing too well how we are constitute here. Nothing can bring this anarchy to a right conclusion but the orders of London and the Hague. Everybody thinks more of starting difficulties than of obviating them, and as the time has passed hitherto in disputes so it will for the rest of the campaign."

General THOMAS WENTWORTH to the SAME.

1744, August 12 [–23]. Camp at Pont à Tressin.—"This last fatigue has affected him [Field-Marshal Wade] exceedingly; I am very sure no man living can have better intentions for the public service than himself, but there is certainly a time of life when business is a real burden, of which I am persuaded, he is but too sensible. . . . A paragraph in a letter you writ to England was . . . sent to the Marshal, at which he was a good deal displeased. You accuse us in it of having wanted life, in continuing so long at Berlinghem camp. I do assure you that was not the Marshal's fault, who would have passed the Scheldt with our then force, had his colleagues been pleased to give their assent."

The SAME to the SAME.

1744, September 23. Camp at Austain.—"The Marshal not only proposed but pressed in the strongest terms our moving towards the

TREVOR MSS. Count de Saxe a fortnight ago, in which he was opposed for no other apparent reason than saving the Queen's territory, that is, saving it for the French, who have subsisted 30 or 40 squadrons upon it very comfortably ever since. We shall, I presume, try to live sometime longer on the enemies' country, when no more can be found there I take it for granted that the D[uke] d'Aremberg will think it absolutely for the public service that the army goes into winter quarters."

The SAME to the SAME.

1744, October 8. The Camp at Peltinghem near Oudenarde.—"We were lately very near striking a fine stroke, in which I should have had personally a very considerable share, as my post was at the head of the British Grenadiers.

The day before we passed the Marque, the Count de Saxe detached a large body . . . to Pont d'Espierre, where they posted themselves behind a deep rivulet, in order, as was given out, either to have intercepted our march or to have fallen upon our rear, in case we should have changed our route, and passed the Scheldt near Tournay. Could the Duke d'Aremberg have been prevailed upon by the Marshal to have marched immediately upon the first certain intelligence of their motion, we must inevitably have taken their cannon, if not cut off all that corps, but a whole day was lost, and we did not march before Thursday morning, when we found the birds flown and the nest scarcely cool. . . . The Marshal . . . now begins to think of returning home, and undoubtedly with great pleasure, for, if I be not much mistaken, no mortal was ever more weary of a jail, than he is of his command."

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE to the SAME.

1744, September 28 [–October 9]. Newcastle House.—"I have, as you desired, destroyed your letter, but as there are many material hints relating to the principal causes of our difficulties in Holland, I have ventured to take minutes for my own use of that part of your letter, but it is so contrived that it cannot appear from whom or from what quarter these suggestions come, but if you think any inconvenience can ever arise from this, I shall be ready upon the first notice to destroy those minutes also, as I shall also give you the greatest and best security by opening myself to you in the same confidential manner, and perhaps even more fully and more liable to inconvenience, if known, than you have yourself done. . . .

I have ever been uniformly of opinion that the support of the Queen of Hungary, pursuant to our engagements, was incumbent upon us, in every sense, from all the principles of honour and interest, but I soon saw, that the necessary measures for that purpose would meet with such clogs as might in the end entirely defeat them, and experience has convinced me, that the misfortunes and disappointments that we have met with, are rather owing to the manner in which vigorous measures, viz., the war, has been carried on, or rather *not carried on* than to the measure itself. To speak plainly—Too great an attention to Electoral considerations, has been in my opinion the cause of most of our difficulties. That has so hampered our measures, and prevented *our* making use of the great advantages, which Providence put into our hands, has rendered it so difficult, if not impracticable, to establish that solid *national* concert with our allies, and particularly, the States-General, which could alone carry us through this great affair with a prospect of success, that we are

now in such a situation, that I can scarce see, how we can go either forward or backward. As these have been my fears, from the beginning, I have constantly endeavoured, as much as was in my power, to remove or prevent the ill consequences of such unfortunate prejudices, and though in conjunction with my friends, we may have been able often to delay, and finally to disappoint any particular measure that would have had that tendency; it has not however been in our power to direct the great machine so as to free it, from the great inconveniencies, which are the natural consequences of this conduct, and must produce those ill effects abroad, which you mention, and have, and ever will be, a stab to all vigorous measures at home. Your predecessor my Lord Chesterfield said once in the House of Lords, 'It would be a halter about the neck of this war, or a millstone upon it.' You must now allow me, after having found so much fault with ourselves, to blame your side of the water a little in return. When the friends to Holland in our ministry had been able, after all our fruitless attempts for six months, to establish a perfect concert with you, and to form a proper plan for that purpose; after I say *we* had so far succeeded, as to induce the King to open himself in the full confidential and cordial manner that he did to the *Pensionary* by the paper in May last given to Boetslaer both with regard to peace and war, where the conditions of the former were as moderate as the lowest Dutchman could ask, and the necessity of establishing forthwith a plan and scheme for carrying on the war, whereby the *object of it*, and the particular contingents were to be settled, were as clearly laid down, as the most cautious or most zealous friend for carrying on the war could wish; I say after all this, our good friend the Pensionary has forgot that such a paper has ever been given in, though he *himself* particularly cried out for it, by all his canals of *secret emissary*, Boetslaer, Hop, &c. for more than a year, and instead of forwarding and supporting the zeal, the successful zeal of his true friends here, by proceeding upon that paper and always putting us in mind of it, he has put it in the power of those, who were originally against the measure, to drop it entirely, and secretly to triumph over the authors of it, and I think I plainly perceive by my friend Boetslaer, that *those* are looked upon at present as their best friends, who are the most complaisant and willing to accept whatever the most economical minister in the Republic shall be willing to give. But this great affair cannot be carried on upon that foot. Those that tell disagreeable truths are the best friends, both in Holland and in England. And I adore you, for having, as *B* says, given our friends in Holland to understand, that if they continue to insist, as they do, upon their proportions, which I call scandalous proportions, it will be impossible for us to go on with the war. This is the language I would have held by authority and that we should tell our friends in Holland plainly. Our engagements, and our interests are the same with theirs, our inabilities pretty near as great, and that if they are not in a condition, or have not an inclination, to declare war, as they ought, and to support that war, jointly every where and by proper proportions of force, and other expenses, we can no longer continue this war upon the foot it is, and therefore must either get out of it, in the best way we can by ourselves, or, what I should like better, if we can't make war together, that we should endeavour, to make the best peace together we can. This, if any thing, would bring them seriously to consider and engage with us, as they ought to do. For as long as they think, we will bear the whole burden ourselves, or the greatest part, they will let us. This would, I hope, produce such a concert and scheme for carrying on the war, as might give a reasonable prospect of success."

TREVOR MSS.

Trevor MSS.

General Thomas Wentworth to the Same.

1744, October 26. Ghent.—The contents of yours of the 23rd "not only surprised me, but raised my indignation; to find falsehoods evident, and known to be so by every person here, not only advanced as facts, but very extraordinary steps made in consequence of them; surely there must be some snake in the grass, some point to carry, which cannot be ventured upon without the people's being possessed with an opinion of our having not only declined acting offensively, but of having shamefully deserted their troops, by abruptly breaking up the camp, and leaving them exposed to be insulted by the enemy; the real matter of fact is as follows—

After the D[uke] d'Aremberg and General Croomstrom had refused to pass the Lys for the reasons mentioned in my last letter, we remained in suspense in the camp at Luseren to October 12th. About seven that evening, the Marshal, without having been previously consulted, received a message from the D[uke] d'Aremberg, signifying that he should with the Austrians and Dutch march the next morning and encamp near Ghent, with the Lys between them and the enemy; which he actually did, and took leave of us in the very abrupt manner, in which the Marshal is accused of having abandoned them, who notwithstanding pursued the first design of passing the Lys, which he did the 14th with the British and Hanoverians, and encamped at Drenghen with an intention, I presume, of continuing there eight or ten days longer, but the very heavy rains (which have lasted ever since) making it impracticable to remain encamped on that flat low ground, without risking the ruin of the whole army, we were ordered into winter quarters, but not without the D[uke] d'Aremberg s having been first consulted and messages having passed between him and the Marshal; in consequence of which the Dutch and Austrians marched two or three days afterwards, it being impossible for the whole body to file off at the same time; but, had they still continued in their camp, as to any danger from the enemy, depend upon it they would have been full as secure, as we are now in Brussels, Ghent and Bruges.

Such are the steps which have put the States into a fermentation, equal to what they felt in the year 1712, which has suspended all public business, all concert between our Court and the Republic, undone their ministry, and occasioned a formal complaint against the Marshal to the King!

. . . If we have not lost all credit with you, surely you must on your part begin to suspect that the B[riti]sh M[iniste]r may possibly be a dupe to their H[i]gh M[ightinesse]s, or they to their G[enera]ls; no *creve qui creve*, no *tombe qui tombe*, was ever (I have it from very good authority) heard of in any council, nor any expressions which were pressing for going upon action, but rather the very contrary.

Whatever may be people's sentiments on what has passed, I am fully convinced that the Marshal has, in every step he has made during the whole campaign acted frankly and openly, and with no other view but to promote the good of the common cause; he has indeed been so far criminal, as to refuse on any occasion to saddle England with the whole expense, *hinc illae lachrymæ!* . . .

You will think it pretty extraordinary that seldom anything which passed in their councils was committed to writing, the Duke d'Aremberg scarcely ever sitting down; but had their resolutions being (*sic*) taken down, as is usual, in form, the Marshal is of opinion that it would not be consistent with his character to produce them to justify himself to foreigners, but which he should be very ready to do, whenever called upon by a proper authority."

ROBERT TREVOR to HENRY PELHAM. TREVOR MSS.

1744, November 30. The Hague.—"The administration here, by which I mean the Pensionary and his set of friends, have of late gained ground considerably both in the Union and in Holland, but particularly in the latter; und, in proportion, all collusion with, and even management for France, as far as the same may extend beyond verbal compliments, and outward appearances, and especially all underhand, and separate measures, are less to be apprehended than ever.

The Retreat of the worthy old Greffier will not operate, in my opinion, the least change in the principles of this ministry; but rather tend to strengthen the influence of Holland, and of course of the Pensionary, in general affairs, as Holland will now have a person of their own kidney at the head of the Union.

I can even say, I am satisfied with the point of view, in which the leading heads here at present see (thanks to Monsieur Twickle's repulse, the loss of the Barrier towns, the Frankfort League, the invasion of Bohemia, Schmettau's letters, and Maillebois' march) their own, and the public danger, as well as with their desire and resolution to cooperate with Great Britain, and the House of Austria in preventing it. The manner, and the degree of their doing so (as I have heretofore had the honour to acquaint you) are now the only two points (I wish you may not think them equivalent to the whole) upon which I have any dispute left with them. It is upon these two points, that the sequel of this letter will turn.

The perusal of my relations to the office, in many of which you must have perceived the courtier and the politician sacrificed to the Englishman; together with the frankness, with which Monsieur Boetzelaer has, or at least ought to have exposed not only to *all* his Majesty's servants, but even to his Majesty himself, the way of thinking of this Government upon many essential, and tender points, will, I hope, have prepared you a little for the bold truths, and unostensible reflections, which I am now going to venture to lodge in your breast; as thinking them full as safely, and more usefully placed there, than in my own.

I shall speak first to the manner in which this State is to concur in the support, and prosecution of a cause, which it admits, without hesitation, to be a common one.

I wish, that the difference there is, not only between the genius of the two nations, but also between the *manœuvre* of the two administrations left me more room, than it does, to hope to see this point soon settled to mutual satisfaction. The Dutchman's present maxims are: *Inimicos habere tanquam amicos futuros*, with respect to expressions and manners; and with respect to real measures, *Plus esse quam videri*, whilst the Englishman's humour is, a Word and a Blow: to call things by their downright names; to set the best leg foremost: to throw away the scabbard; and to look upon everybody as against him, who is not, tooth and nail, for him. The ministry here, to lead people the length they would have them go, are obliged to do it step by step, and by concealing from them the extent of the career they are engaging them in; whilst with us, a ministry, to obtain what is absolutely necessary, is often forced to talk bigger than it thinks; and, in order to obtain guards and garrisons, to promise in a manner, an invasion of France. Here, the surest way of carrying a question, is, to wrap up the extent of its full meaning and consequences in innocent, unctuous, and general, not to say equivocal, terms; whilst, on our side the water, the most determinate, enterprising, and flaming propositions, are generally the most popular ones. Now if ministers with us, where the

TREVOR MSS. greatest affairs are decided by any the least majority, are driven, at the very time they think more judiciously themselves, to humour the genius of their countrymen; what can be expected from a Dutch minister, to whom, strictly speaking, an absolute unanimity, both in Holland, in the first instance, and in the Union in the next, and in fact a majority next door to such an unanimity, is necessary for the dispatch of every material act of State?

The motley tenor of the States-General's resolution of the 24th of last month, not to cite almost every production of the Republic since the great crisis of the Emperor's death, is a proof of the foregoing observation. The same persons, who procured Count Nassau, and General Ginkel to march last year into Flanders, with *Carte Blanche*, would have given them positive, and express directions to have fallen upon the French, if the articulation of such positive, and express directions would not have endangered the very march itself. The same friends to our cause, who got the debt of the treaty of 1678 allowed, would at the same time have pushed the immediate and punctual payment of it too; had not the premature mention of such a payment been capable of getting the very Bill protested, and now lately, the Pensionary would have articulated, at once, the Rhine, as the destination of the corps put under General Smissaert's command; had he not felt, that such an early avowal of its final destination might have clogged, if not defeated, the very formation of it at all.

I would by no means, be understood to be pleading here the apology of this Government, which is undeniably at present guilty of a political bankruptcy towards England; but barely to be exposing its actual humour, and constitution; and seeing we have neither time, nor means to change them; we seem to have nothing left to do but to try to make the best we can of them as they are. How far the impetuosity of my countrymen may be to be reconciled to this phlegmatic maxim, I dread to think!

The principal sources of this hitherto invincible backwardness in the Dutch to speak out, and engage roundly, are the following; some of an interior nature, such as—Their dread of shaking too roughly their crazy constitution: Their apprehensions of still narrowing the bottom of their declining commerce: and their consciousness of their being, in no sense, the men they pass for. There are others of an external nature, viz. Their jealousy of being goaded on farther, and faster, than they can bear, if once formally yoked with us; Their desire to keep their hands as clean of blood as may be, to be the readier to turn them to the works of peace: The bad opinion they entertain of the public game; and their still worse, of most of the principal players of it; which the pitiful issue of the last campaign in Flanders, and of all our naval expenses hitherto, has but too much confirmed: Their suspicions, ever since the Convention of Worms (which, though disavowed to the Pensionary, got round to his knowledge) of a propensity in our Court to encourage that of Vienna in its extensive and visionary views: Their want of a due confidence in the stability, unanimity, and methodicalness of our counsels: Their observation of the unmanly, and mercenary spirit of the very Courts, which pass for the best intentioned on the Continent; and above all, of that unhappy equivoque of King, and Elector; with which our infatuated master is suffered, not to say tempted, to juggle, to the evident risk of the public safety, and of his own Crown's and family's too.

I come now to the degree of weight, which this State may throw into the common scale. And here, I must open to you a prospect as much more melancholy than the foregoing one, as obstacles, resulting from

the nature of things, are more incurable than those resulting from humour, and personalities.

In the last general war, the two Powers never came to any explicit estimation, and taxation of their respective strength, though expressly directed and promised by the treaty of 1701, but carried it on upon the indefinite general foot of *Totis viribus*, which, notwithstanding Lord Bolingbroke's charge to the contrary in 1711, was so literally, and more than literally executed by this country, that it has not, nor ever will recover the strain it then got. Upon the first breaking out of the present troubles the Pensionary loudly disclaimed the precedent of the last war; and I have often been allowed and authorised to assure him and others, that an exact parallel with those times would not now be expected from the Republic. But I must ingenuously confess, I never imagined the abatement meditated here would have proved so enormous as that Monsieur Van der Heim lately proposed, and still, as you must have seen by my late public letters, so pertinaciously adheres to. The various reasonings and expostulations I have had with that minister on this dismal topic, though they have not quite convinced me of the moral impossibility of the Republic's giving more to this particular service, and still less of the possibility of our accepting so little, have but too abundantly done so with respect to the worn-out and remediless state of its finances in general. The very peevishness which perhaps you may have remarked in some of the Pensionary's late conversations with me, has arisen from the utter loss he is at, so much as to invent, not to say carry through, money projects sufficient to defray the extraordinary services already voted for the next year, and from an elaborate and accurate deduction he has just drawn up of the Republic's incumbrances, which are so immense and terrible that scarce anybody of late years has had the courage to look them in the face. I am mistaken if any man living knows how to pity a minister, a lover of his country, and of fair dealing, under these circumstances better than yourself.

Holland, which seems to have reaped nothing from a thirty years' peace, unless it be a plentiful crop of effeminacy, indolence and anarchy has scarce anything left to mortgage. Every article both of income and expense is so high loaded already that an augmentation of the taxes upon the one produces a diminution in the product of those upon the other, not to mention that this Province is even threatened with a considerable desertion of its inhabitants upon the first (and which cannot now be far off) additional pressure.

This being the real state of things here, I see no reason to flatter ourselves with seeing the efforts of the Republic ever exceed those she is going to make against next year, nor do I expect that even they can be of long duration. Her army will be augmented to the foot of ninety odd thousand men. She will have about thirty sail of ships at sea; will bear some part (I cannot yet say what) in the artillery and incidental expenses of the campaign, not to mention the share she will have in the Cologne and Saxon subsidy (if so be the latter ever comes to exist) nor the loss she actually sustains by the French conquests in the Barrier. As I own I take this to be the top of the tide, and that a spring tide too for this country, I have already humbly suggested and must do so again, that all hands may be set to work at once, since, if we cannot get afloat then, I fear we shall sink deeper and deeper into the mud.

How the disparity to be found between the efforts above enumerated and what this same little spot furnished last war towards the common cause; and consequently the deficiency upon the general balance of the

TREVOR MSS. whole, is to be made good, seems to me to be the grand question at present.

For my own part, I can think of but two, or rather considering the distractions, lukewarmness, and mercenary demands of the court of Russia, but one quarter, from whence this supplemental strength can come; I am persuaded, your imagination has got the start of my pen, and that you have already named to yourself, Hanover. This is what is longed for here, as ardently as with you, and you cannot but have observed several broad and intelligible hints given his Majesty of late from hence, as well as from the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, to this purpose. This is the point of the compass, from whence our friends here expect the first dawn of public safety; and this is the touchstone by which they judge of our Royal Master's personal zeal for the common cause, and of the heartiness of his counsels, and actions, even as King. I am every day asked, and that by the gravest and best intentioned people here such as the Pensionary, Opdam, Corver, Van Neck, &c., whether it is credible that a Prince of the Empire, who maintained twenty four thousand men in full peace, should not have ten thousand in his pay now all the Empire was in confusion, and war declared against himself by France? Or, that a King of England, duly sensible of his own and the public danger, and of the difficulty of his making sufficient head against the attack should, instead of mustering together and ranging, to the utmost advantage, the pieces he is master of, eclipse one of them by another; or, in other words, that sixteen thousand men in English gold, and sixteen thousand men in Hanoverian troops, should produce but one sixteen thousand men to the common cause? This, they tell me, is like one's right hand's paying one's left for feeding oneself; and some, who are minutely *au fait* of this bargain, make still shrewder reflections on it; and do not stick to say the Elector, instead of bearing any share of the public load, has hitherto converted the calamities of the times to his peculiar easement and profit. Others lament, that this identity of the two persons deprives the common cause even of the recommendation and *appui* it could not fail to meet with from a King of England with an Elector of Hanover, were they two distinct Princes, whilst others more peevishly cry out, they cannot comprehend with what face the King can press the Republic to declare war against France, whilst he (that is the Elector) dares not so much as seem to know, that France has declared war against him, or solicit the Republic, who has already augmented her troops by above forty thousand men, to make still greater efforts, whilst his other self has found means to put a saving of sixteen thousand men, or rather more, into his coffers in the midst of these perilous and ruinous times. This untoward way of reasoning and talking is grown here even so public, as to be thrown in my teeth at every conference; and I have oftener than once been summoned by some of the warmest Deputies to lay the whole before the King in the name of the States, and though I have by the help of the Pensionary eluded this unnatural commission, I cannot say how soon Monsieur Boetzelaer may be charged with it; it being not to be doubted that, in proportion as the King shall press the Dutch to make greater efforts, and manifest more zeal for the common cause, these latter will preach louder and homer the like doctrine to the Elector.

The frequent absurdities, and contradictions resulting in the very modality of business from the above-mentioned *Equivoque* obtrude foregoing reflections even upon people, whom perhaps they might otherwise have escaped. What effect do you think it must have had

here to see sixteen thousand men in British pay upon the point of being spirited away by an Electoral memorial; and that at the very time the British minister had made the States the compliment of concerting with them every thing relating to the exigency in question, and at last to see the performance of this promise referred to an Hanoverian Plenipotentiary, who, neither with respect to the force, nor destination of these troops, dared vary an Iota from the instructions he had received from Baron Steinberg, and who has not, that I hear of, yet effectuated even what he promised at our conference? TREVOR MSS.

I further foresee, that the discussion, and regulation of Mr. Burrish's, and Mr. Aylva's joint instructions in relation to their commission in the Empire, will give a fresh handle to these invidious reflections: and several of the Deputies at my last conference stickled hard, though then overruled by the Pensionary's discretion, to have Hanover set down as the first Court, where our two political missionaries into the Empire should begin to preach up zeal and courage.

Upon the whole, what is the universal wish, and may, before I am aware, become the public demand of this State, is, that our Royal Master, as it is thought here natural to expect from his intimate relation to the British Crown, and nation, and his near concern in the preservation of the Protestant interest, of the present system of the Empire, and of the balance of Europe, should employ, and exert his whole Electoral strength in the present conjuncture, and I have been given to understand in so many words, by no less significant a person than Burgermaster Corver, that, if the Court of Hanover's zeal and patriotism equals its known power and faculties, it ought upon its own bottom and account, to throw, in this day of common danger and distress, into the common scale, either in troops, or subsidies, the value of thirty thousand men; leaving England to purchase some new acquisition of strength to the good cause, from quarters otherwise unattached to it, with the saving arising from the Court of Hanover's acting this natural part. This is thought here to be the only step that can add new life to the good cause all over Europe, and especially in the Empire: can facilitate the dispatch of public business here, and in England: can supply the deficiencies resulting from the exhausted state of both the Maritime Powers: and at the same time that this is thought the likeliest means, not only of rendering our Royal Master's name great and popular, but of assuring his present honours and possessions to his latest posterity, it is feared, that if the advice and entreaties of his truest and fastest friends do not soon lead him into this natural and salutary way of thinking, the malice and insolence of his enemies, and the distress of his own affairs, both in England and upon the Continent, may drive him into it, when perhaps it may be no longer effectual.

These are ideas and facts which I have thought it my duty to lodge with you in their naked and natural state. You must be left to judge what use can be made of them. All I shall presume to add . . . is that I am convinced in my conscience that nothing would so much contribute to save Europe, encourage the Empire, strengthen the ministry's hands here, as well as those of his Majesty's servants at home, resettle our shaken Constitution, and give, as it were, a new lease to our Protestant Succession, as our Royal Master's drawing his Electoral sword, and Electoral purse-strings, gallantly and unreservedly in support of the Common Cause. . . .

I shall only take the liberty to recommend to you to discourage and prevent, as far as possible, all retorsions and recriminations in the debates of Parliament between the Generals, and especially between the Corps of the two nations, and the truth is, there are faults enough on all sides

Trevor MSS. to make them friends and shake hands together; nor do I know anybody, who has just reason to complain, but the public service, and their respective sovereigns. . . .

*Postscript.* Pray give me the same satisfaction that your brother did, of hearing that you shall have reduced all the foregoing honest and loyal treason to ashes."

*Draft* or *Copy*.

### Henry Pelham to Robert Trevor.

1744, November 27 [–December 8].—"What has happened in the ministry here by the removal of Lord Granville, you will find by your letter from Lord Harrington will make no alteration in the general measures for carrying on the war with vigour, but I hope, rather bring to a precision both the objects of the war, and the means of carrying it on. I have not time to write so fully to you as I wish to do, but I must recommend to you to make use of the unanimity with which the Addresses of both Houses passed this day, towards convincing the Pensionary and the rest of our friends in Holland to comply with what we so reasonably expect in relation to the Saxon subsidy, for if at our first setting out they should be too tenacious in the point of paying one fourth only, I am afraid it will give such a disgust to the best intentioned here, that it will not be in the power of us all to act for the future in the manner we wish to do. You can easily judge how such a thing must operate, and as you know the real sentiments of his Majesty's present servants are to cultivate a thorough good correspondence with the States, and that they have no desire to aggrandize any particular power, but only to secure the whole, and as soon as possible to bring about a settlement of the present troubles, I should hope your ministry would not throw in our way so disagreeable an incident as a difference of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds only. My notions have always been that each power should consider the abilities of its neighbour, and not exact from the one or the other what they are not able to pay, but we must make it evident to the world that we are all willing to do our utmost, and that will never gain credit, till we are upon the same foot with regard to the enemy. I can assure you I have read your letter over with great attention, and am willing to make all the allowances I can for the condition and constitution of your Government, but you must own, we are not so different, but that some must be made for us also. The most tender and most secret part of your letter affects us all, and you may be assured no opportunity will be let to slip, without our endeavours to bring about, in some degree at least, what is so much desired and expected by the well intentioned with you. I am afraid the gentlemen you talk to, reckon both England and *its otherself* of greater ability than they really are, but whatever it is, it ought to be exerted at this time, and I am satisfied will be so, if Holland could be persuaded to throw aside the scabbard, and act with that frankness which is natural to this country, and would be no inconvenience to the other. I shall conclude this letter with telling you, that as the King's servants are now united in opinion, and united in friendship, you may be satisfied no obstacles will arise in the execution of business, we all wish the same end, we don't differ about the means of attaining it, but we see that can never be compassed without a thorough union and confidence with Holland, a mutual exertion of the real strength of both powers, and an attention to the inability of each to go the lengths they have done in former wars. We now raise near seven millions of money every year, and I can assure you, what with the postponing the payments of our

old debt, which our funds were allotted to, and what we have created new, since the year 1740, the difference is above twenty millions, and this year we must increase the debt above three millions more. I don't say this to discourage our going on with the utmost vigour, for I know we are undone if we do not, but only to furnish you with arguments, if it could be thought you ever wanted any, to convince our friends on your side the water that we are not in a condition to do everything ourselves, and to show them the necessity of their contributing the proportions they are able to bear, by demonstrating how much we do at present, and how little we are able to do more."

### EDWARD WESTON to the SAME.

1744, November 27 [–December 8].—"To facilitate your success in carrying the point of the proportion in the Saxon subsidy so strongly recommended to you in Lord Harrington's dispatch of this day I have his Lordship's orders to enable you to acquaint the Pensionary in great confidence with one more reason for our insisting so earnestly upon it, which is, that the King's offer of paying two thirds of that subsidy having been agreed and settled before my Lord Granville's resignation in a Cabinet Council summoned by his Lordship upon that affair, and all his Majesty's present ministers having declared their opinion very explicitly against our taking a greater share in that expense, it is not now possible that their very first step should be giving an advice so derogatory from that opinion."

### HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1744, December 14 [–25], 1744 [–5], December 21 [–January 1], December 28 [–January 8]. Cockpit.—(Three letters, of which the material parts are printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*, ii. pp. 103–108, with the following mistakes:—p. 103, two lines from bottom read "that" for "then"; p. 104, line 4, read "when" for "of the," and insert "will meet" before "with"; line 5, omit "mutual"; line 17, omit "very"; page 105, line 5, insert "which the person withdrawn" before "made"; line 15, read "astonished" for "interested"; second line from bottom, read "motives" and "turns" for "motions" and "terms"; page 106, line 10, read "frame" for "form"; lines 15 and 17 "a" for "the"; line 26 "as" for "in"; page 107, lines 3 and 8, read "the" for "their" and "are" for "were"; lines 9, 22 and last, omit "to," "before this time" and "old"; page 108, line 1, insert "his" and "the" before "coming" and "administration," line 3, omit "so long.")

### STEPHEN POYNTZ to ROBERT TREVOR.

1744–5, January 9 [–20]. St. James'.—"I came to town or rather to this new world but the 7th. *Intervalla vides humana commoda* for peeping behind the curtain at the *Dramatis personæ*. To the best of my apprehension Lord Granville and his followers being supposed determined to cultivate a superior (?) interest by giving in to foreign schemes however random and expensive and at a proper time to make use of that interest against their competitors, this jealousy, joined to the difficulties of drawing together and of working these schemes up hill in Parliament, has turned the tables upon them. I don't find the new comers have stipulated any exemption, but that of not swallowing their

TREVOR MSS. own words, by voting for retaining the Hanoverian troops in the immediate pay of Great Britain. I have the pleasure to assure you that the most open and hearty one amongst them, and he in whom Mr. P[elham] places the chief confidence, is my old friend Lord Chesterfield, whom I dare say you will be happier in than in any of those who, ever since M. Boetslaer's arrival, have been talked of; he certainly means what is our strongest interest, I mean the preserving a close and intimate union with the States, if their unthrifty parsimony does not render it impracticable.

I am now going to open an affair to you under that confidence and secrecy which our long strict friendship renders me secure of; and I lament my not having touched upon it last spring, as I once intended. Mr. Wade being entirely disabled from making another campaign the command of our own army is once more vacant. It is agreed on all hands, that even if a commander in chief of the whole allied army could be found to the satisfaction of all the nations which form it, yet the keys of the British Exchequer cannot be trusted in foreign hands, so that we must of necessity have a British General.

It is already high time for naming one, the whole aim of the French being to take the field (I believe in Flanders) many weeks, if not months, before us. Our ministers and many of our General officers do, I believe, wish that the King would trust the Duke with that command, placing proper Khevenhullers about him, if the sterility and caducity of our long peace has left us any such; but the rebuffs they met with last spring in supporting the Duke's earnest request and letter to the K[ing] for leave to make the campaign in any rank or shape, discourages them too much from making any such motion at present, lest they should be charged with obtruding a new General as well as a new ministry. In the meantime Lord St[ai]r is, I believe, improving the opportunity to offer his services again, and the King more than ready to accept them. As I am a stranger to Lord S[tair] I can't pretend to judge how acceptable he would be abroad; our own army will like him, but perhaps on no account so much as for his generosity and indulgent good nature. The adventurous schemes which have been attributed to him might expose them and the common cause to the greatest danger.

I am so thoroughly and heartily convinced of the Duke's prudence, application, activity, and docility, that as a faithful subject and well wisher to the public I do believe in my conscience, if he had such a man as Saxe Weissenfels or even Lord Dunmore joined with him, and a proper staff of general officers, our affairs would go infinitely better another campaign and that he might soon acquire credit enough to be thought worthy of the general command. But how the K[ing's] consent can be obtained, without hazarding his royal displeasure in seeking it, is *dignus te vindice nodus*. I remember the States, while he was among them, expressed some partiality for his Royal Highness, and the good old Greffier inserted some very kind personal compliments to him in the letter which M. Boetselaar brought him from the States last spring, which I have advised him to answer in terms at least of equal civility.

In a word can you, can Sir Thomas Robinson safely and secretly get a word dropped to Lord Chesterfield or Lord Harr[ington] or Mr. Wasner or Mr. Hop, from abroad, which might strengthen the hands of our ministers and lay them a foundation to fix their first step on, which I am sure would soon enable them to mend their pace? No one living knows of my writing this letter to you, and I must desire no one may.'

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME. TREVOR MSS.

1744 [-5], January 11 [-22]. Cockpit.—You may add my assurances "of my steady resolution of being never engaged again in the political galley; my brother and I shall continue passengers with our most cordial wishes, as well as endeavours, as far as our opinion and interest in Parliament can prevail, that it may be steadily and safely conducted."

ONSLOW BURRISH to the SAME.

1745, January 25. Maestricht.—"I got hither an hour ago . . . after the most fatiguing and the most dangerous journey, taken altogether, that ever I made in my life. We were obliged to thrust and buffet with flakes of ice upon the Leck and the Wael for many hours, and were carried so far down the stream in crossing from Gorcum to Worcum, that it was over 11 at night before I got on shore, half frozen to death as well as my people. The next day our baggage waggon was overset and rolled from the top of the dyke to the bottom of it, which occasioned so great a loss of time, that it was dusk before I arrived on the shore opposite to Boisleduc at a place named Vlanen, from whence we crossed in traineaux over a plain of ice of the extent of a league and a half to Boisleduc . . . My journey from Boisleduc hither has been extremely agreeable as to weather and roads, and so very fortunate, that though I was fairly overturned this morning I have received no hurt, any more than Meggot and two others who were in the coach with me."

SIR THOMAS ROBINSON to EDWARD WESTON.

1745, February 21. Vienna.—"What shall we do with these Austrians and Saxons? The whole point is now turning upon conscience. They have both confessors, but those confessors have, I suppose, different rules for different Courts upon the same cases. If the Queen cannot in conscience give the eventual promise, and her conscience is rightly directed, I do not see how in conscience, the King, if his conscience is directed as rightly, can demand it. What is fact, one principal reason for the Saxons demanding these three principalities . . . was that they paved the way to the Kingdom of Poland, and that it was not on account of the revenues. Now one of these principalities, which is Jauer, does not lead to Poland, Sagan very near as little, but as it leads to the city of Glogau . . . Jauer is the life, the blood of the linen manufacture. The town of Glogau is the key of Silesia. Why might not the Cock walk from Christianstadt to Karga be enlarged. But I have no authority to suppose it will be granted. Those people will have it that we have spoiled the Saxons, and that there are proofs that without our encouragement they were come off from all thoughts of acquisition in Silesia. I doubt much if the Imperial Crown will outweigh these three Ducal ones, were the thing to come to that alternative, but it will not come even to that alternative, were we to judge by Mr. Villiers' last letter, which assures that not only the three Duchies will be insisted on by Saxony, but that the desire of the Imperial Dignity increases at Dresden. One thing I know that, if the Imperial Dignity gets once into Saxony, there will soon be an end of the Protestant religion there. What numbers had we in our last Aulic Council here, from the President to the last member, that from their first state of butterflies were become caterpillars? The Catholics are of a different opinion, they think the Imperial Administration would be too Protestant at Dresden."

*Copy.*

Trevor MSS.

Stephen Poyntz to the Same.

1744–5, March 19 [–30]. St. James'.—"I have only a moment's time to assure you that the Duke thinks himself highly obliged to my Lord Chesterfield and you for the pains and dexterity with which you have got the supreme command modified by a new *Refonte* in his favour, exactly in the manner he wished. The *Titulaire et Honoraire* (which is hung out in such a manner as might seem to imply a suspicion of his encroaching, and which between ourselves offends against the well bred maxim of softening things by words) is so far from hurting in the least his vanity or ambition, that I am able to assure you *avec connoissance de cause*, that, if Lord Stair's refusing to serve under M. Königseck had not made it improper for the Duke to ask it, he would have chosen and solicited it, and you may depend on at least as implicit a deference to the old Mareschal from the Duke as from the Prince of Waldeck, if he were but 24 years old. All the accounts of M. Königseck make the Duke and everybody here infinitely happy, and, though the events of war are often out of the ken of human foresight, everybody here seems to entertain the most sanguine hopes of a vigorous and successful campaign. I have that opinion of M. Königseck (who always thought Flanders the most effectual way into France) that I think everything good may be augurated from him if an unlucky bias or two be not drove and pegged into him for leaning towards the Rhine, so that the sole object of my remotest fear is this

*—Dira necessitas,*
*Uncos trabales et cuneos manu*
*Gestans akena.*

The Duke's own inclinations will certainly lead him to pass two or three days at the Hague on the same easy foot as becomes the Baron of Alderney, in order to return thanks to friends in Holland and particularly to my Lord Chesterfield and yourself. This will be less liable to difficulty as I hear that a certain emboscade in your neighbourhood will be raised this week; I hear it has been mentioned to the King but is not yet consented to; I own I wish the first acquaintance with M. Königseck could have been contracted there under the auspices of Lord Chesterfield and yourself. It is possible the Duke may now be ordered directly to Flanders, though I hope the contrary. He will take up his quarters among you (with Sir Everard Fawkener, Mr. Windham, Fitzwilliam, two aides de camp, two valets de chambre and four livery servants) wherever he can. His other servants and baggage will all be ready to embark by the end of this week, and even sooner if the transports and convoy arrive from Ostend. The Duke is sorry his whole train is filled up and so crowded that he cannot possibly stick in Mr. Wolters for the present. I have an interest in hastening everything away, for I am almost worn quite down by the various incapacities in which I have acted for three weeks past, this day I have set wholly on plate and *Batterie de Cuisine* and besides that it is now supper time, may too justly say, *animus est in patinis.*"

Sir John Ligonier to the Same.

1745, April 12. Brussels.—"I hear the Duke goes by the Hague. But I have received orders to hire him a house and have taken l'hotel d'Egmont for him."

Sir Everard Fawkener to the Same.

1745, April 15–26. Brussels.—"All things pass extremely well with the Government, and H.R.H.'s very easy behaviour and great affability

are highly agreeable to all sorts of people. But what is of greatest consequence is the reciprocal satisfaction in H.R.H. and the Marshal upon their first acquaintance. *Utrumque incredibili modo consentit astrum.* The Duke is quite charmed, and says, that, notwithstanding the universal good character he had had of the Marshal and his behaviour towards him on all occasions, that he goes beyond his expectations ; and the good old man told me he was very happy in his old age to be placed with a young Prince who had a right mind, loved his profession, and had taken pains to be instructed in it."

EDWARD WESTON to the SAME.

1745, April 23 [–May 4]. Whitehall.—"Antimac [the King of Prussia] seems to be in horrible fright, and I find they reckon at Vienna to make but a breakfast of him. I doubt he has brought himself into the state of *Nulli gravis est percussus Achilles.* What say you in Holland to the Protestant insurrection in Languedoc?"

SIR JOHN LIGONIER to the SAME.

1745, May 28. Lessines Camp.—"You seem dubious of the position of the enemy, and whether they were entrenched or not. Their right was towards Anthoyn, Fontenoy a little in their front, but fortified and 6,000 men in it; their left kept the *hauteurs* [and] had before them a wood that covered their flank, and joining almost to their line a fort with 18 pieces of large cannon and 18 Swiss companies in it. As we pushed the enemy a great way beyond the village and the fort and that we saw no entrenchment, but what we had made of their dead bodies, you may depend upon it that they had none, for we were twice in their camp.

The Duke's life is certainly of greater consequence than can be imagined, *ou je suis fort trompé, ou il se forme là un grand capitaine.*"

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to the SAME.

1745, May 27 [–June 7]. London.—"I foretold to Lord Harrington the discourse he would hear both from the Pensionary and the Deputies ; I am sorry they were so well founded in one part of it, for to be sure the Hanoverian Creed, as you justly call it, does not yield to the Athanasian in the mystical confusion of numbers. As to the English part of our force, the deficiency is really our misfortune, not our fault, and the reinforcement we send which is really all we can spare, proves our good intentions. . . . Antimac seems to have recovered his credit at Petersburg, but as I never hoped much from that quarter, so I fear little. All I fear is, that her Imperial Majesty and her two Chancellors will upon consideration have a mind to touch some of our subsidies and jilt us afterwards. France makes a merit to Antimac of the great detachment carried by the Prince of Conti to join M. de Segur, and assures him it is all to make a diversion in his favour. You and I well know their sincere regard for him. . . . At home things stand on the foot of six months' warning; and at the return from Hanover we are to know our fate, and to be really in, or really out, we are now neither."

HORACE MANN to the SAME.

1745, June 8. Florence.—"Lady Orford left Florence last week in order to go into England by the way of Holland. The resolution was

Trevor MSS. very sudden, and the motive, she said, was to oblige my Lord Orford to make her a larger allowance. She talked likewise of sueing for her uncle's estate, which he left to her mother. These motives are so weak, and argue so little knowledge of the laws and customs of England, that one can hardly believe them the only ones that engaged her to take such a journey. My lord will be vastly surprised to hear of her coming."

### Henry Pelham to the Same.

1745, May 31 [– June 11]. Arlington Street.—Recommending to his countenance and favour a young gentleman, Mr. [Stuart] Mackenzie, a nephew of the Duke of Argyle, and a member of Parliament. "You know we are very poor in our Treasury. I have, however, ordered half a year's appointments to be paid to you. It is as far as I could possibly go at this time."

### The Earl of Chesterfield to the Same.

1745, June 7 [–18]. London.—"You cannot conceive the indignation of our Admiralty at the state of the Dutch squadron here, which notwithstanding our repeated representations is still in the same useless condition, neither victualled nor repaired. Among the ten that they withdrew were the only three or four useful ships of the whole twenty. You will receive by this post instructions to be very pressing with the States upon that point. I must tell you in confidence that the public here in general is extremely dissatisfied with the Dutch, not only with relation to their contingent at sea, which from twenty is reduced to ten ships, and those useless ones; but also with regard both to their conduct and strength in Flanders. Those who want to find fault with, and distress our measures, say that the Dutch had not above 12,000 men in the army at the battle, and that even they ran away, and lost us the victory which our own troops had near acquired. The first I know is a lie, I wish there were as little truth in the second. After the battle I can tell you in confidence that the Duke in a private letter writ word, that the whole army consisted but of 30,000 men: which I confess I cannot comprehend, since, including the 7,000 killed wounded and lost, it would have consisted before the battle but of 37,000 men, of which number the English and Hanoverians made near 30,000. I am asked here every day, where my 39,000 Dutch troops are, stipulated by the resultat? I am bewildered in all this, and can make no answer. . .

For my own part, when La Ville shall come to open a little more, I think he should be a little more attended to. Our share of expense is not to be borne; the Dutch neither can nor will continue theirs; how then can we from less efforts next year expect better success, than we have had this? In our present situation I have often told you, that I thought war was not our *fait*, I am more and more confirmed in that opinion every day from everything I see at home, and from everything I hear of from abroad."

### The Same to the Same.

1745, June 11 [–22]. London.—"Though I have troubled you so lately, I cannot help doing it again now, upon account of some informations we have lately received here from the army in Flanders, which if they are true (which I have too much reason to fear they are) must produce the very worst effects. If you have heard anything of the matter, you will easily guess that I mean the unfortunate disputes between the Duke and the Prince of Waldeck. They seem to have gone much too far

already and if some care be not taken in time, they will probably go much further, in which case it is very obvious how much the public service must suffer. The Duke's instructions, and still more his intentions, seemed to promise a perfect harmony among the Generals, and I can't help saying that the entire agreement of his Royal Highness with Marechal Konigsegge, is a strong presumption in his favour, and against Prince Waldeck. The resolution of the States-General gave the Duke, if I remember right, at least the honorary command of the confederate army, which I fear Prince Waldeck now disputes in almost every particular. I never supposed that the Duke was to have the sole and absolute conduct of the combined army, which to be sure neither his age nor his experience can yet entitle him to; but if, as I always supposed, he was to have the command *ad honores*, with Marechal Konigsegge *ad latus*, it seems improper and unreasonable that Prince Waldeck should dispute him the mere honorary marks of command, which in more than one instance I doubt he has done of late. The ill consequence of this variance is obvious, but the remedy is not so. The only method I can think of is, to do in this case, what I am for doing in every case, to have the recourse to the prudence, the temper, and the abilities of the Pensionary, whose seasonable interposition in this affair, in whatever manner he may think properest, is the likeliest, if not the only way, to prevent further inconveniencies. I beg you will assure that worthy minister of my respects, and add your own weight to mine, (if I have any), in recommending this affair to his most serious consideration and care. This disunion would add great weakness to an army already much too weak, and the present state of affairs is bad enough of itself. and won't bear the additional misfortune of discord among the considerable actors. You may safely venture to assure the Pensionary that we shall do everything that is possible on our parts with the Duke to calm and compose this matter, and I think I can answer for him, that from his zeal for the public service, he will do everything that decency and his rank will allow him to do."

### Henry Pelham to the Same.

1745, June 11 [-22]. Arlington Street.—"Lord Chesterfield tells me he has wrote to you upon an affair which gives us here a good deal of uneasiness. I mean the appearances of some disunion between P[rince] W[aldeck] and the Duke of Cumberland. I have seen some letters that mention it, and I must own I think the Dutch Commander much in the wrong. A punctilious dispute in not returning a horse claimed by Marshal Saxe, because his request was addressed to the Duke and not to Prince Waldeck, the neglecting to obey orders upon a party to be sent out, which was not objected to when it was first proposed, the word being taken by Major-Generals, those of a higher rank thinking themselves above taking it from H.R.H., are symptoms of discontent and disunion, inconveniencies in all armies, but absolute distraction in ours. I mention 'em to you to enable you to talk upon the subject when you have opportunity, but by no means intending that you should make any complaint, and above all I must recommend it to you to avoid giving the least suspicion that H.R.H. has ever said one word upon the subject, for I am confident he will, for the sake of the whole, overlook many disagreeable slights, I won't say, affronts. The Marshal and H.R.H. agree perfectly, and it is a great pity that our only natural allies should be the persons with whom an English army cannot or does not act in thorough confidence and harmony."

TREVOR MSS.

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to the SAME.

1745, June 28 [–July 9]. London.—"Prince Waldeck has of late behaved himself very well to the Duke, who seems well satisfied, and I dare say will omit nothing on his part to keep things well. I believe this is owing to some proper hint the Pensionary gave him. Our Generals at least should agree, for I fear our troops don't, which though not to be wondered at, is to be lamented, as it certainly weakens an army already much too weak. I must tell you too in confidence what I am very sorry I can tell you with so much truth, that the representations of our English army to their friends and relations here, of the conduct of the Dutch in the late battle, joined to the ill defence of both town and citadel of Tournay, have excited various passions here against the Republic. One hears of cowardice, treachery, not fulfilling engagements; nay many are absurd enough to accuse the Government itself of underhand dealings with France, notwithstanding the men they lose, and the money they spend. They ask where are the 40,000 men they were to have in the field, where their 20 ships, and the most favourable conclusion drawn from all these premises is that at best then, they are a very useless ally. This is the present general disposition of the public, and all we can say, (especially I) to the contrary, has no weight. I am looked upon as a Dutchman, and both suspected and blamed as such. Indeed, considering all the circumstances of the present situation of affairs, I see no salvation, but in getting out of it, *tant bien que mal*, by negotiation; and am therefore very glad of a certain late overture you know of, which I have endeavoured to have thrown into yours and the Pensionary's hands at the Hague, as much the properest, or rather the only proper ones to conduct it well. And I hope and believe that proposal will be agreed to at Hanover. As I am convinced that the jealousy the French entertain of Antimac has given occasion to this overture, I am as much convinced that we should talk to Antimac at the same time and conclude with him first, if that can be done, as I have reason to think it might, upon the foot of the Treaty of Breslau. I am sensible how disagreeable this will be at Vienna, Dresden, and *elsewhere*, but at the same time I am as sensible how necessary it is for us. Will not the Maritime Powers have much better terms from France after one hundred thousand victorious troops are taken out of that scale than before, and consequently when three or fourscore thousand Austrians are at liberty to act against France only? The proposition is too clear to dwell upon especially with you, who know so well the present state of affairs. It is gone to Hanover strongly recommended and enforced from hence, how it will be received there, I am curious to learn. I know how I would receive it, were I myself a Hanoverian."

WILLIAM GRAEME Colonel in the Dutch Army to the SAME.

1745, July 10. Above Gram[m]on[t].—"There were regiments betwixt me and the right wing when I attacked the village. I passed behind them as I came from the right wing. They were within a good musket shot of it, but I did not see a musket shot exchanged betwixt the enemy and our foot from the time I came to the left, nor did I ever see a more furious fire in my life than was for near two hours on the right, and when I came to Prince Waldeck's quarters after the battle was over, where most of our generals were, I heard nothing but complaint of the behaviour of our [the Dutch] troops. Here is more than I have

wrote since the beginning of the campaign. The regiments on my right, when I attacked the village, were a Guelders regiment, two battalions Swiss, and a Holland regiment or two. They told me afterwards that just after we attacked. the Prince gave orders to retire. I believe it, for when I retired from the churchyard they were all gone." TREVOR MSS.

SIR EVERARD FAWKENER to the SAME.

1745, July 13. Camp of Diligen near Brussels.—"There is a letter from Abercrombie, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal, . . . which gives an account of the action at Melle. . . . It contains in substance that by that time they got within a league of Ghent, they found themselves in a manner surrounded by different parties of a great body of the French army, and that the houses, gardens, and fields on each side the chaussée was filled with them. The first that molested them was one of about 200 men in a house out of the road which General Molke ordered the Royal to attack, but when they approached them they found them covered by a moat fifty yards wide. They then returned to the causeway again, where they found another considerable body drawn up which they attacked and obliged to retire, though they were covered by another large party and a battery of 12 cannon which flanked our men. Afterwards they marched up to this battery, from which they drove the enemy, and were sometime masters of it, but had not proper hands either to make use of the cannon or to spike them, and at last, finding themselves surrounded, they made over the fields fenced with hedges and ditches, and the remains of them gained the sides of the Scheldt without being broken, and from thence got into the town. The five squadrons of horse who were with them suffered extremely in this difficult march, as well from the fire of the enemy as the difficulty of the ways they were to get through, in which a great number of them were lost."

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to the SAME.

1745, July 6 [–17]. London.—"I look upon Flanders now as gone, and whatever else the French have a mind to, as going. Where then are we? What will our friend Mr. Nelson say to us? I fear he will think himself in a situation to dictate rather than propose. The only way therefore in my opinion to converse with him upon equal terms, is first to whisper and agree with Antimac. In which case, and in which case alone, we might either make such a diversion in Germany as may ease us in the Barrier, or receive such a reinforcement in the Barrier as may at least preserve what is left. I am therefore surprised to find that the Pensionary could hesitate which of the two negotiations should take place, and not immediately determine to talk first to Antimac. I think it very right as you do, to keep both going on, but I think it very necessary to conclude with Antimac first. The concessions to him, are only *du plus au moins* between him and the House of Austria, in which the Maritime Powers are not so essentially concerned, as in the fate of the Netherlands. Whereas the concessions necessary to be made to France, while Prussia continues in its alliance, must all be made at the expense of the solid interests of the Maritime Powers. I confess I see no salvation but in this method; though I see at the same time all the difficulties that attend it, from various quarters especially *one*. The universal despair here of any one favourable event in war, the burthen of carrying it on most sorely felt, and the general

TREVOR MSS. suspicion of the *objects* of all that expense, make it impossible to go on any longer in this way.

The notions that prevail here with regard to the Dutch (notwithstanding all I can say to the contrary) are so extraordinary that they are not allowed to have almost any army, or to be at any expense at all. I could wish therefore, if you could get it, that you would send me a state of their whole military establishment. I mean an account of all their regiments, the numbers of each regiment, and where each regiment is employed. And pray add, if you can, the whole expense of the Republic for this year: that Mr. Pelham may be armed against the various attacks which I foresee will be made upon him in the next session.

We expect every hour with a melancholy impatience more ill news from Flanders, and, in the meantime, are doing all we can to put Ostend in a situation of holding out."

The SAME to the SAME.

1745, July 9 [-20]. London.—"I received in due time your very private letter of the 13th, N.S. and communicated it to Mr. Pelham, who writes to you by this post. To which letter I refer myself with regard to the Cologne affair, and will only say that after bribing that Elector's ministers to influence him to take our money, it is a little hard, that we must afterwards bribe him himself into it; I take it to be a trick of Mr. Champigny's in order to go snacks with his master, in a sum which he will say he procured him unexpectedly, and by his own dexterity.

I never in my life saw the public in a worse humour than at present, and I am sorry to tell you, that the Dutch, and your humble servant, are the two principal objects of it. Many are absurd enough to think, as well as say, that the Dutch have an underhand dealing with France, to destroy our trade. In support of this incomparable opinion, they urge the behaviour of their troops at the battle, the shameful defence of their towns, and their subsequent lenity to the delinquents. In this case I am supposed only to have been the gudgeon, and not to have had penetration enough to discover the collusion. Others say that the Dutch have made no great expense this year, have few troops, and complain of poverty as misers, not as poor. That in order to have the reputation of bringing them to some stipulations, I agreed to any: and even secretly acquiesced, that even those should not be executed, as for example, the 39,000 men stipulated by the resultat, are, say they, reduced to 22,000. They inquire where the remainder is, and what is become of their pretended establishment of 90,000 men. You easily guess my answers to these reasonings, but you as easily guess too that they must be unsatisfactory to people in such dispositions. As to the war itself, those who from the beginning were against it, now call themselves prophets from the ill success of it which they say they foretold, and those who were the *authors* and the *champions* of the war, impute the ill success to the ill conduct of it. But the bulk, I may say eight in ten of the whole nation, feel both the burden, and the misfortunes of it, and call for almost any end to be put to it. And some, though God knows what, end must be put to it, for what from the ill success and expense of it abroad, and what from the ill humour, the distractions, the burdens, and the real poverty at home, I plainly see it will be impossible to carry it on another year. And there is but one way left in my mind to end it, either with common decency or with common safety. I need not tell you that I mean a previous accommodation with Antimac, without

which I cannot suppose that Nelson after the rapidity of his successes, and in the present impossibility of our increasing our forces to any degree of equality, will grant us such terms, as we can without the utmost infamy and danger accept. The Dresden proposal concerning the Great Duke I consider only as an artifice to catch the King of Poland, and I think France may very possibly succeed in it, *fait comme il est;* but I can never conceive that merely for the sake of disappointing the Great Duke, or if you will, to hinder the Imperial dignity from returning this time to the House of Austria, France would give up its allies, and the solid fruits of its successes. We are so convinced here of the absolute necessity of this previous accommodation with Antimac, that you see in what manner we press it at Hanover; where, though may be it is not quite so palatable, I am convinced in my conscience, that it is full as necessary as here. If the Pensionary is of our opinion, as I can't help thinking he is, the knowledge of that at Hanover would have great weight, and help our efforts extremely; as on the other hand any doubts or hesitation on his part, if known there, would recoil upon us with double force."

HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

1745, July 9 [-20].—"Lord Chesterfield showed me your letter, and desired I would write to you my thoughts upon that part of it which relates to the demand of Mr. C[hampign]y. I always understood the latitude given to you by the Lords Justices was in case the terms of the treaty should be such as were desirable in themselves, but not to be got without launching a little further than our careful allies were willing to do, that then and in that case you might venture to engage as far as 20,000*l.* on the extraordinary account of England only; that also if a little sweetening some persons was necessary, that might be ventured upon, but to engage to answer for the three and the five without some particular orders from Hanover, that I am afraid we cannot be justified in. I think therefore you should write to Lord Harrington upon the subject, see what he says, who is upon the spot, and if after that it should be his Majesty's pleasure to comply with this demand, we must do our best to provide for it. But . . . where will this end? we are to pay Princes for the liberty of defending their own countries, we are to complement (*sic*) others for taking our money for their troops, to be employed for purposes which they profess themselves friends to, and above all, we are to dismantle our own country and render its defence precarious, because our allies cannot, or will not put their fortresses in a condition to be defended in a regular way. You will easily [see] Ostend is meant by this last paragraph, we have heard it is in great danger, the French making a rapid progress in that part of Flanders. No situation of defence in itself, neither garrison, ordnance, ammunition or provisions, all this we are endeavouring to supply, I am afraid to no purpose, but the place is of such consequence to this country, that I find we must do it, or it is not to be done at all. I heartily pray for better times; when that will come or how, is beyond the wisest of us to foresee, but I am afraid the weakest may know this cannot last long. I ask pardon for troubling you with my melancholy reflections; but when I am upon the subject, I don't know when to stop. I conclude you understand the first part of this letter, I don't mention names because it goes by the post, but upon recollecting your last letter to Lord Chesterfield, you will find a key to this. I shall take care upon all future payments of foreign ministers to keep you in the same advance you are at present."

TREVOR MSS.

—— to ——.

1745, July 26. Paris.—"Il n'y a plus à douter que le Prince ne soit parti pour une expedition; j'ay lieu de croire que Strickland est avec luy, et je n'y suis pas, d'ont j'enrage. L'on pouvoit m'y faire aller, sans me mettre du secret, mais comme O'Brien a esté trompé aussi bien que moy, j'imagine qu'ils avoient des raisons bien fortes. J'ay fait ma charge, j'ay offert mes services, et suis encore prest au premier ordre; mais ne sachant où aller, n'y comment, il faudra bien attendre, que l'on ait des nouvelles et des arrangements pris pour faire partir ceux qui voudront suivre le Prince. Il n'a que sa petite maison avec luy et l'on croit que c'est en Ecosse qu'il doit debarquer. Comme nous ne voyons pas le dessous des cartes, et que le secret a esté si bien gardé, il faut esperer que l'affaire sera bien combinée; car je vous avoue qu'au premier coup d'œuil cela paroist extremement scabreux. N'importe, cela est toujours beau, et la Prince fait sa charge, et quant l'affaire ne reussiroit pas, il se fera toujours honneur, aussi bien que ceux qui ont le bonheur d'estre avec luy. Je ne puis m'imaginer qu'il se fut ainsi avanturé sans avoir un gros parti prest à le reçevoir, et dans la circonstance presente, l'Angleterre doit faire bien du mauvais sang. Les mauvais succès ont ordinairement l'effet de faire haïr ceux qui gouvernent, outre que l'on ne les aimoit pas beaucoup auparavant. Enfin la cause est juste et entre les mains de Dieu, et l'on doit esperer qu'il la favorisera. Je ne scay à qui m'adresser qu' à O'Brien, my lord Sample est parti, ainsi je ne puis faire autre chose qu'attendre des ordres."

*Extract*, headed "Lettre de Townley. A Paris ce 26 Juillet 1745."

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to ROBERT TREVOR.

1745, July 19 [-30]. London.—"The ill humour here against our friends the Dutch, was . . . strong enough of all conscience before, but now it exceeds all bounds. The refusals of the Governors of L'écluse and Lilloe, bad enough, to be sure, of themselves, but aggravated by all the letters from our army, down from the Duke to the lowest ensign; the behaviour of the Dutch regiments in the affair of Melle, and the accepting of his Most Christian Majesty's favourable distinction of them by erecting posts to mark out their boundaries; all these things together, I say, convince nine in ten of this nation that treachery is the single motive of this conduct, and not impotence, parsimony, or ill government. The obvious consequence of this persuasion, erroneous I confess, but universally entertained, is, the withdrawing of all trust and confidence, as to any engagements now subsisting, or that may subsist with the Republic. I have even some considerable friends here, who suspect that a party in Holland, enemies equally to the Pensionary and to England, have found means in secret concert with France to bring all these things about, unknown to the Pensionary.

This I do not believe neither, for such transactions could never have been carried on without the Pensionary's discovering some of them. But be all these things as they will, it is evidently impossible for us to co-operate in a war any longer and consequently, it is as evidently necessary for us to co-operate in a peace. You have seen by letters that have passed through your hands, the preference given *somewhere* to a previous treaty with France in the chimerical hopes of afterwards getting the long desired piece of the Prussian bear's skin. And you have seen all the arts used *from* that quarter to defeat the Prussian negotiation, which it was not thought proper or prudent openly and flatly to reject. Notwithstanding

which, you will see by the Duke of Newcastle's letter of this post, that we remain firm in advising (not to say insisting upon) the previous conclusion of a treaty with Prussia, not thinking it necessary to sacrifice the real interests of the Maritime Powers to the views of a certain country, which must necessarily be the case, if we were first to conclude with France, before Prussia were detached. Can it be supposed that after these rapid advantages in Flanders, and in the present unpromising situation of affairs everywhere, that France while connected with Prussia, will give us such good terms of peace, as if we were to negotiate with them after they had lost the assistance of one hundred thousand men? Or can it be imagined by the most sanguine German, that when once the Maritime Powers shall have concluded a peace with France, they will continue to supply the Queen of Hungary with men or money against Prussia, with whom they are not at war? So that in truth the hopes of some people are as chimerical with regard to themselves, as prejudicial to us. The Pensionary's expressions have been strangely warped and tortured to produce an opinion very contrary I am sure to his own, only to authorise other people's. And as he seems to agree entirely in opinion with us, the more clearly and explicitly that opinion of his is known in a certain place, the more ours will be strengthened, and the less handle there will be left to combat it. Moreover, supposing the preference were to be given to the French negotiation, I don't perceive that they seem so willing to engage in it; for Mr. Nelson is very silent; nor does it appear to us, that the French would abandon Prussia but rather take him along with them in the negotiation, for fear he should negotiate without them. So that were I to reason even as a Hanoverian, in the present melancholy situation of affairs, I should not balance one moment in giving the preference to the Prussian affair if I could get it, I mean in order to have something a better peace with France afterwards, for I own I am not sanguine enough to think that, could we bring the King of Prussia to a neutrality, which is the most that can be hoped for, we could, or ought to, continue the war against France, in the circumstances we and the Dutch are in. It appears plainly, at least to me, that we have nothing to hope for from Bavaria or Cologne, and I greatly suspect Saxony. With what are we to carry on a war then against France?"

### Robert Trevor to Henry Pelham.

1745, July 30 and August 3. The Hague.—"Pursuant to your direction I have transmitted Champigny's begging epistle to me *en original* to Hanover, but without adding anything of my own to recommend its subject matter, as indeed I think it not only unreasonable but scandalous. As to the gratifications to the Elector's several ministers I hope the encouragement I have already flung out to them, will be abundantly justified by the much larger sum I was left at liberty to dispose of extraordinarily, for the sake of purchasing the conclusion of this tedious transaction, and will be made good without hesitation, if the case ever comes to exist; I say ever comes to exist; for, although those gentlemen pretend, they have the King's promise, that the gratifications given them last year upon the conclusion of the Convention, should be repeated to them, annually, during the term of the said Convention, I have given them to understand that I had no cognisance of any such promise, nor could offer them anything at present, but upon the foot of: *no cure, no pay;* and indeed I fear our money is but too safe in our pockets, as I despair of the Elector of Cologne's having the courage to appear so openly upon the stage, till France is nearer being

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beat off of it; and he be accompanied by the other Branches of the House of Bavaria, and backed by an Emperor, and the Empire.

The discovery of France's second design upon our empty Island, as soon as confirmed by any suitable overt acts, and preparations, of which as yet we are entirely ignorant here, must, in my humble opinion, soon bring matters to the short and desperate issue of the Maritime Powers clapping back to back, and struggling for life as long, and as well as they can; concentrating their whole strength for this purpose, and withdrawing, in great measure, their attention from all remoter considerations, however otherwise important. Not to take up your time with repetitions, let me refer you for the Pensionary's first thoughts upon this new scene of distress, to my letters to the office by this mail. I shall only add here, that the Pensionary is not altogether without his suspicions, that this intelligence may possibly have been designedly thrown in our way by our enemies, in the view of augmenting the panic and distractions of the present times, and of hurrying us into wrong measures; and he would willingly persuade himself still farther, that should France even make some steps tending that way, it may rather be done in the design of compelling us the sooner to make her some proposals, then of pushing such an enterprise into serious execution, against which however he agrees there cannot be too good, nor too early precautions taken;-especially as it is possible, France may hope to force the King's vote at the Diet of Election by levelling this blow against his Royal possessions, as she succeeded once before by that levelled against his Electoral ones; it not being to be doubted, but that she is excessively averse to the Great Duke's (I should say the House of Austria's) wearing the Imperial Crown.

What makes the subject of the sequel of this letter, was prepared before the Pensionary and I received from Hanover the news of this intended enterprise of France; but this, the Pensionary thinks, should rather accelerate, than supersede the trial of some such experiment; and that, if possible, whilst our supposed ignorance of such a design might screen such an advance from being construed by France as the effect of our additional distress, and alarm thereat.

I do not well know, what apology to make you for the impertinent, and pragmatical picture, I am here going to give you of myself; nor for the good opinion, you may naturally infer from it, I must entertain of my own thoughts and sentiments; unless it be by protesting to you, that this letter, as far as it may be true, is merely built upon the similitude I have often had the happiness of observing between them and your own.

The but too intimate knowledge, which the Pensionary's and my situation procures me of the low, and still ebbing state of our affairs on all sides: the sad experience we have had of the ineptness of the present age for action: the degeneracy of the Republic's troops, and the reduced state of our little army, with three months' of campaign still to be rubbed through, and hardly any ground left it to chicane: the growing flaccidness, both in Holland and England, of the very *nervus Belli*, which has been our chief weapon hitherto: the mutual peevishness arising between the two nations from mutual smart, and mutual overrating one another's faculties; and lastly, the sudden (and what still farther alarms us, coincident) intermission of all pacific overtures from both Prussia and France; and almost a human certitude of the markets rising upon us daily—All these considerations, I say, have driven the Pensionary, and me, notwithstanding the flegm of his complexion, and the sanguineness of mine, to be unanimously of opinion, that the point of honour about who, betwixt us, and France, shall speak out the first, is

no longer tenable by us; and that the only string left to our bow, in the but too possible supposition of our separate transaction with Prussia miscarrying, or loitering, is to try, before Europe is absolutely flung off of its old hinges, whether there may be still a party left in the French Cabinet for peace, and to strengthen that party's hands by some overtures of such a nature, as may save the honour of France, and enable her to stop the mouths of her allies, without essentially prejudicing the system of Europe, or the immediate interests of the Maritime Powers.

The Pensionary, in his present hurry, did me the honour to encourage me to turn this idea a little in my thoughts, and to throw what should occur to me thereon, upon paper for his further consideration. I have yielded to his invitation, through my conviction of the necessity of some one's breaking the ice, and perhaps nobody more properly, than one whose personal insignificance can add no foreign, or accessory weight to his conceits, but leaves them to be docked, or pruned, or rejected without ceremony.

You have, accordingly here enclosed, the reveries of two or three sleepless nights of your humble servant, which you may imagine, he would not presume to trouble you with, had they not undergone the Pensionary's amendments, and even, in their present dress, received his entire approbation; as a *dénouement* or upshot, to which he indeed rather wishes, than hopes, considering the inveterate aversion France seems to have conceived against the Imperial Crown's returning in any shape to the House of Austria, to see the present confusions of Europe brought.

I need only observe to you, that with respect to the substance of this plan, the main principles, upon which I have composed it, are; 1°. To try to make Prussia, Spain, and even France find their accounts, in some degree or other in the Great Duke's elevation to the Imperial throne. 2°. To divert the price of a general pacification from falling, as I dread, ultimately upon the Austrian Netherlands. 3°. To prevent its falling even upon the Austrian possessions, and costing some further dismemberment of that mass. 4°. Though it be turned upon Italy, to render it palatable to the Court of Turin, and as little prejudicial as may be to the present system, and equilibrium of Italy. As to the other lesser articles, they are built upon what France and Prussia once gave us to understand of their intentions; and are part dictated by a spirit of conciliation, and part by a spirit of circumspection, with respect to our own immediate interests.

As to the modality of this plan, my chief views have been:—1°. To saddle the Dutch, who are less stiff than we, upon points of honour, with this humiliating commission; as well as to leave them to stand the brunt of the first reproaches of our allies, and to bear the chief load of any national unpopularity, that this saving step may possibly be hereafter attended with from the uninformed, illjudging multitude. 2°. To prevent the Dutch, by amusing them with some negotiation, from being driven by the hopeless prospect of our arms, to seek their own safety, or rather reprieve, without our participation, or even at the expense of the common cause. 3°. To procure the Maritime Powers as instantaneous ease as possible; and by first turning off the great torrent of France, gain time to stop, at leisure, the lesser branches of the inundation which at present threatens to overflow all Europe irretrievably. 4°. To prevent, if possible, by the revival of the system of the Duke of Orleans' ministry, the present one of Belleisle and Schmettau, or even that of the definitive treaty of Vienna, from taking place in Europe; and lastly, to throw, at almost all events, public affairs into the way of negotiation before the opening of our Parliament.

Trevor MSS. No person living has any knowledge of this project, except the Pensionary; and he had agreed with me, that I should send it to you; and if you and your friends would amend it to your liking, he would then father it, as his own; and authorise me to send it, as such, to Hanover for the previous, though unavowed sentiments of the King, as well upon the materials it is composed of, as with respect to the time of his (the Pensionary's) broaching them. As to the latter, the Pensionary is of opinion, it should not be delayed a minute, upon our finding it impossible to detach the King of Prussia by a separate negotiation, and perhaps even not so long; since for his own part, he should not be sorry to see, supposing we should even succeed in gaining the King of Prussia, a general pacification brought about upon no worse terms than these. He is further of opinion, that we should at all events be ready prepared with a back-game; and that the two powers should, at this momentous hour, be so intimately acquainted with one another's sentiments, as to be ready to seize, and improve, without hesitation, any handle that may offer to either of them for extricating themselves out of their present labyrinth and jeopardy.

*Postscript.*—I meet with some difficulty here, from the King's loitering at Hanover, to convince people that his Majesty is himself convinced of the seriousness of the enterprise attributed to France."

*Enclosed:*

Sketch of a proposed Plan for a General Accommodation by means of a Preliminary Treaty between France and the Maritime Powers.

The principal Articles were as follows:—

1. Re-establishment of peace between England and France on the foot of the ancient treaties and specially of those of Utrecht and 1717. Dunkirk to be replaced in the state stipulated by the last mentioned treaties. France to extend her engagements with regard to the Pretender to all his posterity. Commerce and navigation to be replaced on the footing they were before the last rupture. A money compensation to be given for the French vessels burnt at St. Tropez in 1742, if demanded by France.
2. France to renew all her treaties with their High Mightinesses, to restore the Austrian Netherlands to the Queen of Hungary, to recognize that they are a Barrier to the United Provinces, and not to attack them unless there is a direct war with the latter. The United Provinces not to insist on France repairing the damages done to the Barrier towns during the war. The Abbey of St. Hubert to be declared exempt from all dependance either on the Duchy of Luxemberg or the Crown of France.
3. Peace to be made between France and the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia on the foot of the treaty of 1738. France to renew her guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, except as to the cessions made to Prussia and Sardinia. France to restore to the Queen all her conquests.
4. The three contracting powers not to interfere directly or indirectly with the choice of Emperor. If the Grand Duke should be elected, France to recognize him. The Grand Duke, if elected, to renew, both as Emperor and head of the House of Lorraine, the cession of the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and in his former capacity to do his utmost to

obtain the guaranty of the Empire to that cession. The Grand Duke, if elected Emperor, to cede the Grand Duchy of Tuscany to the Infant Don Philip, on condition that, if the King of Naples and Sicily or his representative shall succeed to the Crown of Spain, Don Philip or his representative shall succeed to those kingdoms, and the Grand Duchy shall revert to the House of Lorraine in the person of Prince Charles and his issue male, who shall now renounce for himself and his descendants all pretensions to the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and in case of a failure of issue the said Grand Duchy shall pass to the King of Sardinia or his representative. The said Grand Duchy to remain a male fief of the Holy Roman Empire, and the town of Leghorn, a free port. In consideration of the sacrifice made by the Grand Duke, the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia to be allowed to grant him a life interest in the latter kingdom.

5. Peace to be made between England and Spain on the foot of the Treaty of Utrecht and the Convention of the Pardo. Commerce and navigation in Europe between them to be on the same foot as before the last rupture. Spain by a new treaty to renounce all claim to interfere in the American seas with the navigation of other nations going or returning to or from their own colonies or those of their friends, and to any right of search beyond cannon shot of her own coasts and forts, which, except in case of extreme distress, are to remain closed to all nations except the Spanish. The frontier between the Carolinas and Florida to be marked by Commissioners. Spain to renew all treaties of peace or commerce with their High Mightinesses.
6. Peace to be made between the Queen of Hungary and the Kings of Spain and of the Two Sicilies on the foot of the definitive treaty of 1738 subject to the modification suggested in the 4th Article. The said Kings to recognise the Grand Duke, when he becomes Emperor, as such, and to guarantee the Queen's possessions as described in the 3rd Article, and she to guarantee the establishments procured by the said treaty and these Articles for the King of the Two Sicilies and Don Philip. The Grand Duke, when he becomes Emperor, to do his utmost to procure a confirmation and guaranty from the Empire of the cession of Tuscany.
7. Peace to be made between Spain and Sardinia, the former restoring all their conquests made from the latter. The Duchy of Modena to be restored to its Duke. Peace to be re-established between the Kings of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies, and between the former and Genoa, the last to be asked to exchange the Marquisate of Finale for that of Oneglia.
8. Peace to be re-established between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia on the foot of the treaty of Breslau. The powers who guaranteed that treaty, to guarantee the new one, and the Grand Duke, when become Emperor, to do his utmost to get the Empire to join in that guaranty. The King of Prussia to indemnify the King of Poland for the damage caused by the passage through Saxony of the Prussian troops, and also the Queen of Hungary for what

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she owes in Holland on obligations guaranteed by the States of Silesia.

9. From the day of the signature of these Preliminaries hostilities to cease in the Netherlands.
10. Within 15 days of the exchange of ratifications thereof, France to evacuate the Netherlands. At the same time the contracting Powers shall fix on a congress at Breda or Aix, to proceed therein to a conclusion of a definitive treaty on the foot of these Preliminaries, and to a mediation with their respective allies, to induce them to agree to a general accommodation, for which purpose they are to be asked to send Ministers to the Congress.
11. The three contracting Powers to agree that if any of their allies refuse to make peace with its opponent on the conditions above mentioned they will give no aid to such ally. *In French.*

### EDWARD WESTON to the SAME.

1745, August 4. Hanover.—"You make no mention in either of those letters, of the line I sent you by Diseran to tell you from whence we had our intelligence about the invasion. Wolters's last do very much confirm that intelligence, and tho' the G[ns] (? Grandees) here were very eager to have it thought a mere feint, I own I am one of those, who are both convinced of the truth of it, and think it the wisest thing that France can undertake. At the same time I think we are too much dejected both in England and Holland, and see nothing more desperate in the present situation than in that at the beginning of the last war, excepting the spirit of those upon whom it falls. . . . If the Q[ueen] will yield the Netherlands to France, why mayn't we offer them to Don Philip? Do your parsons and skuyts and butterwomen say nothing on this occasion."

### SIR EVERARD FAWKENER to the SAME.

1745, August 9. Vilvoorden.—"I really know nothing of the hasty reddition of Oudenarde, but what is commonly said, that the Dutch Colonel would wait no longer, and I doubt if ours was overpressing to stay. I don't hear he has yet thought fit to say a word to his Royal Highness upon the subject. As to the behaviour of the Dutch Dragoons at Melle, one person of credit told me they rode over some of our foot, but the Duke told me seriously, it was not remarkable any way. As to the managements of this country and the avoiding making the inundations, this delicacy may be commendable in other circumstances, but if it depended on me, if I could save a square mile out of the hands of the French by drowning the rest, I would do it."

### The Right Honourable HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

1745, July 30 [–August 10].—"The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Chesterfield were both out of town, when your letter came to my hands, and we have been in such a hurry since they came back, that I have not had an opportunity of talking thoroughly to them upon your project. I have read it over carefully, and could I flatter myself that our present situation would give us room to hope for so good terms as that in general contains, I should be more easy in my mind than I am

at present. How far it may be proper to begin on our part with France, till we have a final answer upon the strong and judicious representation made by Lord Harrington to Sir Thomas Robinson upon the affairs of the King [of] Prussia I do not pretend to determine. But if that succeeds or fails, it will, I fear, be absolutely necessary to set something a going, that we may not the next year be in the same desperate situation we are in at present. I don't know what to make of the voyage of the Pretender's son, but join it to the intelligence we have had from Hanover, it ought to make us look about us, which I hope our friends in Holland will not think we have shewed too much fear in, when they see we have sent almost all our infantry to the Allied army and to the relief of Ostend. We don't spare our money neither for that purpose, and at the same time have the mortification to see that the Court of Brussels itself will not contribute even the small risk of disobliging their own subjects for a time by suffering the inundation to take place."

### The Earl of Chesterfield to the Same.

1745, August 13. London.—"My journey to Ireland now draws so near that a thousand necessary through frivolous details plague me one half of the day, and business of a more important nature, though God knows, and so do you, of a very disagreeable one, employs the rest. The situation of our affairs abroad, is in my opinion, the most melancholy and the most difficult one that I, or I believe any one now alive remembers; and the situation of your friends here, the most singular one, that ever people in their employments found themselves in. They know they are in place, but they don't know for how long, and they know they are not in power, much less in favour, without knowing yet whether they shall ever have either. In such circumstances you won't wonder, that Mr. Pelham sent you no answer to your very important private letter, till last Friday, nor that the answer was such a one as it was: Your friends here after deliberation, were of opinion that it was necessary to have the Prussian affair finally decided one way or another before the other should be broached at Hanover, where they thought it might add to the unwillingness already evident enough there, to listen to any accommodation with Prussia, though surely such a previous accommodation is absolutely necessary towards obtaining a tolerable subsequent one with France. Could your plan take place, I should not only call it a tolerable, but considering circumstances, a most excellent accommodation; but we have too much reason to think, not only from the present nature of our situation, but likewise from good intelligence, that the French have no thoughts of restoring all that they have got in Flanders this campaign, the rapid success of which they say entitles them to raise their demands, and not content themselves with what they would have accepted before the opening of it. Whether the loss of their ally, the King of Prussia, will make them more moderate, I don't know, but I own I see nothing else that probably can. One, almost insurmountable, difficulty I foresee in any negotiation with France, is our new acquisition of Cape Breton, which is become the darling object of the whole nation, it is ten times more so than ever Gibraltar was, and people are laying in their claims, and protesting already against the restitution of it upon any account. But on the other hand, I foresee the impossibility of keeping it. But indeed which way can one now look without seeing the most discouraging difficulties? To carry on the war another year is evidently impossible, from our exhausted condition as to our finances, from the

Trevor MSS. universal indisposition of the whole nation, and from the dangers to which we are exposed, and but ill provided against at home, in case of its continuance. Add to these reasons the general anger and distrust, however unreasonable, against the Dutch, which will make our future co-operation very lame at least, if not impracticable. To make a peace, I mean only a tolerable one, is not less difficult, and indeed must be necessarily difficult in proportion to the incapacity in which your enemies see and know you are, to carry on the war with the least hopes of advantage. . . .

In five or six days I shall leave, and without regret, this busy disagreeable scene, for one much better suited to my temper and inclinations, where the Duke of Shrewsbury said that he had business enough to hinder him from falling asleep, and not enough to hinder him from sleeping, a pleasing description to a half lazy man as I am."

Andrew Stone to the Same.

1745, August 2 [-13]. Whitehall.—"Mr. Pelham directs me to return you his thanks for the favour of your letter . . . and the important paper enclosed in it. He has communicated it to a very few, who all agree with him in thinking, that we should be too happy, if we could put an end to our present miseries upon the terms therein laid down. For my own part, I cannot carry my hopes so high as to think the French will restore all, or the most valuable of their late conquests in the Netherlands, unless such a change shall happen in their circumstances as I see no human means of bringing about at present. . . . You will forgive the liberty I am going to take, and attribute it to the true cause. I could have wished that in a consideration of this nature, which was to be laid in a confidential manner before his Majesty's servants here, you had not entirely passed by my Lord Duke of Newcastle. It was most certainly extremely proper to send it to Mr. Pelham, and I easily conceive your reason for taking that method, as what you did was in an extra-official way, and, if you had happened to have explained it in that manner, I am persuaded it would have been taken perfectly well. But nothing of that kind having been done, I could not help perceiving that some notice was taken of it; which out of a sincere regard and friendship to you I would not omit acquainting you with. If you think it proper to commission me *naturellement* to make some little compliment upon the occasion, I am satisfied there will not be the least remains of uneasiness at this incident. But I must beg and insist that you take no notice of it to anybody whatever, for I am certain that I am the only person that knows anything of it. I must also earnestly entreat you to burn this letter as soon as you have read it."

Edward Weston to the Same.

1745, August 15. Hanover.—"I never was sanguine about the election, and never thought it would have been too dear a purchase of peace to have the King of Poland Emperor. We are going to have the devil and all in Saxony with the King of Prussia."

The Same to the Same.

1745, August 17. Hanover.—"If you consider the young man's *equippés ἁπλως*, it does not indeed seem greatly alarming as to what his interest or presence unsupported might produce, but take with it the

preparations at the Isle d'Aix and at Ferrol, and it becomes very serious.

HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

1745, August 9 [-20]. Arlington Street.—"I had last night a conversation with my Lord Chancellor, my brother, and my Lord Chesterfield, who had before perused the paper you sent me, and we were all of opinion, that in the present circumstances, the conditions laid down in that paper would in general be a very good basis for a negotiation with France, if they could be brought to treat upon that foot; and that the points, in which the interests of his Majesty and the States General are most immediately concerned, would be effectually secured, if an accommodation could be concluded agreeably to that plan; though we observed at the same time, that there were some things that might require more consideration than we have yet had an opportunity to give them, particularly the disposition proposed to be made of the Duchy of Tuscany in favour of Don Philip, the exchange of the Marquisate of Finale against Oneglia, &c. And with regard to the mutual restitution of conquests, it cannot but occur to you, that as his Majesty's subjects in New England, assisted by a squadron of the King's ships, have lately made themselves masters of Cape Breton, it cannot well be expected that we should begin a negotiation by offering to give up so valuable an acquisition; which it would be very agreeable, and very advantageous to keep; though perhaps it may be uncertain how far that may be found practicable. I thought it necessary to throw these things out to you, though without any design of entering minutely into the particulars of the project, which would require more time than I have at present. And it is the less necessary, as the Lords above mentioned are of opinion (in which we are persuaded the Pensionary and you will agree with us), that considering the negotiation now depending, for bringing about an accommodation between the Court of Vienna, and the King of Prussia, it may be proper to defer the taking any step of this kind, till the final success of that shall be known. As my Lord Harrington's whole correspondence with my brother upon that head, has passed through your hands, and has been communicated by you to the Pensionary, you will both have seen the several steps that have been taken in it; and particularly that by Lord Harrington's letter of the $\frac{4}{15}$ instant, there seems more probability of its succeeding, especially on the side of Prussia, than I confess, I before thought there had been. In these circumstances might it not have an ill effect, for us to propose the entering into a transaction with France, that might divert our attention from that object? It must now probably soon be seen, whether the negotiation with Prussia will succeed or not. If it succeeds, it greatly facilitates any future negotiation with France; and will put us in a condition to obtain better terms from that Crown, than at present we have reason to expect. If it fails, there will not have been much time lost, and we must then endeavour to get the best terms we can from France; for which reason it will certainly be right, to keep that object always in view, and to be prepared to open a negotiation with France, in the manner proposed by the Pensionary and you, and upon the foot of your plan, subject to such amendments and alterations with regard to particular points as shall be thought advisable at the time. Though I have troubled you a good deal already I can't conclude this letter without thanking you for the confidential communication of your thoughts and the Pensionary's in this melancholy and distracted situation of public affairs. You have wrote to me with great openness and freedom, I thought therefore in

Trevor MSS. return it lay upon me, not to give you my own thoughts only, but what I collected also from those with whom I shall always act in public business. This may make the first part of this letter appear to you somewhat colder on the subject of peace than I really mean it, for, if I am to speak my own thoughts, which I shall always do with openness to you, I see so little possibility of extricating this country out of its present difficulties by the arms of her allies, that I can scarce persuade myself to have a doubt upon any proposition that tends to the making up the present disputes in an amicable way."

——— to ———.

1745, August 21. Rome.—" Mon Cher Cousin, Quoy que je sois bien persuadé que vous este bien informé du depart du Prince, j'ay cru devoir vous ecrire pour vous en donner des particularites que peut etre vous ignorez, et qui nous sont venu par la derniere poste de France. Le Princes' est embarqué le 15 du passé sur une fregatte d'environs 20 canons a Nante ou aux environs avec sa petite famille et quelques Ecossois, entre autre le Duc d'Athole, frere ainé du Duc de ce nom qui est en possession en Ecosse. Ce vaisseau appartient et est commandé par un nommé Wealch, un armateur Irlandois qui quand il auras debarqué le Prince en Ecosse vat droit a Hambourg pour des raisons que j'ignore. Il etoit escorté d'un vaiseau du Roy de soicente et huit canons nommé l'Elisabet que l'amirauté prete avec les canons aux armateurs a condition que les vaiseaux avec les canons qu'ils prendrons appartiendront aux Roy et toute la charge aux armateurs. Il y en a plusieurs en mer de cette espece. Celuy-ci avoit cincents hommes d'equipage, et etoit fretté par des armateurs de Bretagne mais plus de la moitie par un nomme Rotlidg, Irlandois. Vous scavez que le 20, vers le 47 degre au west de l'Irlande ils appercurent a la point du jour une flotte Angloise de quatorze voiles. Le plus proche d'eux viat les reconnoitre et il fut resolu que le vaiseau d'escorte l'attenderoit. Le Prince envoya de sa fregate deux officiers Irlandois qu'il avoit rencontré par hazard en Bretagne faisant des recrue. Leurs ordres etoient d'observer la maneouvre de ce vaiseaux Francois pour en rendre compte. Ils se joignirent a 3 heures apres midi et commencerent un combat qui dura bien avant dans la nuit. La relation dit que vers les onze heures l'Anglois demanda a se rendre, mais ne scachant pas qu'un de ces derniers coup de canon avoit brisé la roue du gouvernail du vaiseau Francois, ce vaiseau ne put faire aucune manoeuvre, en sorte que le matin au jour il fut fort surpris de voir l'Anglais a 7 lieux de luy et hors d'etat de le suivre par le mauvais etat ou il se trouvoit. Le capitaine nommé du Haut a été tué avec sept autres officiers, en tout 57, et cent seise de blessé, parmi les quelles est Mr. Sheridon un des deux officiers envoié par le Prince, et Conway le second ecrit cette relation de Brest ou le vaiseau est arrivé sept jours apres le combat. Ils ont vu la fregatte du Prince prete a doubler le cap d'Irlande avec un vent favorable, qui a duré plus qu'il ne faut pour le porter a sa destination. Ainsi on ne doute nullement qu'il ne soit debarque en Ecosse ou il est attendu, quoy que nous n'en aions aucun nouvelle positive mais ce qui nous fait trembler, il n'a plus de quinze cents armes avec luy, tres peu de munition, et point d'argent, pas un homme de guere ny d'experience. Enfin c'est l'entreprise la plus hazardée dont j'ay encor ouy parler. Il est vray que depuis son depart il est arrivé a Paris un Seigneur Ecossois qu'on ne nomme pas pour le presser de partir, que tout etoit prest, et qu'on n'attendoit que luy pour lever l'etendard. Je ne scay pas encor le contenu de nostre declaration que vous aurez

avant nous. Il est decidé que nous partons tous pour la France aussitot que nous serons informé du debarquement. Il s'est tenu a ce sujet une congregation Lundi passé en presence du Pape, ou le Maitre de la Poste aux chevaux a été appelle pour scavoir le nombre des chevaux de Postes qu'il pouroit fournir. Le soir le Secretaire d'Etat que j'ay introduit est venu nous en rendre compte, et hier nous avons été tous chez le Pape ou tout a été reglé. Belloni le banquier a ordre de tenis tout en ordre pour nous fournir de l'argent partout ou nous pouvonr estre appelle, et ou il seras besoin. Voila de belles et bonnes nouvelles comme vous voiez, si cela reussit, mais comme vostre silence continue je croy que vous n'attendrez plus de mes nouvelles, et je ne le ferez plus sans ordres. Milord Sample a été donner aviz du depart du Roy en Flandre. C'est de vos costés que nous attendons à present les nouvelles importantes qui doivent nous compler de joy." TREVOR MSS.

*Copy.*

### The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to the SAME.

1745, September 7 [– 18]. Dublin Castle.—"My journey here and the silly forms and ceremonies I have been obliged to go through since, have engrossed my whole time for near a month and made me seem negligent of all other duties. . . . An Act signed is a great step. The Court of Vienna would, I dare say, have been very glad to have hindered the signing, but now that it is done I am persuaded the Austrian ministers will think twice before they refuse to come into it. The King of Prussia once neuter, and the Great Duke elected Emperor, we may talk to France upon pretty equal terms, and either carry on a practicable war, or obtain a safe and tolerable peace, though I confess (*considering all circumstances*) I prefer the latter, and hope you will soon hear again from Mr. Nelson. I can't think our friend the Pensionary will stand out, since the others you mention are clear, and *si cela vient au fait et au prendre,* I am convinced the affair will go glibly enough in the Republic. The same reasons subsist for renewing the Treaty of Breslau, that subsisted for making it, strengthened by a great many other circumstances that have happened since; and it seems to me a plain proposition, that we must have either a better war or a better peace with our great and natural enemy France, when we have taken the weight of 100,000 men out of her scale. . . . The renewal of the treaty of Breslau will likewise remove many difficulties" in London "and smooth the way through Parliament. What between the pageantry and the variety of little business of my department here, my time is so much employed that I must now abruptly conclude."

### HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

1745, September 10 [– 21].—"I heartily wish the troops were arrived both Dutch and English, for though I look upon these Highland rebels as a sort of rabble, yet if there is no force to oppose 'em, they may come in time to be considerable. We have scarce any regular troops in the country, and between you and I, I don't find that zeal to venture purses and lives that I formerly remember. I don't care to look out for the reasons. I suppose you have heard the rebels have passed Sir John Cope, and are now in the countries belonging to Lord Perth and the Duke of Athole. They pay for everything they want, but are many of them but indifferently armed; so that if a regiment or two with good officers at their head could but come at 'em, this affair would soon end in smoke. We don't hear of any embarkations, but whether the progress of these people in Scotland may not

TREVOR MSS. incite our enemies to venture a small body of troops over, even in open boats, I can't pretend to determine. The postscript to your last is a very serious one. I always apprehended that the capture of C[ap]e B[reto]n would occasion difficulties on one side, as well as facilities on the other, towards making a peace. But our people are so mad upon it that it requires more spirit and conduct to get the better of, than I doubt our present Governors are masters of. I am quite of your opinion that some resolution, and that a great one, should be soon come to, but what that great one should be, is the difficulty, scarce three people think alike in that."

[EDWARD WESTON] to the SAME.

1745, September 17 [– 28]. T[urnham] Green.—"I understand by some friends from London that the *Jeu de Cabinet* is again in vogue. Who will win that game I can't tell, but there is almost always a difference between that and all other games, viz., that the standers by are the greatest sufferers."

The SAME to the SAME.

1745, October 1 [– 12]. Wh[itehall].—"The Association of the Merchants has saved the Bank for a time, but I doubt the first ill news will raise the same spirit again, which fomented by all the arts of the Popish party, may at once overset our bark in this present storm. I often think that we might possibly have some relief by a vigorous diversion from the Emperor's army. But since our late Prussian differences, we have no more communication with that Court than with the Great Mogul. I cannot but wish that our next letters may bring us accounts of some accommodation or other, for the war seems to me to be at an end of itself, as we are plainly *non Prælio sed Bello victi*, unless it be still called a war, *ubi tu pulsas ego vapulo tantum*."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1745, October 25 [– November 5]. Cockpit.—"What the Queen of Hungary means by pursuing so distinctly her Silesia madness I can't tell, and what she proposes to do in consequence of it. One thing I am sure of, viz., that not one farthing of money will be granted by this P[arliament] to support the projects of bigotry, pride, and vengeance of the House of Austria, as was done last year."

[EDWARD WESTON] to the SAME.

Same date. Wh[itehall].—"Your surprise perhaps will have been great at our answer to your grand packet by Mackenzie. I dread the consequences of it, but I see too clearly that nobody can answer for anything here *yet*. What a few days may produce I can't tell. But all is at sea just now. By getting Larrey to go with as much as you have, you may gain a time that may save all. The article of St. Tropez I wonder you passed, it raised indignation. The want of a peace may ruin us, but the acquisition of a scandalous one will not less do it, tho' perhaps later. This is not my language, but I think the popular and fashionable one. Here is a strong party for abandoning the Continent entirely, and dying, if we must die, *se defendendo*. Where all this will end, God knows. But I doubt it must be little less than a miracle to save us. I write to you in confidence and can only return you sigh for sigh. . . . Wade is to be at Newcastle next Tuesday. Lord Albemarle is already

landed there, so there will be an army of 12 or 13m, the Rebels by our best accounts not exceeding 7 or 8m. I own I am one of those whom the Pensionary thinks mistaken in looking upon a French declaration against Holland as no bad event. I should imagine the Governors may not be sure of finding the People so deprecative and submissive as themselves upon such an occasion. At the worst it can but come to a separate accommodation and neutrality, and that I doubt would take place notwithstanding." TREVOR MSS.

HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

1745, November 8[–19]. Arlington Street.—"I have served your friend Burrish as much as I could at this time . . . I wish it was in my power to keep touch with you all, but when I came into the Treasury I found a vast arrear and the expenses have increased, and the revenue diminished ever since, this I hope will plead my excuse. I can assure you it is a great concern to me, that I have so good a one to make. You know from Lord Harrington and the rest of your friends here the situation of this country; we are plagued every day with new and different reports as to the progress of the Rebels, they seem to act with some judgment, and great resolution, but as I am satisfied that the disaffection in this part of the kingdom is greatly decreased, and as we have now a great army in England, I can't doubt of our putting an end to this insolent and wicked attempt in time. We don't hear of any great embarkations, but our enemies are continually pouring in arms officers engineers and money, this gives spirit to the Pretender's friends, and enables them to keep together longer than they could otherways have done. Our great misfortune is the effect this has upon our credit, for though the stocks do not fall much, yet what ready money there is in the kingdom is pretty much hoarded up, and of consequence the raising our supplies difficult. A brush from Marshal Wade may possibly give new life. You expect on your side the water that we should answer categorically three several questions, is it possible in our situation that we can? it is enough at this time to be assured we will do what we can, and I hope our friends will not expect us to promise more. Engaging beyond our strength has been, in my mind, the great error of the three last years, it is better to avoid that evil now, than persist in it to our own ruin, and that of our allies also; when I say allies, I mean the Republic only, for all the rest I look upon as burdens, not as friends engaged in the same interest, and upon equal terms."

E[DWARD] W[ESTON] to the SAME.

1745, November 12 [–23]. Wh[itehall].—"You will see in the *Gazette* all we know of the Rebels. The necessity of having two armies now appears, and Ligonier is setting forward for Lancashire with 12 or 13,000 men new and old. He reckons to reach Warrington by the 25th. . . . Affairs continue here as when I wrote last. Nothing fixed either of Esotericks or Exotericks. I sometimes hope that Larrey may settle some reasonable plan for the whole with D'Arg[enrson], and send it us ready cut and dried for acceptance. I doubt whether it would be protested."

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1745, November 22 [– December 3]. Cockpit.—"A set of gentlemen in P[arliamen]t, besides the To[r]ys, of some eloquence and weight, but of great ignorance in foreign affairs, having shown by a debate

Trevor MSS. yesterday, that they would have us abandon the Continent, altho' they lost their question that indirectly tended that way by a great majority, I should be glad, in order to withstand such an absurd opinion, if it should be renewed after the holidays, and when I hope the Rebellion may be quelled (for the defence of this country must take place of all other considerations), I should be glad, I say, to get as good an answer as you can procure without trouble and inconvenience to the following questions." (The questions relate to the number of troops maintained by the States after the peace of Utrecht, their subsequent augmentations, the number during the last campaign and especially at Fontenoy, the increase of the debt of Holland during the war, the funds on which the previous debt was secured, and the additional taxes imposed in consequence of the war.)

General Hawley to the Same.

1745, December 6. Antwerp.—Requesting an order for the packet-boat at Helvoet to sail with him immediately on his arrival there, as he has been ordered to England to take the command of the troops under Sir John Ligonier, who is disabled by illness.

Edward Weston to the Same.

1745, November 26 [– December 7]. Whitehall.—"The plan here is to assist the Republic faithfully but equitably. Some would reduce it very low and opinions will differ in St. St[ephen's] chapel. We are full of reports to-day of Martin's sinking a fleet of transports, but nobody knows when or where. What is, I believe, indisputable, is the prize at Deal mentioned in the *Gazette*, which will probably prove much richer than is there mentioned, for it is very natural to expect *ipsum herilem filium* in that company. The other pushes on, some think to gain Wales, others to fight our embryo army at Lichfield. This week will show, if the breaking of Warrington Bridge does not stop him longer. It will sound oddly abroad to have the whole force of this kingdom employed in opposing the progress of 5 or 6,000 Highlanders, for our last and best accounts reduce them to the former number. But we can't afford another *echec*. I look upon the Prussian quarrel by this time to be decided, for I have no manner of doubt of Prince Charles' being beat as usual. The E[mpress] may then come to thank Him, if He will leave her Bohemia. . . . If there are so many Jacobites and such plotting as Wolters expects at Rotterdam, it is hard to conceive but discoveries might be made by the Postoffice there."

Robert Trevor to Horatio Walpole.

1745, December 14.—(Answers to the questions contained in his last letter.)

Horatio Walpole to Robert Trevor.

1745, December 3 [–12].—"I never have had the least uneasiness at your behaviour with regard to me, neither while I was in, nor since I have been out of businesss, and neither my curiosity, nor my inclination has ever made me wish to be concerned in it again, nay nothing in the world should induce me to take hold of that plough again, but for your own sake (if I may take the liberty to say so) had you been more open to me when here I could have suggested, what if pursued and supported would I think have saved Flanders last year: I

mean to have pressed here before the campaign was opened a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Prussia which would have taken 100,000 men out of the scale against us, and to have let the Queen of Hungary have known that it should have been a condition *sine quâ non* for our giving her any subsidies, and I own I was astonished to find so obvious and salutary a notion had escaped Lord Ch[esterfiel]d's the Pensionary's, and your own penetration. Had that been your errand, there were those, that would not appear, but would have taken care to have had it seconded so strongly as perhaps (although I must own it would have been with great difficulty) might have made it take place. Nay to show you the continuation of my confidence towards you, depending upon your taking no notice of it, my sentiments of foreign affairs being asked from abroad the beginning of the spring, or about April I believe, I was prevailed upon to send them, and the main tendency of them was to show, that it was impossible for us to carry on the war upon the Continent unless Prussia could be detached from France, nay, I foretold from a plain connexion and deduction of things, that in case the Prussians, who are as to the foot counted the bravest troops (although I had a very bad opinion of their King) should gain any advantage over Prince Charles, what has happened to the disadvantage of the allies, would certainly happen, and I have been since told I had *prophesied* too true, when indeed it was no more than the result of common sense and reason from the plain state of affairs, and now the time is come though too late, that everybody as well in Holland as *here* wishes that notion had prevailed, but I beg your pardon for saying a great many more words on a matter that is irretrievable than I first intended.

As to the Rebellion you will have heard, I suppose, that it is imagined (and I am one of that opinion) that the Pretender's second son is taken by the *Sheerness*, the person that Ratcliffe (Der[w]en[t]water) call[ed] his son is supposed to be him. Several circumstances are alleged too long to enumerate for that conjecture, but if that is not so, yet I think he may possibly be among the officers, or some of the crew, and was going to command in Scotland a new body of rebels, to be supported by gradual embarkations from Dunkirk of officers and soldiers; I think now the great crisis of victory or destruction is drawing near, the Rebels are all assembled at Manchester and 'tis supposed that the Duke of Cumberland will have got his army together, while Wade is making all the haste that the season and circumstances will allow through Yorkshire, but as he is still at a great distance, the Rebels will have taken their party, either to return back, which they certainly can do, or to march forward directly, and engage the Duke, which I hope they will do, or endeavour, as some think, to turn off through Derbyshire and escape both General Wade and the Duke which I think very difficult for them to do, and which, although it will make a great noise at first, I think must end in their destruction at last: in short in two or three days we must hear something very important or interesting one way or other in this great juncture."

ROBERT TREVOR to HENRY PELHAM.

1745, December 17. The Hague.—"I have spoke with great freedom and equal truth in my public relations, but there are still a few topics of a nature I dare lodge no where but with you, and such few as you shall think fit to repeat them to.

The condition, in which the Barrier, and very frontier of these Provinces are now left, cannot possibly be long endured by this state. The winter, and the expectation of the issue of the several negotiations

TREVOR MSS. at present on foot, encourage the Pensionary to conceal the danger a little longer: But upon the first motion of Marshal Saxe the States must turn over a new leaf.

The Empress's destitution of the Low Countries is indeed looked upon as little better than malicious; but then ours does not stand quite clear here of the imputation of being disproportionate to the danger, that dictates it, and of being accompanied with no promise, nor prospect of being compensated.

I cannot cure even my best friends here of a jealousy they have conceived, of our Parliament's having gained too great an ascendant over our Cabinet: of the former's being alienated from the old system, and being resolved to visit the obstinacy of the Court of Vienna, and the selfishness of another Court I need not name, upon the whole Continent.

The few partisans of France make a great merit of her not pushing her advantages in the Netherlands by attributing this forbearance to reluctancy to shock the present constitution here, whilst the inveterate Republicans attribute our leaving the Dutch in the distress they now are, to our desire of thereby throwing things into such a confusion as must lay them under the necessity of calling in a dictator.

The very Austrians underhand envenom our present intimacy with the King of Prussia by the common ties of relation we happen to stand in to the Prince of Orange.

Could I flatter myself with as certain a prospect of salvation, as some do, in that Messiah, I should be less anxious than I now am, at the precipice, upon which this State stands.

Though the Prussian accommodation has the formal sanction of the State, I must not conceal from you, that it is rather as a measure comparatively than positively eligible; nor will it ever be nationally popular here, unless his Prussian Majesty takes part against France.

The Pensionary is as much as we can be, for our not trusting the application of our subsidies any longer to the Court at Vienna; but seeing ourselves, that they be actually, and effectively applied to the service of the Low Countries; But then he is very averse, and the old Greffier still more so, to our publicly repudiating the House of Austria, as those ministers both imagine, such a schism in the present alliance, must, if it do not even make France forego any thoughts she may possibly have of peace, at least give her a greater ascendant in all negotiations than the unhappy misunderstanding between England and Holland did in the year 1712.

Another source of great scandal and complaint here is the apparent unconcernedness of a certain Elector at a certain King's present danger and distress, as well as at that of the Public. The impossibility of my touching upon this string is one of the chief motives of Boetzelaer's mission. He will tell you, that the Hanoverians under General Somersfeldt would be more suitably posted upon the Demer, than upon the Lohn, or the Weser, and will canvass the military balance between England and the Republic with more freedom, than would become your own minister. He will shew you, that the Republic is willing to struggle hard, provided she has any rational prospect of her struggling to any purpose.

To this an early superiority in the Netherlands is necessary, and it is hoped here, that what out of the 40,000 men engaged for by us last year, the offers of Bavarians, Munsterians and Russians over and above, and the subsidy of 500,000*l.* to the Court of Vienna, a handsome quota may be found for the Netherlands; and no inconsiderable saving remain to the nation.

Now I have mentioned Mr. Boetzelaer I must just add, that the Pensionary has cautioned him very seriously against any habitude, that may give umbrage to His Majesty's present servants. . . . I shall not presume to suggest any use of the foregoing naked exposition of affairs here, unless it be recommending it to your utmost management or rather to the flames."

### Henry Pelham to Robert Trevor.

1745, December 11 [-22]. (This letter in reply to Trevor's of the 17th, is printed in Coxe, *Pelham Administration* i. p. 282, with the following mistakes:—p. 282, lines 19 and 32, insert "in" after "not" and "will" after "interest"; p. 283, line 2, for "no" read "not", line 6, insert "have" after "would", and after "up", "if they could have reached 'em"; lines 16 and 17, read "realising" for "rating" and "coffer" for coffers"; line 21 read "though" for "first" and "over" for "on"; lines 29, 33, 36, read "affections" for "affection", "bad" for "sad", "our" for "an"; p. 284, lines 3, 4, read "negotiators" for "negotiation" and "for" for "with"; at the end of the first paragraph add, "I could have wished another man could have been found out for your Ambassador instead of Boteslaar, I have personally no objection to him, but when he was here last, he did not hit the tempers of those he was to negotiate with, and I am afraid, notwithstanding the Pensionary's caution, he will have too great a propensity to my neighbour"; line 20, for "with" read "all"; line 24, for "now the Queen of Hungary has done her part" read "had the Queen of Hungary done, &c."; line 26, insert "now" before "over"; line 27, dele "and"; line 29, insert "the" before "individuals" and "in" before "their.")

### Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1745, December 13 [-24]. Cockpit.—"I have only time to acknowledge and thank you for . . . the tablet of the Dutch establishment of troops, and the answers to my queries . . . The duration of the Rebellion, and the succours that the French continually send to Scotland, will, I am afraid, make it necessary to send for the Hessians in our pay to come over. It will cause uneasiness with you, I don't doubt, but the sooner the Rebellion is extinguished here, the sooner and the better able we shall be to help our friends abroad.

The Rebels after having got as far as Derby with a design and expectation of coming near this great city, in concert, as I imagine, with the French who were to have succoured them by an invasion from Dunkirk, were at last, having been prevented by the Duke of Cumberland's getting seasonably near Coventry, while Wade came forward on the other side thro' Yorkshire, I say they were at last obliged to return back and by forced marches get out of his Royal Highness' reach, who took a resolution at the head of 2,500 horse and dragoons and 1,000 chosen foot mounted on horses to follow them, but I am told this day that his R.H. having got as far as Macclesfield, while the Rebels ran towards Lancaster, will be obliged to quit the pursuit, not being able to continue it without ruining his cavalry entirely, without being able to come up with the Rebels."

### The Same to the Same.

1745, December 17 [-28]. Cockpit.—"Surely that Junonian spirit of vengeance in the Queen of Hungary will be at last worn out and tired.

TREVOR MSS.

I suppose you will hear from better hands the state of our affairs here; you may be sure that we are as impatient, as our friends abroad can be, to put an end to this Rebellion, and I own I can't see any other delay has been in that respect but what has been occasioned by the nature of things, and the terrible season of the year. It will indeed be an unheard of thing before in history, that the Rebels consisting of Highlanders &c. should have advanced so far into this kingdom, but as Wade could not leave Newcastle exposed, by quitting that side of the North, he could not pretend to follow them until they were got to Carlisle; their stay there for some time made him march towards them, but I believe it was very happy that they did not continue to expect General Wade, for, if they had, he must have ruined his whole army in marching to the relief of Carlisle. When they began to advance forwards all possible diligence was made to send such an army to meet them, as could be got together, without leaving this capital naked, and the Duke of Cum[berland's] putting himself at the head of them gave great willingness and life to the soldiers; as his Highness came near the Rebels, they by forced marches slipped by the Duke, and got to Derby, with a resolution of coming as fast as they could towards this great city, and people were much alarmed lest they should have outstripped the Duke and by a concert with the French have encouraged and favoured an invasion from Dunkirk, from whence constant informations were brought of an embarkation. But the Duke of Cumberland not having followed the rebels directly but prudently cut short, and come near Coventry, while Marshal Wade advanced to Doncaster, by which means the Rebels were between two armies, they resolved, much against the will of the Pretender's son, to return back again with all possible precipitation; the Duke lost no time in putting himself at the head of a body of horse, and having mounted 1,000 foot on horses for the greater expedition in pursuing them, but the Rebels having got two or three days' march of them, although his Highness has gained some ground upon them and has been joined by 500 horse under the command of General Oglethorpe who came to Preston last Friday, where the Duke was expected the next day, it is much doubted, whether his Royal Highness will be able to come up with the Rebels so as to do any considerable execution, of which some news is expected every moment. In the mean time we are not without our apprehensions of an invasion from France, the wind indeed is at present extremely contrary, and perhaps, if the French should learn that the young Pretender is fled for Scotland as fast as he has been able, and nobody has risen in his favour during his whole march forwards and backwards, but sixty men at Manchester, and the whole countries are enraged against him, it is possible that France may lay aside all designs of an invasion in England, and content themselves with hazarding transports of officers and men in parcels for Scotland, where there may be arrived about 800 French and about 1,800 more Highlanders may have got together. This new army in Scotland has made it necessary to send for the Hessians, which I suppose will occasion great uneasiness on your side, but as it is unavoidable and necessary to extinguish the flame at home, the sensible part in Holland, I hope, will be sorry for the occasion without murmuring; in the meantime the Dutch Admiral having suddenly left Mr. Vernon at a time when an invasion was daily expected from Dunkirk occasions the greatest clamour here imaginable, as being construed by the generality as an act of treachery, and even by the most moderate, excepting some few that know the nature of that Government, to be from a French influence. Having wrote thus far I have been abroad, and learnt from good hands, who have, I suppose, had some of their intelligence from you, that the

resolution in France holds to attempt an invasion with a considerable body of forces under the command of the Duke of Richelieu." TREVOR MSS

The SAME to the SAME.

1745, December 31 [–January 11].—Cockpit. "I hope expostulations between two old friends will not end as they did in the year '12, as not being founded upon the same principles, for then we were resolved to quarrel right or wrong with the Dutch, but that is not, I am persuaded the disposition of the present Ministry, altho' I must not conceal from you that the generality of people, who are not acquainted with the weak and confused state of the Dutch Government and judge by appearances only, are extremely out of humour with them; the easy surrender of the Barrier towns by neglect or treachery, without any person being called to an account, the cowardice of the Dutch troops at the battle of Fontenoy and nobody punished, the most disorderly behaviour of those sent this year to our assistance, the calling away their ships at a time that they were joined to our fleet in the Downs, and a French invasion at that very juncture was hourly expected, all those things, altho' you and [I] can account for them without any blame to be laid to the intentions of our friends, yet they have such an odd appearance to the eye of the world, as have a very bad effect, and are attributed to French influence."

J[AMES] STUART MACKENZIE to the SAME.

1745-6, January 25. Edinburgh.—"You must have heard . . . that we had not the success we firmly expected before the battle began; but perhaps you may not have heard several particulars that I can acquaint you with; for as I acted in the capacity of Aide de Camp to the General I had occasion to be in every part of the line, during the action. We encamped the night before the action near a town called Falkirk, about 24 miles west from this, and within about 5 miles of the Rebel army. We lay there till midday of the day following, when there was an alarm given that the Rebels were in full march towards us, upon which the whole army was drawn up in the front of our camp, which was a very strong one by the natural situation of the place; advice was brought us that the Rebels were not advancing directly towards our camp, but were marching up on some high grounds which were to our left, and about 1½ miles from us, so the General who was reconnoitring those high grounds sent me to order the Cavalry to move that way immediately, and the Infantry and Artillery to follow them as fast as possible, he being afraid the rebels might get by us on the left, and perhaps cut off our communication with Edinburgh, or, at least, get away from us, which was the thing we were most afraid of. As soon as the troops could come up we were formed into two lines, with all our Cavalry (which consisted of 6 squadrons) on our left, on the summit of the hill; as the General imagined the enemy was more afraid of horse than foot, he ordered the dragoons to begin the attack, which they did very briskly, but the Highlanders making all their efforts against them, and giving them a sharp fire, Hamilton's dragoons most scandalously gave way, which soon put the other squadrons into confusion. They again coming in upon the foot, broke them, this caused a general panic, many of them threw down their arms and ran away, whole platoons on the left of the first line went off, and by that means broke the second line; what hindered the Rebels from pursuing our left, God knows! if they had, they must

TREVOR MSS. have cut almost the whole left wing to pieces. Two or three battalions on our right kept their ground, and even obliged the left of the Rebels to retreat, so that we were a matter of half an hour on the field of battle after all firing ceased, but night coming on, and there having been during the whole time of the action a violent storm of hail rain and wind, our ammunition was so wet, that not one in twenty of the muskets would go off, upon which it was judged proper to retire to our camp, where we drew up expecting the Highlanders would come down upon us. By this time numbers of our foot rallied, and some of the dragoons; so when we had remained about half an hour under arms and found the Rebels did not care to attack us a second time, we were ordered to burn the tents, and march to Lithgow directly, but the tents were too wet to burn, so most of them fell into the enemy's hands, who came to Falkirk about an hour after we had left the camp; I mentioned before, that our ammunition was entirely spoilt with the rain, so that it would have been impossible for us to have remained in our camp that night. We were obliged to leave 7 pieces of cannon on the field of battle, for some of our runaways had carried off the horses belonging to the train; those two battalions on our right who kept the field of battle, brought three pieces away with them, and had there been men enough, or horses, we might have brought them all off; I forgot to tell you, that our Artillery did not come up time enough to do us any service, which was a great disadvantage to us, especially as we had to do with the Highlanders, who don't at all love cannon. I have now given you an account of this unfortunate affair which does us very little honour, for they were inferior to us in numbers, had no Artillery, and made but very little use of their broadswords, which is the weapon they rely most upon, and yet notwithstanding all this, if the victory was to be given to either side, it certainly was theirs, rather than ours. Our loss and theirs, I believe, are pretty near equal, it does not amount in all to 300, killed wounded and missing, a very trifling loss for such an army as we had, 12 battalions 6 squadrons and 1,000 Argyllshire Highlanders. I wish you may be able to understand this account of the affair, for this is the first time I ever gave a history of a battle I was myself present at.

The Rebels are at present besieging Stirling Castle, but they make a very bad hand on't; for General Blakeney knocks down their batteries, as fast as they erect them; we expect tomorrow the return of an express from London, and then, I faney, we shall have another battle with them, without we receive orders to wait for more troops. We have long expected the Hessians with great impatience, their hussars would be of great service to us at present, as well as their regular troops to animate our men, who seem to have lost all spirit, and sense of honour."

### HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1745–6, February 4 [–15]. Cockpit.—"Tell the Pensionary he should have sent Twickle to Berlin, and directed Mr. Boetslaar here to have insisted of our sending some person of quality thither from hence, able in concurrence with the Dutch minister to execute proper instructions at that Court founded upon a principle of desiring to have the strictest friendship and confidence with that Prince, and begging his assistance at this extraordinary juncture, representing the eminent danger that he himself (the King of Prussia) would be exposed to, if the French should become masters of the Netherlands; that the power of France will be so great that after she has got the better of England and

Holland, her bigotry will prevail, and she will not suffer quietly so considerable a Protestant power as Prussia is on the Continent and in the heart of the Empire, that France if she has an opportunity will not easily forgive certain sudden turns of the Prussian Policy, by which the Imperial dignity was again restored to the House of Austria, a point that France had much at heart to prevent, that if the King of Prussia will now join in an alliance offensive, and defensive, with the Maritime Powers, and employ a certain number of troops which that Prince can have immediately ready, and even if in the mean time he would let France know in a proper manner that her conquests and increase of dominions must give umbrage to the neighbouring powers, the Maritime Powers would concur in the strongest guaranty for Silesia and the rest of the Prussian possessions, and in anything jointly with the Court of Vienna, that may remove any future apprehensions which the Court of Berlin might have of the Queen of Hungary: these in general are my thoughts, flung out at random to you, for I have imparted them [to] nobody else; but I have been concerned to find by Mr. Boetslaer's discourse, with whom I have dined sometimes, not with ministers but in a family way with your brother and others, that a greater apprehension prevails in Holland, at least among some, against Prussia, than France. Good God! *Quos Deus vult perdere dementat.* Prussia, that is this King, has acted perfidiously in these junctures; but have not the actions of France been one continued scene of perfidy for ages? Prussia lies close to several provinces, and encompasses them with strong fortresses, and numerous troops. But is not France still nearer to others, and with ten times more formidable armies? It is certainly the interest of Prussia in all respects to be well with the Maritime Powers, but it is the interest of France, and has been constantly her view and aim to destroy the Maritime Powers. . . . I can't help lamenting the preposterous behaviour of our Austrian ally in sacrificing her own and the interest of her friends to superciliousness, bigotry, and vengeance, and the weakness of our Dutch ally, in being more apprehensive of the horns of a bull, than of the jaws of [a] lion."

Trevor MSS.

The Same to the Same.

1745–6, February 14 [– 25]. Cockpit.—"As the wind has been, it is very likely you will receive at the same time an account of a ministry dissolved and the same ministry restored; the particulars of this extraordinary phenomenon, which I believe cannot be paralleled in any age or history, are not proper for a letter. The facts are, that Lord Harrington, and the Duke of Newcastle resigned the Seals as Secretary of State on Monday morning, both of which were given to Lord Granville that evening; the next day Mr. Pelham resigned the Seals as Chancellor of the Exchequer and for himself and all the other Lords of the Treasury except Lord Middlesex, there being Commissioners at that Board, and the Duke of Bedford did the same with respect to all the Lords of the Admiralty, except Lord Archibald Hamilton; Lord Pembroke resigned the Gold key as Groom of the Stole, and Lord Munson, First Lord of Trade, was authorized by all that Board to do the same; these resignations would have been followed by those of the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Grafton, and even of the Duke of Dorset; I forgot to tell you Lord Gore [Gower] resigned on Tuesday the Privy Seal, and Lord Chancellor was to have resigned as yesterday. This extraordinary precedent of these great men, I believe, would have been followed by the Attorney and Solicitor General, and even by persons of lower rank; but the two great ministers Granville and Bath, having

Trevor MSS. solicited several noblemen and others to supply the vacancies made and expected, and having been absolutely refused, and finding themselves abandoned by persons of all denominations of rank, waited upon his Majesty on Tuesday morning and after a private audience which 'tis said lasted several hours, when the Closet door was opened, it was soon rumoured at Court, that the old ministry was to be restored, which accordingly proved true, and last night Mr. Pelham received the Seal as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as those who designed to resign, were stopped, so those that had made their resignation, have, I suppose, been restored this day, and 'tis probable that you will receive letters by this mail, to acquaint you that Lord G[ranvi]lle was made Secretary of State and that Lord H[arringto]n is again in that station; but what will become of us abroad? neither this ministry, nor this nation, nor Europe can be safe long without the King of Prussia's assistance; here I have for many years fixed my standard and here I remain firm."

### Robert Trevor to Henry Pelham.

1746, February 25. The Hague.—"The frankness and uprightness which I profess, will not allow me to disguise to you at this great juncture, the national outcry and fermentation, which the loss of Brussels, and the approach of the French, by verifying all the fears and predictions of the States upon the retreat of our troops, raises in this residence. People are indeed sensible that this catastrophe is in great part to be attributed to the perverseness, dilatoriness, and haggling of the Court of Vienna; but then the losses, extenuation and misery of that Court makes it meet with better quarter here; and the chief load of the odium falls to the share of our administration which is taxed here with the want of will rather than of power to have prevented, or even to still withstand these evils. Besides the topics I have dared to touch upon in my public dispatch, I have daily the mortification to be obliged to hear others of a still greater malignity. Our measures for crushing the Rebellion are taxed here with having been disproportionate and ill placed: our dread of a French invasion to have been by some even affected, but by all to have been over hasty, and unsupported by any rational, and certain intelligence: the promises which I made by order upon every notification of the recall of our national troops, of their being to return as soon as possible, are now reclaimed; and the total silence now observed on that head in my last notification is attributed in great measure to a want of zeal and a disgust in our military gentry themselves to their own trade, in support of which suspicion several extraordinary discourses of some of them are quoted here. The King is supposed to be himself all for vigour, and for those who are so; and his very niggardness in his Electoral capacity is artfully represented here to flow rather from his want of affection to his present ministry in England than to the good cause; whilst the ministry itself is again represented to be obliged through its want of credit in the Closet, to humour even beyond its judgment the House of Commons in all the selfish, narrow-minded, and utopian dreams of its popular members. It is publicly known here (not indeed from M. Boetzelaer, who has confined his news to the Pensionary), but I believe from Wasner, that the King would have sent back the Hessian troops, as was desired, without landing, but that his ministers have dissuaded and prevented that step. However judicious this advice may have been in relation to our own interests you'll easily conceive that a discovery of such a contrast must be highly improper and invidious here, where smart and losses have rendered everybody peevish and querulous to a degree you

cannot well imagine. I have not had a visit from nor eat a meal with any member of this Government for some months, and am even glad to avoid doing so to avoid indecent heats. In public conferences, which I cannot avoid, I am baited unmercifully; and in the very last I had things went so far that I was told in so many words by the First Deputy of it 'that, if every time France pleased to send over a single battalion to Scotland she could operate a diversion of 30,000 men in England's quota to the combined army, England was not an ally for the Republic; and that, if the British minister here could not, upon any emergency or contingency, however pressing, dispose, in concert with the States, of troops and money, without writing for positive and express orders from beyond sea, it was idle to confer with me,' and rising from his place he declared the conference broken up, and withdrew out of the chamber. As the Pensionary and most of the other Deputies stayed, I affected not to have attended to this *sallie* of the President's, and continued the conference. TREVOR MSS.

After this naked exposition of the present temper of this nation, I must further lodge in your bosom my apprehensions that unless our present administration give some immediate and public proof of its ascendant at home, and of its zeal abroad, illustrated by some real and speedy succour in the Low Countries (which can consist in no other than in British or Hanoverian troops), and in some signal mark of cordiality and attention given this State, I will not say in my person, but in that of some instrument more adequate to the emergency; the Pensionary's back, as his heart is very near already, must be soon broke; and either the weight of this country, through the Austrian, Orange, and warlike party, be thrown (and I suspect certain canals being already opened and used for that purpose) into the scale of your personal opposers at home; or else the French and Republican party will, on the other hand, oblige Mr. Twickle to go beyond his present instructions, compromise for the Republic at any rate, and cook up a bargain for us, and the Court of Vienna, without our privity, as we did for the Court of Vienna at Hanover; to which latter, things are the rather disposed here, as I must not conceal from you, that the Dutch suspect the King of Prussia's preventing them with playing this very card." *Draft.*

### HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1745-6, February 18 [-March 1]. Cockpit.—"It is ridiculous to imagine that anyone will venture to disoblige the greatest power in Europe, when of those powers for whose sake he is to disoblige the other, one of them, the most considerable, will continue to hate him; the next won't love him, and the third is very indifferent to him, and seems to fear him—Good God! that my good old friend the P[ensiona]ry should have such narrow notions, as to be more afraid of Prussia than France!—I can't answer for the personal conduct or views of the Prussian monarch, what starts he may take, but in appearance all his conduct from the beginning of the last year seemed to tend towards a desire of being well with the allies; for, after the first victory he had gained against Prince Charles and Saxe Weissenfels, was it not as easy for him to have made, in concert with France, the Elector of Saxony Emperor, as he had done the Elector of Bavaria? would not the march of 30,000 men towards Saxony with the option made at the same time to that Prince of the Imperial Dignity or the ruin of his Country have done it? would the magnificent Bruhl have hesitated one moment at the choice?"

TREVOR MSS.

### The SAME to the SAME.

1745–6, February 27 [–March 10]. Cockpit.—"The taking of Brussels is confirmed. . . . I am sorry to find that it affects our credit in that country, while, at the same time, the weak defence of such a numerous garrison, and having suffered themselves to be made prisoners of war, serves to increase here the reflexions upon the Dutch both among the military and unmilitary men; and altho' I have spent much spirits and breath in variety of companies to convince those that will have reason, that the best, ablest, and much the greatest part of the States are well intentioned and that the weaknesses and defectiveness in the behaviour of their officers and soldiers either in the field or for the defence of their Barrier are not acts of State but proceed from the nature of their Government, where there is really no Executive Power, but what resides in the Generality, yet mankind in general will attribute them, as well as their dilatory proceedings, to the predominancy of a French party in Holland, and we think it very hard, that they should blame us for recalling our troops for the defence of our own country, and I must own myself one of those that thought it absolutely necessary, and that the nearest way for the Duke of Cumberland to go to command in Flanders was thro' Scotland, and, if his R.H. had not gone thither, I don't know what might have been the consequence."

### SIR EVERARD FAWKENER to the SAME.

1746, April 4. Aberdeen.—"We have been in a state of inaction here for some time, it has not been either for want of sufficient or disposition (*sic*) in our commander, but the climate, the season of the year, and the necessity of having magazines of provisions. Part of the army is gone forward, and is two marches ahead towards the Spey, at Strabogey, under Lord Albemarle and General Bland. Mordaunt is with three battalions between this place and there, and the rest is here with his Royal Highness, General Hawley and General Huske. The Government have determined to send us four battalions more, but his Royal Highness did not ask for them, nor will he stay for them. Whenever the army may get together after our departure from hence, we must encamp, and the season and climate will yet but ill admit of that; however if the weather keeps but dry, we shall do well enough with the cold, which even with the cover of a tent will be very supportable. The Rebels have talked high, and boast of their numbers, but I am persuaded they will never try their strength with the Duke's army. All the Highlanders who have been raised for the King, have behaved sadly, though they have been regularly paid. The others have as little principle as these, and go out only to thieve, and if ever they come to be pressed they will not do a jot better than the others. When the rebels besieged Stirling, the Highlanders never went once into the trenches, nor would not do any sort of duty. They talk of doing mighty matters with their broad swords, but that is a mere bugbear, and two of our weak battalions stopped them all at Falkirk, after the disorder was begun. For my own part I am under no manner of pain for the event of this affair, but regret that his Royal Highness should have so much of his time taken up in so disagreeable a service, whilst he might be so much more usefully employed elsewhere. As to him this melancholy scene will be the means of his being covered with the truest glory, as it so remarkably appeared that his name alone has driven to this barren corner those who talked of nothing less than being at London before the

end of the year. I have quoted more than once the passage you cited out of Horace, and think it never was so well applied even in the first instance. Our troops are in exceedingly good condition, their fruitless marches under Marshal Wade, in the dead of winter and always encamped, had quite worn them down, but they have recovered strength as well as spirit by the rest they have had here, and since the Duke's departure from Edinburgh, at least a thousand recovered men are joined the army from the hospitals."

ROBERT TREVOR to HENRY PELHAM.

1746, April.—"As the objects my brother happened to mention to you were found impracticable, I refer the *When* and the *How* to your choice and leisure, but, for God's sake, rescue me before it may be no longer in your power so to do, from the necessity of playing the *Vicar of Bray*.

However loth I am to augment your melancholy with mine, the intuitive knowledge I have of the unfeigned impotency and jeopardy of this country: the dread I have of the troubles in Scotland growing habitual and national, whilst I see no tendency towards a coalition between the Closet and Parliament in England: the insignificancy of the Emperor, now we have got one to our mind: the universal degeneracy of the Empire, and the despair I am in of our getting any more troops there even for money: the impossibility of the Hanoverians appearing in Brabant before June: the King of Prussia's incurable jealousy and hatred of the House of Austria: the seeds of fresh troubles in the North: the probability of the very successes in Italy rather putting the Court of Vienna upon reviving its Neapolitan project, than obtaining a tolerable peace: and lastly the growing alienation between the Dutch and English nations, whom mutual distress renders mutually peevish: all these mortifying considerations, I say, have so far got the better of my naturally sanguine complexion and humour, that I am driven to conclude: *Nulla salus bello*, tho' at the same time I dare not answer for any in peace."

EDWARD WESTON to ROBERT TREVOR.

1746, April 25 [–May 6]. Wh[itehall].—"We know nothing of the Adventurer, but some accounts say he rode thro' Inverness at the beginning of the engagement with twelve dragoons. The dead were almost all killed with bayonets, and are their best men. Barrel's regiment had not one but what was bent and bloody. The cry of the battalions immediately after the action was 'Now, Billy, for Flanders.'"

ROBERT TREVOR to the EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

1746, May 17. The Hague.—"I can only lament with you the melancholy impossibility of our washing that Æthiopian at Berlin white: of our fixing that weathercock at Dresden: or of our restoring the impotent Dutch to the vigour they had under the reign of good king William: and lastly of our convincing our own people of those impossibilities. In short we seem to have got a wolf by the ears, that we can neither hold, nor dare let go; and I wish by our indecision we may not either let Don Philip be beat out of Italy into the Netherlands, or by our servitude to popularity at home be left quite alone, to indulge our insulary (I should say, Utopian) dreams, and to pursue and preserve our American acquisitions."

Trevor MSS.

### Sir Thomas Robinson to Robert Trevor.

1746, May 21. Vienna.—"I . . . can easily imagine the uneasiness of your situation with such cold aquatic creatures as you have to deal with. But, as we make fish of certain flesh upon maigre days, we must endeavour to make as much flesh as we can of your people. But if you complain of your junction with the *mortuis*, I may do as much of mine, not with the *vivis*, but the *vivacissimis*, if you will allow of the expression."

### William Pitt to the Same.

1746, May 17 [-28]. London.—"They are not words of compliment when I assure you that I am infinitely obliged to you for your very friendly remembrance of me, and for the part you do me the honour to take in my situation. I heartily wish I had as much reason to be contented with the state of the Public, as I have to be so with my own. As to the first part of your wish to me, the money, it stands for this year at least, very well; I am sorry we are no farther yet than a wish, that soldiers may be found to take it. I will not trouble you with anything more than a wish in return for yours: may our good friends where you are learn of you, to feel for us, for Europe, and for themselves."

### The Earl of Chesterfield to the Same.

1746, May 20 [-31]. London.—"What a miserable condition we are in, and how much more miserable still is our prospect! What is not to be feared from a victorious army of 100,000 men within twelve or thirteen leagues of the Hague? And what is not further to be feared from the fears which that must necessarily give the Dutch? For my own part, I shall neither be surprised at, nor blame any thing they may do in consequence of those just fears. France will surely strike its stroke in one shape or another before the reinforcements can come up to our little army. I mean she will either have a categorical answer to the *contreprojet* or else, *signa canant*. I much doubt whether the answer which you will be empowered to give to the Dutch upon that *contreprojet*, will be thought by them satisfactory or clear enough, and I fear that if they think us averse to what they may look upon to be reasonable terms of peace for us, they will take care of themselves separately; especially as I do not find either an inclination or indeed hardly the means here of sending a body of troops from hence to their assistance, such is the incomplete state of our army, and such the uncertain and fluctuating state of our counsels. I am confirmed in these apprehensions, by a letter from the Pensionary to Booteslaer, which the latter communicated part of to Lord Harrington, in which the Pensionary says that without a considerable and immediate reinforcement from hence, separate measures will probably be taken. Now a considerable reinforcement cannot, and an immediate one, in my opinion will not be sent. The proposed perpetual neutrality of the Low Countries strikes us here very differently, some think it the most pernicious article of the whole *contreprojet*, others think it no bad thing, considering the weak state in which the United Provinces are but too likely to remain in for some time, the great strength of France in that country, and the advantages with which it can make war there, compared with the difficulties and expense, with which it makes war in Germany or Italy. I own I am one of the latter, and I think

that the Republic will be less dependent upon France, with, than without that neutrality.

I should hope that in case of treaty Cape Breton, (which between you and I, I plainly see must be given up sooner or later) might purchase us Dunkirk upon the foot of the treaty of 1717, and our commerce to the West Indies upon the foot of anterior treaties without specifying the Act of the Pardo. But I know the beaten cannot dictate, and the victorious, while victorious, must and will, and I see no prospect of that case being altered. A thousand unfortunate *concurrent circumstances at home*, which you can better guess at, than I venture to explain, confound and cripple us both abroad, and at home. People here have no idea of the impotence of your Government, and the Dutch have no conception of the inefficiency of ours. We are both in that situation which Cardinal de Retz describes as the most lamentable of all, *où l'on ne peut rien faire de bon.*"

HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1746, June 2 [-13], 4 in the morning. Cockpit.—"I wish to God I could, with my person from the noise and nonsense of this great metropolis, withdraw my thoughts from all reflections relating to the public; I will certainly endeavour to do it, for wherever I turn new darkness and distress surrounds me, and as to peace or war, we cannot or will not make either, and in endeavouring to pursue one or other I see nothing but curses and confusion like to follow."

EDWARD WESTON to the SAME.

1746, June 3 [-14]. Wh[itehall].—"I have three or four points to touch upon to you . . . The first is to send you the enclosed paper, which L[ord] H[arrington] trusts you with in confidence as a confirmation of what he writes himself about Wasner. 2. To tell you that your conduct in suppressing all mention of the French addition to the 9th article of the French Project in your *Précis* was much complained of at the meeting, for it was expected you would have shown the same indignation there as in your letter. 3. That L[ord] H[arrington] having gone further in his letter of tonight than he proposed when it was begun, I think you will hardly have any thing else to expect from hence till you send us the French answer to your *Précis*.

4. That in my own private opinion you are not to expect that C[ape] B[reton] will be given up, so that my advice to you would be, to direct your labours towards preventing a separation, and not to flatter either yourself or others with hopes that are not *now* likely to be accomplished. But this I write purely as your friend and humble servant, and desire it may not exist an hour after you receive it.

5. To put you in mind of not throwing such things into letters to me which you would not have produced, as may oblige me to produce them.

6. As to V[an] Ho[ey] *Habes tota quod mente petisti.*"

*Enclosed.*

M. WASNER to M. UHLEFELD.

1746, June 10. London.—Stating that nothing had been imparted to him except that some overtures and offers for peace had been made.

*Extract.*

TREVOR MSS.

### HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1746, June 21 [–July 2] and July 2 [–13].—(The material parts are printed in Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole*. ii. pp. 143–149, with the following mistakes:—p. 143, line 16, "to which" should be "That with"; line 18, "avowal," "canal"; line 19, "and," "a"; p. 144, line 8, "public" should be "in Parliament"; line 11, after "surrender" insert "of towns"; line 14, "receding" should be "recalling"; line 19, "in" "at"; line 27, "the" "their" and "where" "whose"; line 28, "in" "of"; p. 145, lines 5, 6, and 7 "and" "or" "or" "and" and "faults" "facts," line 9, omit "the" before State; line 11, "the" should be "thus"; line 21, "and" "or"; line 22, after "reconcile," read "several opinions of his and his conduct in consequence of them, as far as &c."; line 24, "sincerely" should be "seriously"; p. 146, line 10, omit "of"; lines 10 and 14, put parenthesis before "which," and after "countries," and omit full-stop after "countries"; lines 14, 15, and 17, omit "All these," and read "rouses" for "rouse" and "increases" for "increase"; line 20, "of" should be "at"; lines 25 and 26, "it" and "that" should be "which" and "and"; p. 147, line 7, parenthesis should begin after "say"; line 14, insert "what" before "to"; line 23, for "be" read "prove"; p. 148 line 8, insert "not" before "being"; line 13, insert "But" before "The"; line 14, for "appearances" read "appearance" and for "returned" "retired"; lines 23 and 24, insert "and" after "glorious" and "brave" before "duke"; p. 149 lines 2 and 8, read "this" for "the" and "than" for "as".)

### The SAME to the SAME.

1746, July 26 [–August 6]. Woolterton.—"You asked me twice who sent for Prince Charles to the army, as I am a free thinker in politics, and sometimes, perhaps too often, a free-talker, am in no secret, and have no bias but the truth; Lord G[ranvi]lle by the influence of the P[rince] of W[ales] to prevent the D[uke] of C[umberland] from having the command in Flanders managed I don't doubt this affair with the Count of V[ienn]a thro' the canal of Was[ne]r, and yet I doubt whether the K[ing] will see it, or the Mi[niste]rs dare see it, *et sic omnia*.

My heart pants for the event of a battle in Flanders; if we lose it, we are undone; if we get it, I am afraid we shall be more warlike than ever, tho' not much more able to recover what we have lost; the two late great deaths are providential strokes for our favour; shall we make a right use of them? God knows, if we are governed by our own real interest and that of the Public, we can't make a bad use; if by the dictates of the Court of Vi[enn]a we shall not make a good one. That Court is indeed necessary and inseparable from the public good, but that Court will, if suffered, make their own particular views of ambition, avarice, vengeance, and pride go before the public good."

### EDWARD WESTON to the SAME.

1746, August 5 [–14]. Wh[itehall].—"I reckon you are not at all sorry to be quit of the Breda job, as your honour is saved by the consideration of the necessity of your residence at the Hague. I should be glad to know what character the ministers go in, for I think you used to call them ambassadors. . . . Things seem now to me to

be in such a situation that all will depend on the word C[ape] Breton. . . . Our Ministers are so deeply engaged in domestics, that the despatch of Lord Sandwich and Keene will be almost miraculous." TREVOR MSS.

### The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to the SAME.

Same date. London.—"Lord Sandwich will, I believe, set out for Holland this day sevennight, but whether authorised and instructed as it is there expected he should be, is another point. I was much pressed, as you have probably heard, to make you a visit, but I believe, in a very little time, neither you nor any of my friends in Holland will be surprised, that I declined it. I can submit to the opinions of others, but I cannot act against my own. I was and am still convinced, that the Dutch are very unwilling to conclude with France without us. But I am as much convinced too, that when a new Minister shall appear (if that should be the case) to have no new instructions, no ultimatum, no specific points, by way of basis for a pacification, the Dutch will not delay much longer the signing what, I believe, has for some time been agreed upon between them and France. If things have lately changed a little to our advantage, I think we ought to avail ourselves of those favourable moments, to mend the conditions of the pacification, rather than to delay the conclusion of it. But this opinion of mine is not the prevailing opinion here.

I am ashamed to be so troublesome to you as I am often forced to be, with my Irish recommendations, for I am now obliged to mention Lord Charlemont, a young Irish nobleman of a very good estate, who is already or will be soon at the Hague. I only beg that when he waits upon you, you will let him know that I mentioned him to you. A boy, in whom I interest myself much more, will in about a fortnight pass through the Hague to Lausanne, and you will give him leave to receive your commands, and wait upon Bobby, as they are both *Parthenians*."

### HENRY PELHAM to the SAME.

1746, August 12 [-23].—"I verily believe Lord Sandwich is well intentioned. He has a good capacity, great application, and is naturally cautious, a quality more necessary for himself, than for the business he goes upon. I shall make no remark on his instructions. I hope they will prove sufficient, but fear the contrary. What makes me particularly trouble you at this time is chiefly on your own account; you know I am a well wisher to peace and am certainly a well wisher to you, the first I can only prove by professions, the second, I hope to do by actions. I see the difficulties you are under, and am no stranger to the variety of incidents that attend your station. We are none of us in places for life, the best thing we can do is therefore to serve our friends whilst we are able. The best thing I could do for you, was most earnestly to recommend you to the king, in which I have succeeded, for an employment that will probably become vacant soon, I mean a Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland. It is a 1,000*l.* a year clear and well paid; no constant attendance expected. I believe you must go over there to qualify, and then you take turns with the other Commissioners for a few months' residence in the summer, but that don't happen often. If this is agreeable to you, I shall think myself very happy, for I can assure you, not only the respect I have always had for you and your family, but the particular circumstances of your present situation, have made me very desirous to procure you some settlement for your ease, and I hope for your honour, in case of events."

TREVOR MSS.

ROBERT TREVOR to HENRY PELHAM.

1746, August 26.—Expressing his gratitude for the offer of the place mentioned in his letter of the 12th, and requesting him "to lay me at our Royal Master's feet with the liveliest professions of my submission and gratitude."

HORATIO WALPOLE to ROBERT TREVOR.

1746, August 26 [–September 6]. Woolterton.—"Your last hinted to me that the French had got possession of Huy and Liege. I am told that at Co[ur]t it is extremely slighted, otherwise I should think they had got a great advantage by cutting off our communication with Breda, &c., from whence we could most easily bring our provisions; but I see things in so confused a light, and know so little the use we are like to make of events, or what is the plan for peace or war (if there be any plan) that I am at a loss to judge whether any extraordinary event is for our advantage or disadvantage. I know a certain plausible maxim, which is the foundation of all the measures of a certain Co[ur]t, *viz.*, that they are ready to make peace, as soon as they shall be indemnified for what they have suffered, and can have sufficient security that the like shall not happen again; and if they are to be the sole judges of this indemnification and of this security, the L[o]rd have mercy upon us."

ROBERT TREVOR to HENRY PELHAM.

1746, September 23.—"I hope you have never once admitted a thought of my being capable of limiting my thanks for the late proof of your friendship for me to the ostensible letter I wrote you on that occasion; how long soever the want of a safe conveyance for a more confidential one may have hindered me from indulging myself in that pleasure. At present, accept the overflowings of a heart, which for some time past has known no comfort, but that which has flowed from the prospect you have opened to me; and which, for God's sake, realize as soon as possible, before the clouds, which I think I see arising and thickening, overcast it, and make me lose sight of it for ever. As I am persuaded, you have nothing so much in view in your intended provision for me, as my personal advantage and ease, let me conjure you to enter still a little farther into the ticklish circumstances of my present residence, and to contrive some plausible handle of rescuing me out of it, before I grow more insignificant to my friends, and more obnoxious to my enemies. I have oftener than once taken the liberty to apprise you, that neither my humour, nor indeed my conscience would ever allow me to be made the instrument of menacing, scourging or subverting this Republic; and as I somewhat apprehend such services may ere long come to be expected; I had much rather escape receiving, than be driven to decline executing instructions of that tendency; and my most ardent prayer is, to be gently laid up, and fairly paid off, before affairs come to that extremity, as to render my arrears desperate, and my very retreat insecure.

Perhaps just at present a timely evacuation of this invidious post together with the inoffensiveness of my personal character, and the compassionate circumstances of my private fortune, may still secure, and cover my *Quietus* in Ireland. But on the other hand I foresee that the *Nova Consilia, et Spes* with which the Italian successes will soon inspire the Court of Vienna, and consequently ours, coinciding with

the passion of the many with us for Cape Breton, and of the one for Oostfrise, will render not only unfashionable but criminal a politician, with whom no acquisition, either in, or out of Europe, can compensate the loss of the Netherlands; nor all the caresses, and compliments of our sucking eleemosynary allies, the confidence and co-operation of the Dutch, low, and distressed as they are; and who besides is neither sanguine enough to flatter himself, that this state will sacrifice its own provinces, after the Austrian ones, to our new American idol; or that we shall be able to reconquer the Netherlands with subsidiary, mottled, and inferior armies. The very catastrophe of the Republic of Genoa, for which doubtless bonfires are lit all over England, is considered here as a melancholy memento to this country of what even an auxiliary is to expect from an incensed, superior neighbour."

*Draft.*

### HENRY PELHAM to ROBERT TREVOR.

1746, September 22 [–October 3]. Arlington Street.—"The little delay there seems to be in the execution of what I hinted to you in my last doth not proceed from any doubts of your success, but merely on account of Lord Dupplin's election, who is to make way for you in Ireland, by his removal to the Board of Trade. If the vacancy is made so long before the Parliament meets, the town of Cambridge, for which he serves, may probably expect entertainments and burgessing, which would cost him some money, and as he is a loser in profit by the change, it would be hard to put him to an unnecessary expense. However it will not be long before these matters must be settled, but to make you easy, the King has promised it and all my fellow servants seem entirely to approve of the disposition. When you hear the warrant is out, or sooner if you think proper, would it not be civil in you to write to Lord Chesterfield, in whose department in some measure your office will be. I can assure you he has been a good friend to you, not only in this affair, but in all points where your interest or credit was concerned. I have for some time seen the difficulties you were under, and do not think the prospect of them lessened, from the dazzling hopes that the successes of our allies in Italy have furnished us with. When the Conferences at Breda are opened, I suppose foreign politics will be brought to their crisis, I wish for the best, you know my thoughts, it is unnecessary if not imprudent to say more. You seem to call for a *Quietus* with some earnestness, can't you suppose a circumstance in which other people may long for it also? But we are not made for ourselves, we must bear and help as long as we can, and when it will no more, we are not to blame."

### HORATIO WALPOLE to the SAME.

1746, September 27 [–October 8].—Congratulating him on the birth of a son and heir, and on the prospect of his appointment as a Commissioner of the Revenue.

"I say nothing of public affairs, because I see no good prospect either by peace or war, many bad events which will naturally have their bad consequences, few good events, and no good use made of them."

### RO[BERT] COX to the SAME.

1746, October 12. The Camp of Ambie.—"The General's extreme fatigue prevents him . . . writing to you an account of what the French will certainly call a battle, which happened yesterday. They

Trevor MSS. attacked the Dutch, which were on our left wing, with great vigour and repulsed them at last, tho' it must be confessed they behaved gallantly and with great resolution. They have lost a great many officers and men, the particulars of which are not yet known. The villages which were in our front were lined with English, Hanoverian, and Hessian infantry which were soon after attacked by 40 battalions, during which time the French continued marching other troops behind to our right, and soon were in possession of Liege. The firing from the villages was great for a considerable time, but at last was obliged to give way to the numbers and cannonading of the enemy. We lost some officers and men. . . . Colonel Montague according to all accounts is killed, Major Sole wounded and taken prisoner, Sir Henry Nisbet wounded and cannot recover, Captain Debrisè killed; these four were of Graham's regiment, which suffered the most. The Austrians were not at all engaged, nor indeed a single man in the line except the Dutch. After the French had made themselves masters of a Dutch battery which commanded the whole line, it was thought advisable to retreat, which was done in great order to the mountain of St. Pierre, and this morning we have crossed the Meuse and are encamped on the plains of Maestricht, the name of the Camp I think is Ambie, but am not certain. . . . The French it is thought have lost double the number we have, some compute our loss at 4,000 and theirs at 8, but this is guess work. . . . However it is certain the loss is great considering that not a single man in our lines was concerned."

### Horatio Walpole to the Same.

1746, October 1[–12]. Woolterton.—"What can be the meaning . . . of this easy reddition of all these strong towns and citadels that used to endure formerly long sieges and cost the besiegers so dear? the surprise of a Barrier town or the cowardice of a Governor in the beginning of a war is not wonderful, but to see all the fortresses tumble one after another like a house of cards, and the formality only of opening trenches sufficient to conquer immediately the strongest holds, and make a number of brave men, in a manner without spilling of blood, prisoners of war, was never heard of before; does not even your curiosity as well as your station prompt you to get some account of this sort of conjunction, where a *Baton* of France being in a manner only waved over a town makes the walls crumble to pieces and the soldiers that defend them as timid as lambs? Do you wonder that our allies in Italy are like to fall out? Experience, woeful experience has made me expect it from the beginning, it is no more than the effects of the usual conduct of the Austrians. We have always suffered it, and are resolved to suffer it. They turn every successful action to answer their own particular views. The Genoese will buy their protection of the Court of Vienna against the King of Sardinia, nothing will be done to make a diversion in Flanders, not Provence or Toulon will be the objects and consequence of the successes in Italy, but Naples and Sicily; the King of Spain with all his pacific disposition, will be provoked to adhere to France; in short the prospect of peace or war are both big of inglorious and fatal of events (*sic*); and the august House of Austria will scarce suffer even Providence to prevent it."

### The Earl of Chesterfield to the Same.

1746, October 11 [–22]. Bath.—"Had you wanted either solicitor or remembrancer with Mr. Pelham, I should certainly have been both,

but I must do him the justice to say that you wanted neither; and his own zeal to serve you, made all intended good offices unnecessary. I am most particularly glad that your lot has happened to fall in my ground, which though possibly not the fairest, has, however, the advantage of being in a more temperate climate, where the sudden changes from heat to cold are not so frequent as here.

As I have long foreseen and foretold, necessity will soon do, what prudence ought to have done long ago; but with this material difference, that it will do, ill and with disgrace, what might have been done some months ago, well, and with honour. For I presume, that our late defeat in Flanders, our disappointment upon the coast of France, the abortion of the design of invading Provence, and the marriage of our good ally the King of Sardinia's daughter with the Dauphin, will rather add some advantageous articles to the *contreprojet*, than make it *plus recevable*. One thing I confess I do not comprehend, and did not expect; and that is, how the Dutch come to hold out as they do, and seem less frightened now, than they were at the beginning of the campaign, though I am sure they have much more reason. I own I always thought, by the regard which France showed for their territories, as well as by the French ministers calling upon the Dutch Plenipotentiaries to *Signer, Signer*, that a Provisional Treaty had been some months ago agreed upon between them, but not signed, in hopes of prevailing with us to concur with them, and unwilling (if they could avoid it) to take such a step without us, but that if they found (as I think they must have found by this time) that we were by no means in a pacific disposition, they would sign without us, and plead (not without reason) the imminency of their own danger, as well as their own inability, (to which they might have added other people's too) of repelling it. That moment though not yet come, cannot be far off, after which, instead of saying blessed are the peace-makers, I shall say, Lord have mercy upon them."

### RICHARD TREVOR, the BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, to [his brother] ROBERT TREVOR.

[1746], October 31 [–November 11]. Downing Street.—"I came to town from Sussex on Tuesday last, and stept at once in a scene, which I have been some time apprehensive of, but did not think was so near, and which I am very sensibly concerned to find, you must bear so large a part in. Though I know you received last post an account of this event from a very friendly and a much more knowing hand [Mr. Pelham] than my own (a copy of whose letter has been shown to me by himself), yet I cannot help adding mine to the kind and honest advice, he has given on this emergency, to assure you, that I do entirely agree with his sentiments upon it; though I was some time ago, upon Lord Sandwich's first going over, of opinion that you should try to weather the storm by lying by and delay, yet I now think that affairs are come to a crisis, that will not allow you to pursue that measure either with safety or credit. You will find Lord Sandwich's credentials arrive by this mail, which will give you a fair opportunity for desiring your revocation and take away all umbrage from the successor to the Northern Seals, who is now certainly Lord Chesterfield, and who is, I hear, very strong in his professions of regard to you. Whether Lord Harrington will be gratified with Ireland, I much doubt, should he be so, it will make your intended residence there more agreeable; though, I imagine, the Duke of Dorset will be the person to succeed Lord Chesterfield, upon the foot, as it said, of an *old promise* but, I believe, as part of a very *modern measure*."

TREVOR MSS.

### The SAME to the SAME.

[1746], November 4 [–15]. Downing Street.—"Since my last to you, nothing very new has happened upon this shifting stage. His Majesty is said to be much better, though I do not hear of any day being set for his removal to St. James's to keep his birthday. Ireland is still in suspense; Lord H[arringto]n is most talked of, but I much doubt how it will be, as he is too stout or too lazy to go directly to the Closet for it. Lady Suffolk has lost her husband, Mr. Berkley, by whose death the mastership of St. Catherine's is vacant; I should be glad to see that snug preferment for life joined to a commission in Ireland, but I fear the times are too tender for such a proposal. I long to hear what effect our late change has on your side of the water; what relates to yourself, I grow better reconciled to, barring the circumstances of it; as it prevents, what I have sometimes lived in fear of for you, your being catch't at the Hague by a demise."

### ROBERT TREVOR to HENRY PELHAM.

1746, November 22. The Hague.—"As your advice will always pass with me for a command, I have, without hesitation endeavoured to carry it into execution in my letters of this post to your brother and Lord Chesterfield; and I now leave the sequel of this affair, and indeed of my whole fortunes to your kind countenance, direction, and management. I must only apprise you betimes that when I have obtained my letters of revocation, I shall not be able to make use of them here, before I am enabled by suitable remittances to provide for the dignity of the King's Commission, and indeed the safety of my own person, the lowness of my private purse putting it morally out of my power to supply the *vuide* of my arrears; and consequently to comply with the immemorial custom established here. . . . of all Public Ministers, even from the most indigent Courts, challenging before they quit this residence all their creditors by public beat of drum for three days running to serve any pretension to their charge."

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F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL.

# THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LORD EMLY, TERVOE, Co. LIMERICK.

## CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND SEXTEN PERY, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN IRELAND.

(*Continued from the Eighth Report of the Commission.*)

### 1.—JAMES BUTLER,[1] ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL, to EDMUND S. PERY.

"1780, January 28. Thurles, near Cashel.—Nothing can apologise for my breaking in upon your attention at so busy a time, but that same benevolent disposition which I so often experienced when I took the liberty of calling on you during my stay in Dublin last November. It is it, Sir, alone that encourages me to write to you at this critical period to request you will let me know, whether now, as all troubles are subsided and the calm returned, any further indulgence is to be expected for the Roman Catholicks of this kingdom, whether a bill in our favour brought into Parliament would meet with the desired success. As there is no one in whose goodness of heart I have a greater confidence, or to whose judgment I pay a greater deference, your obliging me in this particular will meet with a return of gratitude equal to the warm part you take in all that interests the welfare of the Roman Catholicks in this kingdom."

### 2.—THOMAS POWNALL[2] to PERY.

"1780, Feb. 9. London.—In consequence of your remark on the letter of the chairman of the deputies of the woollen manufacturers, I had further communication with them. In answer, I received a letter from their chairman, dated Leeds, Feb. 1, 1780, in which are the following words, part of the report from a committee to the meeting:

'It is our opinion that it will be very injurious to the country to have duties continued on English woollens and stuffs imported into Ireland; nor do this committee see at present in what instances this country would be affected by repealing all laws imposing duties on woollen or worsted stuffs imported from Ireland into Great Britain.'

I showed this letter to Lord North. He said that he understood that your opinion was against opening a free and reciprocal trade between England and Ireland, particularly in the article of woollens, by reciprocal taking off of the duty.

On the subject of a scheme of a paper money issued by public loan on landed or other solid security, for a limited time to each borrower, by which the government is constantly re-absorbing it before re-issues are made, which scheme I mentioned to you as drawn up by Dr. Franklin and myself, I would first wish you to read the scheme, which you will find in the 8th or 9th chapter of the 'Administration of the Colonies,' edit. 9th. There were prudential reasons with respect to the opinions of his constituents in America not then to mention his name publicly.

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[1] Appointed 1773, died 1791.

[2] *See* Eighth Report, Hist. MSS. Commission, 1881, p. 207.

Emly MSS.

The first thing which occurs to me on the subject is, that some such scheme was always necessary to a country whose outpayments drew off annually so large a portion of its circulation; but that now you have begun to speculate on plans of trade and foreign commerce, I may venture to say that if you did not before see the necessity of such a measure, the necessity of and want of stock to actuate the new acquired powers of trade will make you feel it.

Until, upon your reading over the scheme itself, I hear your opinion on the matter and on the form as it might be accommodated to Ireland, I do not know what particularly to say more of it than I have done. If you and the well wishers of the public interest should so far approve it as upon a general view to think it might be adopted, I will not only in writing and opinion but in every line of execution give you my assistance—it is a matter of experience in which my friend and I were very well au fait.

P.S.—I went to Richmond this morning to carry this to my old friend, H. Hobart, but I missed him by two hours. Otherwise, I should have required your acceptance of a copy of the 'Administration of the Colonies.'—I congratulate you on Rodney's success."

### 3.—Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, to Pery.

"1780, Feb. 11th. Calledon.—As I rarely look into the newspapers, I have but just seen the intelligence of my friend Mr. Alexander confirmed by the gazette that I have the good fortune to have your brother[1] appointed to the deanery of Derry. Apart from the regard I bear to himself, I am happy in the opportunity of shewing every possible attention to your brother and to the father of so excellent a young man as Mr. Pery. If I knew the time he appoints to come to the deanery, I would endeavour to meet him, or if my house would be more convenient to him, I shall be happy to receive him there, or at all events to have it ready to receive him. Pray write me three lines to Derry, to inform me if there will be any opposition to the repeal of the Test Act in our house."

### 4.—Lord Buckingham[2] to Pery.

"1780, Feb. 29th.—As you are without comparison the person who, of all others, best understand the situation of Ireland and whose sentiments would be attended to in England with the greatest deference, my zeal for the interests of both kingdoms induces me to express a wish that you would take the opportunity of the recess to pass a few days in London. This proposition may very possibly be equally inconvenient and disagreeable to you. Excuse it, however, as arising from my having an equal confidence in your discretion, ability, and integrity.

Should you be induced to undertake so fatiguing an expedition, it may be better to have it understood, as well in England as in Ireland, that you were determined by your own private business.—Believe me with the greatest truth and regard, dear sir, your most faithful and most obedient servant, Buckingham."

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[1] William Cecil Pery, chaplain to the House of Commons, Ireland, Dean of Killaloe, 1772–80, Dean of Derry in 1780, Bishop of Killala in 1781, Bishop of Limerick in 1784, created Baron Glentworth, in 1790, died in 1794.

[2] John, Earl of Buckinghamshire, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 7 December, 1776; succeeded by the Earl of Carlisle, in 1780.

5.—Lord Buckingham to Pery. Emly MSS.

"1780, March the 16th. Dublin Castle.—Though some of your anxious friends apprehend that the 'Black Prince' may have steered northward to give you a meeting in your passage from Donoghadee, I will flatter myself that this may find you safe in London without having incurred any further inconvenience than a lengthened journey.

The accounts which in general have reached me from the assizes are by no means of a disagreeable cast. The Dublin Patriots continue to hold the same indiscreet pernicious language.

The troubling you with a few lines is as agreeable as a becoming attention, but I have nothing bordering upon business to mention except to entreat you to recommend (from yourself) the most profound secrecy with respect to the determination of the English Government upon Irish measures.

Intelligence has, I know full well, during this whole session, been communicated to one gentleman, who has made the most use of it.

The lord mayor was with me a few days ago, and has promised to exert his best endeavours to promote decency and good order amongst his fellow-citizens. Your further advice has also been attended to with that deference which it must ever command from, dear Sir, your most faithful and most obedient servant, Buckingham.

Three mails are due, and the wind blows at N-west. Sir R. Heron's[1] arrival in London has not as yet been notified."

6.—Pery to Lord Buckingham.

"1780, 28 March. London.—I deferred acknowledging the honor of your Excellency's letter of the 16th instant till I had an opportunity of seeing Lord North in private. I was two hours with him yesterday, and as many this morning. He told me the cabinet had resolved not to admit of any innovation in the constitution of Ireland, and this is the public language of all persons connected with the administration.

I asked if the judges and Habeas Corpus bills were considered within that line. He said they were. I stated to him my reasons for presuming to doubt the wisdom of such resolution. Some of them seemed to have weight with him; but though he appeared to me not unwilling to relax in some points, yet he said he could not take upon himself alone to do it.

The business of sugars is not as yet adjusted. My Lord North seems to be directed upon that subject rather by the opinion of Mr. Robinson, who does not appear friendly, than his own. However, I am not without hopes that it will still be settled to our satisfaction.

Mr. Attorney-General called upon me this morning, and spent some time with me. He will report in favor of the Habeas Corpus bill, and also of the judges bill, and thinks they will both be returned, notwithstanding I told him what Lord North had said to me upon the subject. He has likewise promised me to forward our wishes about the sugars, and to represent the bad consequences of not complying with them, which I stated to him very strongly.

I propose setting out for Ireland on Saturday, and hope to pay my respects to your Excellency on the Wednesday following.—I am, etc., [E. S. Pery.]

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[1] Sir Richard Heron, Bart., member for borough of Lisburn, and a privy councillor in Ireland.

Emly MSS.

7.—Lord Buckingham to Pery.

"1780, April the 23rd. [Dublin Castle.]—You will easily conceive the degree of anxiety which I must feel for the business of to-morrow, and therefore cannot but forgive my earnestly soliciting such assistance as, consistently with your sentiments and your situation, you can with propriety give.

In consequence of the behaviour of the Dutch, all treaties with them are provisionally suspended.—Believe me, with the greatest regard, your most faithful and most obedient servant, Buckingham."

"This requires no answer."

8.—Lord Buckingham to Pery.

"1780, May the 22nd. [Dublin Castle.]—Not having had the satisfaction of seeing you at the meeting yesterday, I cannot refrain, from troubling you with a short letter, at a crisis which a few days may possibly materially influence, upon the relative situation of the two kingdoms. Should my ideas prove erroneous, over caution in times like the present is a venial error. If they are founded, it will hereafter be a kind of melancholy consolation to have entered my private protest in the recollection of a gentleman of your distinguished weight. If an Irish meeting bill is forced, and consequently transmitted, there cannot be a doubt, from every insinuation which has reached me, (not indeed officially) that the English ministry will submit the measure to Parliament. Permit me to appeal to your own candor and sound discretion whether the language of your House of Commons has been such as to teach them temperance, or the principles affectedly and unnecessarily paraded calculated to induce them to receive novel propositions from Ireland with particular predilection? Orators also may be found there, as well disposed to sacrifice the tranquillity of the empire to the display of their talents and mob adulation, as of those whose philippics stamp a value upon the 'Freeman's Journal.' What must be the consequential catastrophe? I had much rather ask the question than answer it. You are so zealous a friend to Ireland, and so meritoriously attached to propriety and good order that, though you may not concur in my sentiments, you will applaud that solicitude by which they are dictated, as you well know it arises as much from my affection to your country as my duty to my own.—Believe me, with the truest regard, dear sir, your most faithful and most obedient servant, Buckingham."

9.—Pery to Sir Richard Heron.

"1780, 17 Sep. Edmundsberry.—I have received the honor of your letter of the 15th instant, acquainting me that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant being of opinion that the appointing one of the commissioners of the revenue to be first commissioner (as at the boards of treasury, admiralty, and trade in England) and to be in a more especial manner responsible to government for the transaction of business at that board, would have a beneficial effect in the conduct of the business and establish a degree of responsibility in one commissioner which can hardly be expected from many, among whom authority is equally divided, his Excellency has judged it necessary previously to consult me amongst others and to require my sentiments upon the idea. I find myself ill-qualified to give any opinion upon the subject, especially as I am not informed of the nature of the constitution of the boards of treasury, admiralty and trade in England, to which it is intended the board of

commissioners of the revenue here shall bear some resemblance, or of the particular powers with which the respective members of those boards are invested.

However, my respect for his Excellency, and earnest desire to obey his commands, will not permit me to withhold from him my thoughts, though I am sensible they are crude and imperfect. It has long been the opinion of gentlemen, who were most conversant in revenue business, that some alteration in the revenue board was necessary for the public service. Several plans were proposed and at length that for the division of the board, by separating the commissioners of excise from those of customs, was adopted. But that not having been approved of by the Commons, and as it was found impracticable to carry it effectually into execution without an act of Parliament, the ancient constitution was restored. The commissions both of excise and customs are granted in pursuance of acts of Parliament which regulate the manner in which they are to be granted, and they cannot be granted in any other manner. This appears clearly by a late act which empowers his majesty to grant commissions of excise in a different manner from that in which commissions were to be granted under the first act in Charles the Second's reign. As the commissions are regulated by act of Parliament, so are the powers with which the commissioners are invested; and the same powers and authority are given by those laws to the commissioners indifferently without distinction, and they are made equally responsible for their acts.

I confess therefore I cannot see how it is possible, so long as the law continues as it is, to give greater powers, however expedient they might be, to one commissioner than to the rest, or to make one more responsible to government for the acts of the board than the others. And if it were possible, I must submit it to his Excellency, with great deference, whether it would be advisable to do it without a previous communication of the plan to Parliament, which has already shewn much jealousy upon this subject, a subject which has likewise given occasion to much clamor without doors.—I am, etc. [E. S. PERY.]"

### 10.—LORD LUCAN to PERY.

"1780, 3 October.—I make no doubt but that you have heard the particulars of Lord B[uckingham's] arrangements, which have been *nilled* here, that he desired that Flood might be dismissed and his employment given to Lord Shannon, that the Provost[1] and his son should be both displaced, etc. etc. He was answered that it was now too late, and that it would now only create opposition to Lord Carlisle, and that he, Lord B[uckingham], should have proposed these changes when measures required to be supported. His peerages have also, as it is said, been postponed. I have also heard that he has mentioned you as being adverse to English government, which surprises me. I have heard that you have wrote to Lord Carlisle, and I imagine that it is to set right any misrepresentation of your way of thinking and of acting in regard to England. For the future, I hear that Lord Justices are to be revived, as Lord Carlisle will not consent to remain an exile in Ireland for four years, and it is found so difficult to persuade men of consequence to accept of the government of Ireland on such hard conditions.

Thu church, the sword, and the law, are to govern in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, as Irishmen, can never be trusted with so important a charge.

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[1] John Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, M.P. for city of Cork, a privy councillor, and principal secretary of state, Ireland.

Emly MSS.

I now write by desire of a friend who is very anxious on the subject. Foster[1] is making great way with this new government. He is pressing to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and may probably succeed. The present Chancellor of Exchequer[2] wishes much that Lord Shannon should have it, as the Muster Office made up is the thing of all others he prefers, and he wishes that Lord Shannon could be prevailed upon to ask it, and has no doubt but he may obtain it, as there is a great disposition in this government to oblige Hamilton. If Lord Shannon will apply for it, Hamilton will assist him, but if you cannot prevail upon him to ask it, he wishes him to write to this effect, that if the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer is to be brought back to Ireland, that he hopes he shall not be forgot.

"I now return to my chit-chat. I find Lord Loughborough is a friend of yours. I know it accidentally, and I think you should know your friends. Lord North was very ill last night, and was blooded three times, but is better this day. If he had tripped, it would have made a fine bustle. Lord Pomfret, whom you knew, is mad, has challenged the Duke of Grafton to fight him, because the Duke when in . . . . preferred a man in Suffolk in the revenue, who has lately disobliged Lord Pomfret. The letters on the occasion are mad and extraordinary. He says he is determined to kill his grace, as this man intends to kill him and has attempted to kill his son by driving nails into his hand. The Duke of Grafton [goes] about armed, and Pomfret cannot be found. The courts of justice have issued warrants against him, and I believe the House of Lords have taken it up, but how I cannot tell. Vesey[3] is recovered . . . Foster is at his place, Sir T. Burgh also, and Vesey has agreed to his offer, if he can get it done, that he, Vesey, should enjoy all the profits neat while he lives and that he should either resign or let Burgh into the patent, whichever of the two Foster shall choose or be able to get done."—Lucan.

11.—Earl of Carlisle to Pery.

"1780, Nov. 6th. London.—I am to inform you that I have his Majesty's commands to repair to Ireland early in the next month as his Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, and I take this occasion to assure you that I am extremely eager to obtain and deserve your fair opinion and support in the difficult situation in which his majesty has been pleased to fix me.—I have the honour to be, your most obedient, most humble servant, Carlisle."

12.—Charles Agar, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, to Pery.

"1780, 8th of Nov. Hanover Square.—I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter, and you may be assured that you shall not want any assistance which I can give you. I have only to lament that it lies in a very narrow compass on the present occasion, and can, I fear, be of but very little use, without you enable me to answer satisfactorily some questions which will most certainly be asked by those who alone can procure the bishoprick for your brother. If you shall think fit to authorize me to give explicit assurance that you and your brother may be depended on as the sincere and steady friends of administration, I cannot but entertain great hope of succeeding in my application, and, without it, I much

[1] John Foster, M.P. for Louth, and a privy councillor, Ireland.
[2] William Gerard Hamilton.
[3] Agmondisham Vesey, M.P. for Kinsale, privy councillor, controller and accountant-general, Ireland.

doubt whether my interference will answer the purpose. Judge therefore and determine for yourself, but do not lose a moment in conveying your thoughts to me on this subject, in such terms as you think fit. I will obey your commands, and execute them to the best of my abilities, of which I am sure you entertain no doubt. Be expeditious, for I mean to leave this place in the course of this month.—I am, my dear sir, most sincerely and affectionately yours, C. Cashel." EMLY MSS

13.—Rigby[1] to Pery.

"1780, Dec. 2nd. Pay Office [London].—I should much sooner have acknowledged the receipt of your letter from Limerick, inclosing one to Lord Carlisle, if I had not imagined he would have taken some opportunity of saying something to me upon that part of its contents which relates to your brother. I received your letter the beginning of last month, as I was setting out for Mistley for three or four days, which was my apology for sending instead of carrying it to him. I saw him about a week afterwards at court, when he acknowledged having received it, and said something to the purpose of being desirous to oblige your brother, but that the present vacant bishopricks were to be or were disposed of by Lord Buckingham, I am not certain which; but that he would call upon me and have some discourse with me concerning the affairs of Ireland, if I would give him leave—a great deal of honour and so forth was necessary to pass on my part. From that time to this, except, I believe, one day across the drawing-room, I have never set eyes on him, and I can no longer submit to your thinking that I should neglect you or your commands as far as lay in my power. The truth is, I have little or no acquaintance with this young lord, and less with his secretary; and that is the best reason, only for private people and particular favours to individuals I have no pretence to solicit. They will find out themselves the Speaker, and your brother will be a bishop. He and you may depend upon it. I heartily wish that this and every other agreeable circumstance may happen to you, and professing myself as much as ever a sincere well-wisher to Ireland, I cannot help adding my earnest desire that such good sense as you possess may be employed with moderation and temper in the present most alarming and critical situation of the two kingdoms.—I am, my dear sir, etc. Richard Rigby."

14.—Duke of Leinster to Pery.

"1780, Dec. 21st. Carton.—I hope you will excuse my troubling you, but the only apology I have to make is your goodness to me on all occasions, which emboldens me to ask a favour, which if it should in any way interfere in accommodating any friend of yours, I should by no means wish you to subject yourself to any inconvenience on my account. As Dean Pery is to be on the bench, perhaps you have not engaged the chaplaincy of the House of Commons. If not, you would greatly oblige me if you would appoint Mr. John Foster, who is a very particular friend of mine, and who wishes much to have the honor of attending the House of Commons. I must again repeat that I do not wish to put you to any inconvenience, though it would be conferring a lasting obligation on, dear sir, your most affectionate friend and humble servant, Leinster."

[1] Right Hon. Richard Rigby, Keeper of the Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, 1760–1787.

Emly MSS.

15.—Lord Macartney[1] to Pery.

"1781, January 24. Tarbert.[2]—I cannot possibly leave this part of the world, without thanking you, which I do most sincerely, for your letter to the Dean, from whom and his most amiable daughter, I have met the kindest hospitality and obliging attention. I do assure you I never passed any time of my life more agreeably than that which I spent with them at Newton Pery.[3] I beg you will be so good as to present my best compliments to Mrs. Pery. . . . I am now at Tarbert at Mr. Leslie's, waiting for the packet to fall down. We expect her every moment, and shall probably embark this evening. Wherever I am, I shall always remember your friendship to me with particular pleasure, being with every sentiment of esteem and regard, my dear sir, ever most sincerely yours, Macartney."

16.—William Eden[4] to Pery.

"1781, May 16th. Dublin Castle.—I wish that I could send you a packet of good tidings, but the "Gazette" which I forwarded to you last night contained little more than you already know, and I have not since received anything worth repeating.

People seem to be alarmed to the southward of your neighbourhood, but I hope and believe that there is more vivacity than reason in their fears, and that, excepting the calamity which has probably reached a part of Hotham's convoy, and which was a natural incident of war, the French ships will not do us much mischief before Derby's [Darby] fleet returns to the protection of these kingdoms.

I am very much obliged to you for the kind and salutary attention which you have bestowed on my brother's interests in the Chevalier de Lucerne.

I have written to the Admiralty of England recommending Captain Bell to the indulgence which he desires. I am not, however, confident of receiving an early answer. In the meantime, if Captain Bell will give his honour, in writing, either to obtain the return of some other ship-master, or to return within three months to Ireland, I have no objection (if it is practicable) to his proceeding in whatever manner he may find most convenient.

The agent at Kinsale denies having any concern with American prisoners; which defect must be remedied.

I fear that my exertions for Serjeant will not be so far successful as to get him the expected lieutenancy in Captain Cole's company. The War Office in England is restrained by their own recent precedents: if he is disappointed, my Lord Lieutenant will give him an ensigncy in an old regiment here. Excuse this scrawl, and believe me, etc., W. Eden."

17.—Lord Sackville to Pery.

"1782, Feb. 19th. Pall Mall.—I am always . . . in hearing from you, and every mark of your attention and friendship is most flattering to me. I am happily released from a most disagreeable situation, but I should not have quitted it, without the most avowed approbation of the King. He could not show it in a stronger light than by the honors he conferred on me, without any solicitation on my part.

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[1] In the county of Limerick.

[2] In Kerry.

[3] For account of Lord Macartney, *see* Ninth Report, 1884, Part ii. p. 330.

[4] Chief Secretary to Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Eden was created Lord Auckland in 1790.

I hope the fatigue of your session is almost over. The good humour which now prevails in Ireland is a most happy circumstance for this country. You who have contributed to it must feel the greatest satisfaction in seeing your efforts crowned with success.

You will imagine our Ellis[1] a bold man to quit a most pleasing situation and to enter upon so troublesome and so responsible an office as that of secretary of state for the American department. He has acted upon his Castle principle of obeying the king's commands and of preferring the service of the public to every private consideration.—I am, dear sir, with great truth and regard, your faithful humble servant, SACKVILLE."

### 18.—WELBORE ELLIS to PERY.

"1782, Feb. 21.—Be pleased to accept my cordial thanks for the honour of your most obliging letter. Your good sense has instantly suggested to you the only motive upon which I could have formed the determination. If there are not conjunctions in which it becomes a man to lay aside all thoughts of self, and if this be not such an one, I must be fitter for a lodging in Moorfields than to take the seals of my department; for there my fellow-collegiates are say'd to reason right upon false principles. If, therefore, my principles are false, I am qualify'd for that society. But, if they are admitted as true, I claim no merit, for I do no more than my duty. The object of all my wishes is that I may in any degree contribute to the salvation of my country,—'et in magnis voluisse sat est.'

I sincerely congratulate you on all the favourable appearances of an happy conclusion of this session on your side of the water, and I wish you every success your own heart can suggest, having the honour to be, etc., W. ELLIS."

### 19.—LUCAN to PERY.

"1782, 21 Mar.—It is a great while since we have corresponded. Still, I have not forgot an old friend, and if anything had occurred which I thought you would not have otherwise heard, I should have wrote to you. Newhaven tells me that he lets you know everything, and I dare say he has wrote to you, the night before last, as he assured me was the real state of the case, that the ministry were as firm as a rock. He has been a little out of his politics, and they are all out, and no one yet in: everything at sea, and the helm deserted. But order sometimes springs from confusion, and we are to have the ablest, the most spirited, etc. etc. set of men, next week, that ever conducted the affairs of this country. There is to be a general sweep, not one of the old set to remain, although it is said that a certain person wished to keep Stirmont [Stormont] and Jenkinson.

You will have a new Lord Lieutenant, but who I cannot tell you. Lord Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Rutland, and some others, have declined it. The Duke of Portland is mentioned, but I think his affairs are too bad, as his disposition is expense, and he could save nothing by going over.

The resolutions and resolution of the Volunteers, and the late conduct of some members in your house has struck a great alarm in this country, but I hope the new people here will act prudently and manage the present temper in Ireland, and not think of resisting the wishes of the

[1] Welbore Ellis, vice-treasurer, Ireland, 1755, 1765, 1770, treasurer of the navy, 1777.

EMLY MSS. people. Indeed, I find every one here inclined to grant what is asked, as the laws complained of are useless at present to England, and if our people set their hearts upon having them altered, they should be gratifyed. A few odd men in the House of Commons, some contractors, nabobs, etc. cannot prevail upon themselves to give up their pretended right, as they imagine that their greatness depends upon our dependence. But men of real weight and consequence think otherwise. No one has more liberal sentiments as to Ireland than Charles Fox, and he at present is everything here, the momentum of the great party he conducts.

I dare say Yelverton's[1] bill will go back unaltered, and if it had been strange would have been sent. As it is good policy to yield at the proper time, they should leave Ireland without a grievance before the ideas of people get beyond their present objects.

It is said our Parliament will be dissolved in the summer. I hope to see you at the meeting in April, as I will give my support, if necessary, to the Popery bills in the House of Lords.—Ever yours faithfully, etc. LUCAN."

### 20.—LUCAN to PERY.

"1782, 3rd April.—I received your letter of the 26th. You seem to be less afraid of the Volunteers than people are here, but I am of your opinion, since I see that the whole country are become of one opinion. The danger was that the Parliament and people at large might have differed in their sentiments. Thank God, it is not the case, and poor old Ireland is at the eve of being free and of accomplishing all her wishes.

The Duke of Portland is to be Lord Lieutenant and Fitzpatrick[2] his secretary. The Duke is poor, generous, and disinterested, and a very sensible man, although he has dissipated his fortune. Fitzpatrick is a man of parts and may become a man of business if he pleases, but whether he will shine in the House of Commons is more than I can tell. They expect that their time will not be difficult, as everything we ask is to be granted. How it is to be done, I cannot tell you, and I suppose that the present ministry are so employed that they have not had time to consider Irish affairs yet with that consideration they deserve.

I have told some of them that difficulties must be settled by compact and by mutual agreement and not by acts of power. Men may be chosen and sent from each country to consider the business, and to settle points, and draw lines, as it will be right to leave nothing unexplained for future clamour.

Lord George Young's appointment is reckoned inconsiderate, and a bad step, as his conduct here must make him odious in Ireland. He opposed our trade bills and talked of overhauling them on some future day of power. He is always prompt and forward with his foolish opinion of the supremacy of this country over Ireland in all cases. How he will qualify is a difficulty, as they will not now venture to dispense with our Irish law by an English act for the purpose, and he will be afraid to go over to qualify, lest they should tar and feather him.

They talk of peace with Holland. Lord Howe is to command the fleet and to be a peer; the Dukes of Devonshire and Richmond, and Lord Shelburne, to have the blue ribband. Fox was chosen with

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[1] Barry Yelverton, attorney-general, Ireland, appointed chief baron, 1783.

[2] Richard Fitz Patrick, M.P. for Tavistock, son of John Fitz Patrick, earl of Upper Ossory.

unanimity and general acclamation. He was called in his procession the man of the people. The concourse of people was astonishing. He is become a man of application to business, and has given up his clubs. God send it may all answer. I shall set out about the 10th, as I wish to be at the meeting of Parliament.

The Duke of Portland will make no unnecessary delay here. as he wishes to go over as soon as possible.—I am, etc., LUCAN."

### 21.—LUCAN to PERY.

"1782, 7th April.—I am obliged to postpone my journey to Ireland for some little time, as I am to succeed Lord Althorp in Northampton and become very unexpectedly a member of this legislature. He will be chosen for Surrey next Wednesday by acclamation, as there will not be a dissenting voice to make it necessary to count numbers. He is very popular from his character, and will owe his election in the county solely to it, as he scarcely knows any man or freeholder in Surrey except those about Wimbleton Park. Mr. Eden is come over with Lord C[arlisle's] resignation, and when he found that letters of recall were gone over, and signed some days before the resignation, he got into a very violent passion, and threatens confusion and opposition in Ireland upon his return, as he says the House of Commons will not act with others as they have done with him, and that no one but himself can get through the remaining difficulties of the session. He returns immediately, and it is said that he and Fitzpatrick are to have a race for it, in order to have the first story. I have a notion that there is a plan to have Lords Justices again, as they think the salary of the Lord Lieutenant too small to support constant residence. If it is too small, why should not it be augmented to 20,000*l.* per annum, provided that all our grievances and complaints are redressed? You have it now in your power to settle everything that Ireland has long waited for and required should be settled, and I hope in God that everything will be fixed, and the whole conducted with moderation and good sense. There will certainly be a dissolution of Parliament after this session. Therefore you should look about you lest an old interest should (depending on their present connexions) try to recover the chair. Eden says that Lord C[arlisle][1] is ten thousand pounds out of pocket; himself, three thousand.—Yours ever, etc., LUCAN."

### 22.—SACKVILLE HAMILTON[2] to PERY.

"1782, Friday, 12th April. Dublin Castle.—Mr. Hamilton presents his respects to the Speaker, and is directed by the Lord Lieutenant to request he will attend a meeting at the Chancellor's this evening at seven o'clock.

The doubt which will then come before him for consideration is such as his Excellency would not wish to have stirred, unless there should appear to be an absolute necessity for it, for which reason his Excellency desires this meeting may be considered as a private one.—SACKVILLE HAMILTON."

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[1] Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1780–1782.

[2] M.P. for borough of St. Johnstown, under-secretary, civil department, to the Lord Lieutenant.

Emly MSS.

23.—Letter from Pery[1] (to the Earl of Shelburne).

"6 May, 1782.

"My Lord.—I understand from Lord Dartrey, who arrived here yesterday, that your lordship expressed to him a wish that I should correspond with him concerning the affairs of this country.

It is certainly of the utmost importance to both kingdoms that you should be well informed of the real state of this, for one false step, injudiciously taken, in the present crisis, may raise such a ferment as to put it out of the power of those who have the best intentions, to recal this nation, if offended, to the temper and disposition in which it is at present.

Under these apprehensions, I think it my duty, as it is my inclination, to give your lordship every information which appears to me to be necessary, and to tell you my thoughts upon the subject without reserve or disguise; but your lordship will please to observe that what I write is intended only for your own private eye.

The great body of the people of property in this kingdom are strictly attached to Great Britain by interest, by opinion, and by affection, and reprobate every idea of separation. They at present lead and govern the lower orders of the people, but it is to be feared their power will continue no longer than whilst peace and tranquillity are preserved at home.

With respect to the claims made by our Parliament, there is but one opinion either within or without doors. Many wish they had been stated by Mr. Grattan in more conciliatory terms; but all agreed in every substantial article. Mr. Grattan, I am certain, wishes conciliation as much as any man, but he thought it necessary to use strong language, as he told me himself, least it should be thought on your side of the water there was any hesitation on this, and to put an end to all expectation that this kingdom could be prevailed upon to recede from any one of the points insisted upon in that address.

If these points, insisted upon, be considered with due attention separately, I think the dangers apprehended from a concession will vanish. Though the power of Great Britain to make laws to bind Ireland, universally denied in Ireland, is not expressly given up in England, yet the exercise of it is, from a full persuasion that it would be impossible, as the truth is, to execute any such law in Ireland.[2]

I think it will be discovered that Great Britain will part with no substantial power, which it now possesses, by acceding to the whole of what is desired. Whatever may be the opinion of gentlemen in Great Britain, concerning the right to bind Ireland by their laws, the exercise of that power has been wisely given up; and if any attempt should hereafter be made to resume it, it would certainly be resisted by the whole nation, and probably prove fatal to both kingdoms.

Nothing can remove the jealousy of Ireland upon that hand but the repeal of that statute[3] in which that power is asserted. This will, in fact, be giving up nothing but a mere nominal power; for a power, which ought never to be exercised, and can never be exercised without the most destructive consequences, is no power. The opinion that this power creates and preserves the dependency of Ireland upon England is

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[1] Copy or draft, in Pery's autograph, without signature or direction, the letter was, probably, addressed to Lord Shelburne or Lord North.

[2] In the original draft of the letter, from which this copy is taken, this paragraph is struck out.

[3] 6 George I., 1719.

not well founded. So far is it from truth that nothing is so likely to dissolve that dependency as an attempt to revive this power.

The dependency of Ireland has a much more solid foundation. No law can become of force in Ireland till the great seal of England is affixed to it in the council of England. All the present laws of force in Ireland have been framed with a view to the benefit of England, and no alteration can be made in any of them without the consent of England. This is a real dependency, which no man here wishes to disturb.

With respect to the judicature of the lords here, it is not unreasonable in them to expect to be restored to those rights, which they were long in possession of, and of which they have been dispossessed by force, and it is natural that the people should desire to have justice administered to them at home and not to be obliged to seek it in another country, at a great distance, and at a vast expense, which many of them are unable to bear, before men totally unacquainted with many of the laws.

The men of business, who have attended in England hearings upon appeals and writs of error, are much dissatisfyed, I fear justly, with the manner in which Irish business has of late been conducted there, the negligence, inattention and contempt with which it is treated, and the impossibility of judging of the merits, either from not reading the depositions or attending to them when read.

Others, who look forward, think that if the house of lords here becomes the *dernier resort* here, [the] security [of] this kingdom [requires] that the administration in England will appoint men of capacity, knowledge, and integrity, to be chancellors and judges, as it will be the interest of all in power in England who have estates in Ireland to attend to it.

In short, it is the universal opinion here that it is a point of such consequence to this kingdom as that it cannot be relinquished, and no process of your courts can be executed here.

If the only object of Great Britain in this point is that justice should be fairly administered, as it ought to be and I presume is, there is no reason to suppose that it will not be as impartially administered here as with you, and that the house will not be governed as yours is, by the opinions of legal men.

With respect to the law of Poynings, the only essential part of that law for England is that no law shall be of force in Ireland until it has passed the great seal of England, and there is no wish to change that. The power of altering bills in England is of no service to England, but of infinite prejudice to Ireland. It has been abused in many instances, and subjects this kingdom to the caprice, the ignorance, and sometimes to the corruption of a few individuals, which is always resented with the utmost indignation.

It is unnecessary for me to say anything upon the subject of the mutiny law, as I understand it is agreed that it shall be made temporary.

I find that it is apprehended on your side of the water that, if the points mentioned in the address were conceded, further demands would still be made. The principal gentlemen who framed and supported that address have assured me that they would desire nothing more, and that they would oppose with all their strength every attempt which can possibly give umbrage to Great Britain. I am persuaded they are sincere, and that, from the instant these points are conceded, there will subsist between the two nations the most cordial affection. But I confess to you that I foresee the worst consequences, if there be any delay, indecision, or management in this business.—[E. S. PERY.]"

Emly MSS.

24.—Lucan to Pery.

"1782, 15th May.—I only wait for the Irish business, and shall set out for Ireland the day after it comes on, which is next Friday. I understand the 6th of George I. is to be repealed. I believe they have had different opinions in the cabinet about our affairs, but at least they have determined to yield to our requisitions. Lord Robert Spencer is to be a vice-treasurer in the room of Lord Scarborough. Whether Lord George Young will be continued, I know not for certain, but I should imagine he will make some exchange, as his appointment is so odious to us in Ireland. The Duke of Leinster wished to be a vice-treasurer and I suppose will be one of the Lords Justices, which are to be revived. Sheridan, your member, is to be secretary of war in the room of Lees; Burgh, prime serjeant; Yelverton, attorney-general; and Forbes, solicitor. All these changes perhaps you know better than I can tell you, but sometimes things transpire here before they are known in Ireland.—Yours ever, etc., Lucan."

25.—Shelburne to Pery.

"1782, 18th May, Shelburne House.—Lord [ ] did very right in assuring you that your correspondence would give me pleasure. It will be satisfactory to you to know the weight your letter had, at least in forming my opinion. I rely on your assurances as to the consequences, and that Ireland left to itself will do this country justice in regard to that power which must remain here for the good of both. If well ascertained now, it may prevent endless calamity to both kingdoms.

I congratulate you on the glorious news received this day, of which I send you the bulletin, and assure you that I am, your faithful humble servant, Shelburne."

26.—Pery to Shelburne.

"1782, 23 May. Dublin.—I am honored with your lordship's letter of the 18th instant, and sincerely congratulate you on the success of the British arms, and still more on the unanimity of the British Parliament with respect to this kingdom. What has been done, has been done in the handsomest manner, and I make no doubt will answer your most sanguine expectations. It were to be wished, however, that some intimation had been given either in public or private of what is meant by establishing the connection between the two kingdoms, by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent basis, and whether that resolution had any and what particular object in view. I confess I do not comprehend it, and I believe other gentlemen are in the same circumstances.

There is an act of Parliament in Ireland passed in the reign of Henry VIII., which declares Ireland to be inseparably annexed to the crown of England and that the king of England is ipso facto king of Ireland. The power of peace and war is the king's prerogative in Ireland as well as in England. The present laws of Ireland are all favorable to England, and no new law can be made without the consent of England; so that I cannot see how a stronger connection can be formed between the two kingdoms than that which subsists at present. I am confident there is an earnest desire in our house to satisfy Great Britain in every reasonable point, but it is necessary we should be informed what is wished. The sooner that is done the better.

It is in contemplation to grant to his majesty immediately a sum of money, perhaps £100,000, to be applyed in procureing seamen to man his majesty's fleet.

It is probable likewise that there will be an address to his majesty to direct engineers to examine the coasts of this kingdom and to point out the most proper places for building and stationing ships of war. I am persuaded that this kingdom will contribute freely to augment the navy, for which they will lay a foundation, and the more so if the expence of the military be reduced, which I believe is very practicable.

Possibly something may be thought of with respect to king's letters for paying money here. This matter requires regulation, but I forbear saying anything upon that head, as it does not seem immediately necessary.

If there is anything occurs to your lordship upon any of these subjects, and you will please to communicate it to me, I will pay the utmost attention to it. Next post, I will enclose to you a copy of the bills which I believe will be proposed for the modification of Poynings' law.—[E. S. Pery.]"

27.—Duke of Portland to Pery.

"1782, Monday, June 24. Dublin Castle.—I am mortified to think you should conceive so unfavourably of the opinion I entertain of your character, abilities and high station, as to feel any reluctance in communicating to me any wish of yours, and particularly that with which you acquaint me by the letter I had the honor of receiving from you on Saturday evening. No person can be more inclined to admire the motives of your request than I am, or to applaud your partiality for the bishop of Killala, and I hope not to find local attachment an obstacle to the disposition which I shall be glad of an opportunity of demonstrating to you, as well as of convincing you of the respect which is due to your eminent qualities.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient, most humble servant, Portland."

28.—Shelburne to Pery.

"1782, 9th July. London.—Private.—Illness, first, and incessant occupation since, have prevented my thanking you for your letter inclosing the modification of Poynings' act. I trouble you now, in consequence of the events which have lately happened,—Lord Rockingham's death, and Mr. Fox's resignation solely upon the ground of the king's not choosing a first commissioner from amongst the late Lord Rockingham's friends, which in fact brings the point to issue, whether the executive is to be taken altogether out of the king's hands and lodged, as Mr. Fox says, in the hands of a party, or, to speak more truly, in his own. The Duke of Portland was the name, however, brought forward on this occasion; and as it is understood amongst his grace's friends here, that he is likely in consequence of it to wish to return, it may be agreeable to you to know that our system towards Ireland as well as in every other respect remains invariably the same. The cabinet remains except with the difference of Mr. Fox and Lord Cavendish (whose aversion to office and to business would have made him quit in any event) and they will be replaced by Mr. Townsend and Mr. William Pitt. I have as much confidence in the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fitzpatrick's honour and zeal in the king's service under all the present circumstances as I had the first day they went over. However, I shall be much obliged if you will exert yourself to prevent unnecessary jealousies, or anything which

EMLY MSS. can effect the quick conclusion of the session, and I can answer for it that the success of your endeavours will be well taken by the king as well as highly obliging to me.

Lord Abingdon, a very singular peer of our house, proposed a very singular bill upon the subject of Ireland. It is not usual to make any account here of his speeches, which are too wild to admit of an answer. But on this occasion his not being seconded by anybody, the bill not being suffered to lye upon the table, the sense of the whole house going against his desire of its doing so, and its not being suffered to appear upon the journals, must be considered by every impartial person as a strong proof of the disposition of this country towards Ireland. I need not add how much both my political and private interest unite in keeping the two countries mutually happy and flourishing.—I have the honour to be, with the truest regard, your most faithful servant, SHELBURNE."

29.—PERY to SHELBURNE.

"1782, 20th July. Private.—The bill for permitting 5,000 men to be removed out of this kingdom will pass our house this day, but I think it my duty to recommend it most earnestly to your lordship not to suffer that measure to be carryed into execution. It is considered by every thinking man here as a desperate one, and it will be much to the honor of the present administration, if, having the power, they do not make use of it.

Yesterday, Mr. Flood proposed the first of the inclosed resolutions, and, after a debate, which lasted till one o'clock this morning, it was rejected. Though the house divided, it was not told, as it was given up, there appearing only five or six for it. Mr. Grattan then proposed the second resolution, which was agreed to.—[E. S. PERY.]"

30.—PERY to SHELBURNE.

"1782, 27 July. Dublin.—Private.—I have received your Lordship's private letter of the 9th instant, and hope I need not assure you that I shall do everything in my power to remove jealousie and prevent anything which can affect the quiet conclusion of the session.

Lord Abingdon's speech and bill gave occasion to some conversation yesterday in our house. The account of that transaction in the newspapers had made a strong impression on the minds of the people, but Mr. Fitzpatrick's judicious relation of what passed seemed to give perfect satisfaction to the members of our house, and I trust will have the same effect without doors.

The late changes in the ministry, and the probability of immediate changes here, in consequence thereof, I feared might have disturbed the conclusion of our session, but those apprehensions are in a great measure removed by the very proper conduct of the Duke of Portland and of Mr. Fitzpatrick. I, however, understand it to be the opinion of those who are in his grace's confidence that he cannot reconcile it to himself to continue in office under the present circumstances of things.

The remainder of our bills did not arrive till yesterday, but not time enough to be read. I hope we shall be able to get through all our bills by the middle of next week, though I expect a good deal of obstruction, but the disposition of the house is such as we wish, and the opposition, though very persevering, weak.

Several letters from London by yesterday's mail mention that Lord Temple was actually appointed to the government of Ireland, but I

should think that impossible before the answer of the Duke of Portland was returned.

I hope I need not assure your Lordship that I most sincerely rejoice in every addition to your interest and that I am with the most perfect respect and attachment.—[E. S. PERY.]"

31.—GEORGE OGLE to PERY.

"1782, Oct. 10th. Merrion Square, Dublin.—I rely on your candour to pardon the freedom of this letter. It has been reported since you went to London, that the Speaker of our House of Commons was to be called to the House of Lords, before the meeting of a new Parliament. How far this report may be founded in truth, I do not presume to form the most distant idea; but certain it is, that persons there are, who would have availed themselves of it; and this has brought upon me several of my friends earnestly requesting I should not lie idle, but seize an opportunity so favourable to pretensions, which in their partiality they are kind enough to say I have both to the favour of the publick and the approbation of government; and this has been urged in such a manner, that I do not think I could in justice to their friendship or to myself have possibly resisted it.

You will not understand that it can be within the remotest design of my contemplation, to draw anything from you, that shall tend to a declaration of your sentiments on this occasion; an indelicacy which I blush even to think on: my object, on the contrary, is to mark my respect, and to apprise you of the full scope of my mind and wishes at present in case such an event as has been rumoured shall take place.—I am, etc., GEORGE OGLE."

32.—PERY to OGLE.

"1782, 17th Oct.—I have received your kind letter of the 5th [10th] inst. The report that I am to be called to the House of Lords has not the least foundation in truth; no proposition of that nature has ever been made to me, nor have I ever given the most distant intimation of a wish of that sort on my part. I should however be much concerned that your obliging delicacy with respect to me should prevent you from taking any step which the advice of your friends or your own inclination might lead you to.—I am, etc. [E. S. PERY.]"

33.—PERY to SHELBURNE.

"1782, 28 Oct. Somerset Street.—The inclosed letter, which I received last night, though not to be commended for its style, well deserves your lordship's attention. I make no apology for writing to your lordship upon this subject, because I think my duty requires it.

Repeated applications have been made to me by the body of merchants of the city [Limerick] which I have long had the honor to represent, complaining of the injustice done to that city by obliging the merchants there to send all the provisions made up there for the use of government to Cork to be inspected.

Perfectly satisfied that their complaints were well founded, I did everything in my power to procure redress; but hitherto their endeavors and mine have proved fruitless.

When your lordship was placed at the head of the administration, they flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining such relief as was consistent with justice, and in this expectation they have sent several

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persons to this city to solicit the appointment of a board at Limerick and that they may[1] . . . In this I fear from some recent transactions they will find themselves equally disappointed. The mode of contracting, it is true, is changed, but the abuses, if not encreased, are certainly continued, the late law relative to contracts evaded, and Great Britain and Ireland essentially injured.

The objections to what is desired on the part of the city of Limerick, I am persuaded, are founded either on false assertions or misrepresentation, which some of the ablest seamen and most experienced merchants have already proved and can still prove; and if any doubt still remains upon that head, it is desired that there may be a fair and open examination upon oath with respect to those points, and upon that the citizens of Limerick will rest their case. But they will never submit to the report of a board when they know some of the members of it to be parties concerned in interest.

Upon the whole, I take the liberty of recommending it to your lordship, if it be not too late, to re-examine the subject and to reconsider the measure, which can only benefit a few individuals and must injure the public. Be assured, my lord, if it be pursued it will be attended with disagreeable consequences. It will certainly become a subject of much discontent on the other side of the water, and probably on this. Despair will drive the sufferers to every extremity, and I have reason to believe that they are in possession of some evidence, which will ill bear the light. I again repeat it to your lordship, this subject well deserves a re-consideration.—I am, etc. [E. S. Pery.]"

### 34.—Shelburne to Pery.

"1782, 29th Oct. Treasury Chambers.—I have the honour to receive both your letters. It is impossible for me to determine at present whether I can serve the archbishop of Cashel's friend, but I shall not forget the name, and shall be very glad to have it in my power to shew regard to your recommendation.

I have communicated your letter of yesterday to the board of Treasury. Your judgment of the mode adopted by them for the supply of the currency is so opposite to the effect they intended that I flatter myself it will not be inconvenient [to you] to attend the room on Thursday at two o'clock, and assist us in bringing to light every circumstance which can tend to the publick advantage. At any rate, the board of Treasury will insist upon the evidence you allude to being made as publick as possible.—I have the honour to be, with great regard, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant, Shelburne."

### 35.—Pery to Shelburne.

"1782, 30th Oct. Somerset [Street].—I am honored with your lordship's letter of yesterday's date, and return your lordship many thanks for your obliging attention to my recommendation.

With respect to attending the board of Treasury, I must beg leave to decline it. I shall be very ready to give your lordship any assistance in my power, when your lordship shall do me the honor to desire it, but I do not think it would become me to attend any board.

The board of Treasury, if they wish for information relative to the river and port of Limerick, may be very easily supplyed with it. This

[1] Interlineation here illegible.

is the only matter in which I perceive the city of Limerick, and consequently myself, to be in any sort concerned. It is an affair of perfect indifference to me how or with whom the contracts are made, except that I wish them to be made in the manner which may conduce most to the public service and your lordship's honor.—I am, etc. [E. S. PERY.]"

### 36.—PERY and LORD SHELBURNE, 1782.

"30 Oct. 1782: Conversation between Lord Shelburne and me at court upon provision contracts:

Lord Sh. I received your letter of this morning. I thought your first letter of so much consequence that I laid it before the board of Treasury.

I said: my lord, I have no objection to your publishing it to all the world.

Lord Sh. Altho' you will not attend the board of Treasury, you may communicate the evidence to one of our secretarys.

I said: I will communicate with none of your secretarys; you can have no difficulty in procuring the only evidence which is necessary, evidence relative to the goodness or badness of the port of Limerick; that, I have told your lordship, is the only point in which I take any concern.

Lord Sh. But we are concerned in the other points taken notice of in your letter.

I said: it is true, but it would be highly improper in me to communicate what had been entrusted to me in confidence, and if your lordship makes such contracts as ought to be made for the public service you cannot possibly suffer; this, however, is a matter in which I am no way concerned and with which I will have nothing to do. I am only concerned that justice be done to the city of Limerick.

Lord Sh. I am sure I am as partial to the city of Limerick as any body. Tom Mark can tell you how much we have talked together upon the subject.

I said: but the city of Limerick is, notwithstanding, to be treated with great injustice.

Lord Sh. We must be governed by the report of the navy board.

I said: that report, I am persuaded, has either been made without any evidence at all or without due examination, for I am persuaded it is not founded in truth.

Lord Sh. We have done everything in our power to procure the most beneficial agreement for the public.

I said: I believed it would prove in the end more injurious to the public than the former contracts, which had been so much condemned.

Lord Sh. I will tell the board what you have said.

I said his lordship might do in that as he thought best and so we parted."

*Endorsed by Pery:*—"30 Oct. 1782: Substance of a conversation with Lord Shelburne."

### 37.—PONSONBY to PERY.

"1782, Nov. 30.—As I have seen many letters from gentlemen soliciting votes for the chair of the House of Commons, I hope you will not consider it as the slightest intention of disrespect to you, if I make application to my friends upon the like occasion.—I am, dear Sir, with great respect, your most obedient and most humble servant, J. PONSONBY."

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38.—Pery to Ponsonby.

"1782, Dec. 7th. London.—Lord Lucan this day delivered to me your letter of the 30th of Nov. I return you many thanks for your obliging delicacy with respect to me, and certainly shall not consider it as the slightest intention of disrespect to me, if you solicit, as you say other gentlemen have done, votes for the chair of the House of Commons; at the same time, permit me to say, I have never made any declaration relative to quitting the chair. Whatever resolution I may hereafter take upon that subject, I shall think it decent in me to communicate it first to the Lord Lieutenant as a respect due to him.—I am, etc. [E. S. Pery."]

39.—Pery to Earl Temple, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

"London, 12 Dec. 1782.

"My Lord,—I may posssibly take more liberty than I ought to do in writing to your Excellency upon the subject of this letter. If it appears in that light to your Excellency, I beg you will pardon it, and not impute it to any want of respect towards your Excellency.

I understand that the death of the bishop[1] of Limerick is considered as an event not far distant. The bishopric of Killala, of which see my brother is bishop, I believe is little, if at all inferior, in point of value, to that of Limerick; but Limerick being the principal residence of our family, and from other local circumstances, is preferable to Killala, and would be much more convenient to him and to me. As the difference in value of the two bishoprics is very inconsiderable, it probably would raise no material difficulty in any future arrangements your Excellency may think proper to make, if my brother were to be removed to Limerick. Upon this ground alone, I take the liberty of writing to your Excellency upon this subject, and merely to inform you of my brother's situation, not expecting or desiring any answer or even an acknowledgement of the receipt of this letter. I have the honor to be, etc. [E. S. Pery.]"

40.—Earl Temple, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Pery.

"1782, Dec. 18. Dublin Castle.—By the delay of our mails, your letters did not reach me till the day before yesterday, and, the packet which brought them having sailed immediately, it is possible that this letter may not reach you in the usual time. I mention this that you may not imagine that I have hesitated even for a moment to answer your wishes, and I trust in the most satisfactory manner. The bishop of Limerick is not yet dead; and from the comparative value of the sees I have conceived doubts whether your brother would accept that of Limerick. But I can truly assure you that it always was my intention to have offered it to his consideration, and by this I meant to give a proof of the real disposition which I felt to shew every attention in my power to your wishes. Much has passed in Ireland since your absence upon a variety of public points; and the situation and circumstances of the government are materially altered. I will, however, trust that the conduct of government both here and in England will conciliate the goodwill, and settle discontents of which I am sorry to say that I have seen too much.

Mr. Grenville will probably have seen you before you can receive this, to apprize you of the canvass now publick in the Irish House of Commons for the chair, upon the idea of a vacancy; and to assure you that I can take no interest in what is going on except such as may be

[1] William Gore, Bishop of Limerick, died in Feb. 1784, and was succeeded by William Cecil Pery.

perfectly consistent with your wishes. At the same time I must sincerely express my hopes, for the sake of the kingdom, for the sake of the House of Commons, and for the sake of the prosperity and ease of my government, that you may retain your respectable situation.—I have the honour to be, sir, your very obedient, humble servant, NUGENT TEMPLE." EMLY MSS

41.—GRATTAN to PERY.

"Winsfield, 21 Dec. 1782.

"Dear Sir,—Since I had the pleasure of receiving your last letter, nothing has happened here of any great consequence—a canvass for your chair was pressed by three, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Foster. The former urged his hope on a supposition of other competitors than you, and his canvass I understood was conditional, if neither you nor Mr. Ponsonby stood. As to the others, I know not the nature of their canvass, but received circulating letters from both. However, I imagine that no one will venture to dispute the chair with you, and I wish on this as I have done on other public and beneficial propositions, that I could command a majority for a most laudable purpose, viz. to give you the chair or the refusal of it.

I find by the speech and the answer that the Irish subject is touched not fully but somewhat favourably. I own I have no apprehensions with respect to our liberty, and I cannot exactly point out any specific measure which should allay my apprehensions with respect to our discontents except peace. But I could wish that the proceedings by which Lord Mansfield has infringed upon us was done away—the writ of error to the king. The bench of England is taken away by the general clause of our own act, and the english chief justice is obliged to take notice of an Irish act of Parliament. I consider the determination of Lord Mansfield is a political measure embarrassing to the ministry, of which his lordship's friends made no part. I think they will soon be tired of making Ireland the sport of party.

The present fluctuating state of English politics is somewhat anxious. Lord North's situation is singularly powerful: if anything is to be collected from the papers, he manages it with much address. Perhaps he is now the minister. If anything shall occur here worth mentioning, I shall not fail to write it, and am, dear sir, with great respect and affection, yours most sincerely, H. GRATTAN.

Since I wrote this letter, I had the pleasure of receiving one from you. I am very sensible of it, and assure you that there is no person feels more than I do the value and dignity of your friendship.—December 23."

42.—PERY to EARL TEMPLE, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

"1782, 27th Dec. London.—Your Excellency's letter of the 18th instant, which I had the honor of receiving yesterday, excited in me ideas which my words can but ill express, and the most lively sentiment of gratitude, which time cannot obliterate from my mind. Give me leave to assure your Excellency that I am anxious to deserve the favourable opinion you have been pleased to entertain of me and to express in terms so honorable to me.

The reports which were spread about me in Ireland could not take rise from anything I had said, for I had studiously avoided speaking on the subject, determined to communicate first to your Excellency any resolution I might take upon that head, as a respect due to you, of

Emly MSS. which I informed Mr. Ponsonby in my answer to a letter I received from him.

It is true, my advanced state of life, spent in much labor, much anxiety, and some danger, made me wish for retirement and ease, and I thought I might retreat with honor when all danger appeared to me to be over, and my country to be satisfied; but if any difficulty still remains, which your Excellency seems to apprehend, I will not shrink from it, but will cheerfully take such part as your Excellency shall judge most advantageous for the public service and to the honor and ease of your administration, which from the candour, generosity, and public spirit with which it is conducted, must conciliate the minds of all good men to it. Permit me to assure your Excellency that your opinion shall direct my conduct and that I shall be happy in having an opportunity of giving the most unequivocal proofs of the sense I entertain of your favor and of the sincerity of my attachment to you.—I have the honor to be, etc. [E. S. Pery.]"

### 43.—Lucan to Pery.

"1783, 19th April. St. James's Place.—I have long wished to have had something to write to you upon, but nothing has occurred but what you must have heard from others, so I did not trouble you with a letter. No Lord Lieutenant is yet named in form, but I have heard, and from good authority, that Lord Northington will be declared this day. He is the fourth person it has been offered to. The Duke of Devonshire hesitated, and afterwards declined. Lord Fitzwilliam would have accepted, but his wife did not like it. Lord Althorp was the third, and he turned it in his mind for some days and chose to put it off for some years, when he says he will have more experience to serve a country he likes. His wife, you may be sure, was not of Lady Fitzwilliam's mind. Nothing would have made her more happy, as she knew I should have been exceedingly so to have seen her in that situation. Lord Northington is a sensible man and a man of strict honor and good character, but how he will succeed in Ireland is out of my power to judge.

Mr. Wyndham of Norfolk is mentioned as Secretary. He is an ingenious man, but whether he has Parliamentary talents I cannot say, nor can he till he trys and measures them with our Irish orators. Yelverton is here, so is Scott, Forbes and many others. Forster I believe goes away to-morrow, if this new appointment do not keep him. . . I hope soon to see you in Ireland, as I propose setting out as soon as the Parliamentary reform question is over. I can say nothing about our politicks. It is a complete puzzle at present, and Lord North's force has not strengthened the coalition as much as was expected. How it will go on I do not know.

There is a very disagreeable rising amongst the sailors now in London. About two thousand of them are this moment parading in St. James's Street. Their grievances are ill-founded; consequently difficult to settle. Something must be done, else they will encrease ten fold in a very little time.—Yours ever, etc. etc. Lucan."

### 44.—Lord Shannon[1] to Pery.

"1783, June 24. Castlemartyr.—I am extremely thankful to you for your obliging and early communication of the resolution taken to

[1] Richard Boyle, second Earl of Shannon, member of Privy Council, Ireland, and one of the Vice-Treasurers there.

dissolve the Parliament. It is in my opinion a wise measure, or rather experiment, for quieting the country. I beg leave to assure you that I think you highly worthy of the first seat in that house, whose privileges you have so steadily defended, and hope to see you in perfect health, unanimously placed in that chair, where you have with such distinguished abilities presided.—Believe me to be, my dear sir, your most obliged and faithful servant,—SHANNON."

45.—EARL OF CLANRICARDE to PERY.

"1783, July 25th. Belmont, near Warnford, Hampshire.—I had just now the honor to receive your favor of the 17th inst., and in answer thereto beg to assure you that it will give me great pleasure, if it should happen to be in my power, to render you any services in the business you mention.

Previous to the receipt of your letter, I had availed myself of an opportunity which presented itself, and mentioned your name (as a supposed candidate for the chair at the ensuing general election) to those who might be useful to you, in no unfavorable manner.

In doing this, my feelings of honor were not less gratified, than my own personal inclinations; as I am persuaded that no candidate can offer himself with stronger claims to the good opinion of our countrymen than yourself; and have therefore only to add that I shall sincerely hope to see you again re-instated in that chair, which you have already filled with such reputation to yourself and satisfaction to the public.—I have the honor to be, with truth and regard, dear sir, your faithful and obedient humble servant, CLANRICARDE."

46.—EARL OF NORTHINGTON, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to PERY.

"1783, Aug. 1. Dublin Castle.—Our conversation being interrupted the other day at a very interesting part of it, and wishing much to renew it on that subject, but more particularly on matters relative to the preparation of business previous to the meeting of Parliament, in which I much hope your assistance, I was anxious to have had some conversation with you this day after the council, and upon my return I sent to desire to see you in my closet. Your activity, however, evaded my intention as I found you had already gone for your villa. As I understand you go for Limerick on Monday next, if it is absolutely necessary for you to set off that day, I should desire an hour's conversation with you on Monday at the Park, and would return before three o'clock for that purpose. But if it will not be of inconvenience to you, I should prefer to have our conversation on the Monday morning, when we should not be straitened for time. I more particularly wish our conference to take place before you go for Limerick, as you mentioned your return will not be until the 12th of August, and as I am likely to have, from particular circumstances, (Mr. Wyndham, our secretary, leaving then,) an unusual share of business fall to my lot; I am anxious to pay an immediate attention thereto, and to bring it to as great a degree of forwardness as possible.

I beg you will send me an answer by the messenger, and remain, dear sir, with great truth and regard, your most obedient and most humble servant, NORTHINGTON."

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47.—William Knox to Pery.

"1783, 12 Sept. Lord North's Office, Whitehall.—I hope I may congratulate you upon the choice of a good tempered and a firm House of Commons. I am not afraid of their wanting wisdom, as I see you and so many of my other friends are in it. But I fear they may want firmness to withstand out-door influence, which if they yield to it will be infinitely more criminal and now infinitely more prejudicial to the country than the utmost subserviency to the Castle could ever have been. The plan here is to leave the government of Ireland to its Parliament, exercising the king's negative only in extraordinary cases, but then with decision. I trust it will not be called for speedily, for I have seen such dreadful consequences follow very trifling legislative disputes that I shudder at the apprehensions of them. My situation here, about office, though not belonging to it, gives me some opportunity of observing dispositions and coming at the knowledge of what is likely to happen, and there are two measures which I wish taken early as means of preserving good humour. The one is the regulation of the Post Office, so as to prevent questions of privilege on either side and this I think might be done by limiting English members of franking to their own residences or places in the counties they sit for, and making all the letters which come to either kingdom pay as they do now the whole postage at the place of their delivery, and that postage to belong to the kingdom where it is paid—the expense of the packets to be borne equally. But, now that I have mentioned packets, I must tell you what I have been doing about getting Post Office packets established between Waterford and Milford Haven. The proprietors of the passage boats have made an offer to carry three mails a week for six hundred pounds a year in time of peace, and I should have brought the matter to bear, but for the difficulty of taxing the letters so carried, which would require a new act of Parliament, and that must not be thought of at present; but if the regulation I mention should take place, the matter might be easily settled.

The other point is of much greater importance, and embraces a great variety of objects. I mean the intercourse between the two islands. I foresaw many difficulties would arise from the want of a settlement there, at the time we were opening the trade to the colonies. But I remember you thought things were not ripe for it at your side. If you have seen cause to think differently now, I will readily lend my assistance to bring about an equitable adjustment.

I have lately had some conversation with the East India Directors, and I think it might be managed to have sale of such India goods as you chiefly want in Ireland, in like manner as they are sold here, by which you would save the expense of commission, freight, etc., and have the goods on the same terms with the people here. Tea, silk, and China-ware I think are the great articles of your consumption, and they might all be brought to you in the same ship from China, which must be an advantage to you, for I think you have not capitals to spare and go for them there yourselves. . . .—Your very faithful and affectionate servant, William Knox."

48.—Thomas Pelham[1] to Pery.

"1783, Sept. 14.—I have the honour of transmitting to you the draught of a bill regulating and legalizing the High Court of Admiralty in Ireland, with some observations thereon.

[1] Thomas Pelham, Chief Secretary to Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Government will be much obliged to you for your opinion and remarks on this draught, and give me leave, sir, to take this opportunity of assuring you how sensibly I feel myself obliged to you for the offer of your assistance and advice, and how much the aid of your abilities and experience will give me confidence in the execution of my office.—I have the honour to be, with much esteem and regard, sir, your most obedient humble servant, T. PELHAM."

### 49.—PERY to PELHAM.

"1783, 14th Sep.—I return you enclosed the two papers you sent to me yesterday, as also two other papers endorsed No. 1 and No. 2. The former contains some remarks upon the draft of the bill relative to the court of Admiralty; the other, outlines of a bill upon the same subject. As my hand is known, I must request that these papers may remain with you, and that my name may not be mentioned, if you think proper to make any use of them; for I am apprehensive lest the gentlemen, whose draft I have made free with, for whom I have a very high esteem, and whose opinion I respect, should take umbrage at it. I am besides sensible I have gone out of the line of my department. But this kingdom is at present so particularly circumstanced that I think it my duty to overlook all punctilios, and to do everything in my power to quiet the minds of the people, and I am happy that what I consider as my duty coincides with my earnest wishes to promote the honor and ease of Lord Northington's administration.

Whatever plan shall be adopted, I take the liberty of recommending it to you to lay it before the king's principal servants in the law line, and also a few other members who have been in that profession, before you send it to . . . .—I am, etc.—[E. S. PERY.]"

### 50.—EARL TEMPLE to PERY.

i.—"1783. October 23. Stowe.—Private.—My public letter which accompanies this can state but very imperfectly the handsome manner in which you have communicated to me the resolution of the 15th instant. I am, indeed, proud of the testimony which it was my wish to obtain by every exertion of zeal and industry, and by every communication with those to whose talents and integrity I was materially indebted.

Your friendship to me would naturally lead me to say something upon the very delicate state of Ireland, but as every letter which I send or receive through London is opened at the Post Office, I shall confine myself to my eager wishes for the security and tranquillity of government founded upon the affection and happiness of the people.

I should not have mentioned this circumstance respecting my letters, if that which you sent to me enclosing the vote of the house had not undergone the same indecent ceremony. As I know the conduct and character of the Post Office in Dublin, I know that the blame does not lie there, and I am endeavouring to trace it to those in England who are really responsible for it.

I have only to add to this letter my assurances of the high respect, regard, and esteem with which I have the honour to be, etc., NUGENT TEMPLE."

ii.—"I deferred acknowledging the receipt of your most obliging private letter which accompanied your public one, till I should have something

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to say to you with respect to our proceedings here, to which I have every reason to believe you are not indifferent; and I must at the same time lament the circumstances which have deprived me of your thoughts upon the delicate state of this kingdom, from which I am persuaded I should have received many lights and much useful instruction. The meeting of the delegates in this city I am well informed will end in nothing of importance, and, though it makes so formidable an appearance in newspapers on your side of the water, seems to be considered here rather as a subject of ridicule than terror. With respect to Parliament, though there has been much asperity of language between some individuals, no ill humour has as yet appeared, and government have had great majorities upon all questions. The supplies have been all voted, and a considerable progress has been made in ways and means. The greatest difficulty I think we have to encounter is with respect to some of your manufacturers, particularly the woollen, in which your people are not able to enter into any competition with the English, by whom they are excluded even from their own market. This they feel and complain of most heavily. Two modes have been suggested to remedy this evil—bounties upon export, and duty upon import. The former was at first, I believe, intended to be adopted, but I understand it is now laid aside, upon this principle, that the manufacturers in England would expect the same share of bounty on export, which would be attended with an enormous expense; besides, it would not satisfy the people here. The latter mode, I understand, will be resisted by the friends of government under great difficulties, the consequences of which I cannot pretend to predict. It is much to be wished that some reasonable expedient should be found out to reconcile these jarring interests.

I am persuaded this subject has not escaped your attention, and that you are the fittest person to be consulted upon the subject. But as the present state of parties may prevent that, if you have no objection to communicate your ideas to me, I will endeavour to have them carried into execution."

### 51.—W. Ellis to Pery.

"1783, Oct. 23rd. Paulton's.—I most sincerely congratulate with my country and myself on your being unanimously replaced in that chair, which you filled during the last Parliament with so much honour to yourself and so much benefit to the public. I have some doubt whether I should congratulate with yourself on the same occasion. My personal affection for you presents in strong colours to my mind the great fatigue of both mind and body you must undergo, and possibly some degree of hazard in your eminent situation at such a conjuncture. But at a period when civil authority seems to be in very great peril from the overbearing power of the sword, when the constitution of Parliament, in which I consider is involved a free regal government, is threatened under a pretence of securing liberty, and the religion and property of the kingdom to be layed at the feet of the Roman Catholics, under the specious colour of a reasonable toleration, I must beg leave to lay aside all personal considerations, and must sincerely rejoice to see a man in so important a situation, whose great experience, whose temper, authority, and wisdom may afford all the hope which can be derived from human means, and I must do you the justice to believe that you must feel a satisfaction in being set foremost in such a cause. That all manner of success should attend you on this and all occasions is the sincere wish of him who has the honor to be with great truth and respect, dear sir, your most obedient and affectionate humble servant, etc., W. Ellis."

52.—Lord Annaly to Pery. Emly MSS.

"1783, Oct. 29. High . . .—On examinations sworn before me by Mr. Alderman Exshaw and Mr. Sheriff Kirkpatrick, I have granted my warrant against Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood, requiring the sheriff and other proper officers to bring those gentlemen before me to give security to keep the peace, etc., towards each other. However, as those gentlemen are members of the House of Commons, and the dispute originally arose in that house, I thought it most agreeable to the respect I have for the house and for you, to desire the sheriff to wait upon you and to pursue your directions in executing the warrants and apprehending those gentlemen.—I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most humble and obedient servant, Annaly."

53.—Thomas Pelham to Pery.

"1784, Jan. 8. Stratton Street.—Private.—I take the opportunity of a messenger's going to Ireland of sending you a small parcel which I have received from Lord [*blank*]. I have also received from him the English journals, which shall be forwarded to you.

I am much flattered and sincerely obliged to you for your letter to Mrs. Bull, but as I am at present not under any immediate apprehension of a dissolution of Parliament, I have declined sending your letter, lest it might encourage the idea of opposition by shewing too much anxiety.

It is impossible to say anything decisive upon English politics. Both parties seem equally confident of success in the House of Commons on Monday. It is with great satisfaction and pleasure that I can assure you of the disposition of all parties to support the Irish Parliament, and to shew every possible attention to your affairs, and I must say, in justice to the present administration, that in their conversations with me they uniformly expressed their earnest desire of preventing all party jealousies and distinctions in Ireland. They seem to wish that the House of Commons might be adjourned for ten days, when they shall have met after the recess. I told them that I did not apprehend any difficulty in such a measure, but at the same time I cautioned them against an adjournment which might postpone the business so long as to make it necessary to meet after the assizes . . .—I have the honour to be, my dear sir, your most obedient and faithful humble servant, T. Pelham."

54.—Lord Sydney to Pery.

"1784, Jan. 9. Albemarle Street.—In your situation it is natural for the king's servants to desire to know your opinion upon a very important point. I mean the time to which it may be possible to adjourn the House of Commons of Ireland after the 26th without detriment to the public business. The particular situation of affairs requires a further respite from Parliamentary business, on account of the change of the Lord Lieutenant.

Your known and constant attachment to both countries, as well as your knowledge and experience in the management of the public business of Ireland, gives your opinion naturally great weight.

The laudable zeal of the Parliament of Ireland for the mutual interest of both countries, as well as their firmness and temper strongly manifested in the course of the present session, leaves no room to doubt of their acquiescence in such an adjournment as may be necessary at the present crisis, and at the same time may not materially interrupt the public business.

EMLY MSS.

There may probably be hardly time for a second messenger to reach you after your answer to me upon this subject. If, therefore, sir, you are of opinion that such an adjournment may take place, which I have been given to understand might be for ten days at least, the king's servants on this side the water have the firmest reliance on your assistance towards procuring it.[1] . . .—I have the honor to be, SYDNEY."

55.—EARL OF NORTHINGTON, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to PERY.

"1784, 14th Jan. Dublin Castle.—Private.—I have received this day by express a letter from Lord Sydney, his majesty's principal secretary of state, with whom I am in official correspondence, intimating the expediency of such a further adjournment of the Parliament of this kingdom as may not be inconsistent with the necessary expedition of the public business. When I shall have consulted with such of the principal persons in Ireland as I may judge it necessary to communicate with on the subject, I am desired to inform Lord Sydney to what day it may be practicable and proper to adjourn the Parliament. I cannot apply to any person upon this occasion from whom I can receive so full information, or upon whose judgment I can so thoroughly rely, and must therefore request you will let me know what difficulties or objections lie in the way of a further adjournment of the Parliament, in what manner they may best be obviated, and whether the House of Commons will not readily agree to postpone the business before them and adjourn for ten days or a fortnight longer at my desire. —I am, dear sir, with great truth and regard, your most obedient, humble servant, NORTHINGTON."

56.—EARL OF NORTHINGTON to PERY.

"1784, 14 Jan. Dublin Castle.—Secret.—Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have received his majesty's gracious acceptance of my resignation of my present employment under him in this kingdom, a notification of which was sent me by a dispatch from Lord Sydney, dated on the 3rd instant and received the 10th.

I have had the honor to receive from his lordship a second dispatch, dated on the 9th instant, which does not communicate to me the intelligence I was in expectation of receiving, of the appointment of my successor, but conveys the intimations and [*blank*] of his majesty's ministers that I would consult the principal persons of Ireland upon the propriety and practicability of a further adjournment of the Parliament.

Now it is my wish on on all occasions to consult the king's interest and (making it a particular part of my duty even to an administration that, I profess [with] regret, I am not disposed to act with or have confidence in, to apprise them of any matter essentially affecting the interests of this country), I have in a former dispatch reminded them of the absolute necessity there was (which I had desired Mr. Pelham strongly to enforce) that my successor should make no delay in assuming the government of this country. By a still later despatch, which I apprehend has not yet been received, I have again enforced this doctrine, and have at the same time stated those inconveniencies which appeared to me likely to result from another adjournment. The principal objections to it have been, that in the House of Lords particularly, it is an object

[1] MS. defective.

of great moment, at least for the first session, that the appeals to that [house] should be heard in the interval between the meeting and the proposed circuits, and that the house might have an opportunity, if they were disposed, to receive the assistance, in their judicial determinations, of the whole bench of judges. However, it appears to me that it might be productive of much embarrassment, and consequently of no good. However, if the House of Commons should be obliged to defer to enter upon the faults of controverted elections[1] . . . after the recess. I likewise stated that it was much the wish of the present government of Ireland that, as annual sessions were to be held in this country, that the members of Parliament might be discharged from their attendance as early as the public business would allow of, giving a decent and sufficient time for attention to bills of a private nature.

In the present vacation state of officers in England, and the delay in the arrival of my successor, I see no possibility of his arriving so as to meet the present Parliament upon the 26th January with sufficient opportunities of acquiring the necessary information. I have therefore no doubt that how great soever the inconveniences of an adjournment may be, yet, put into the balance with those which may be enacted by any hasty proceeding of the Parliament, or rather an uninformed government, they will appear so trifling as to induce the House of Commons readily to submit thereto.—I have the honor to be, with great regard, your most obedient humble servant, NORTHINGTON.

I should apprize you that this dispatch from the minister is of the most secret nature, according to his directions.

### 57.—THOMAS ORDE[2] to PERY.

"London, 27 June, 1784.

"We have difficulties about forming a commission for the judge of the Admiralty Court in Ireland, with respect to the nature and extent of the jurisdiction. I should receive very thankfully any hints you would have the goodness to give me, and more especially as your advice was chiefly followed in forming the provisions of the act. My stay here at present will not probably exceed ten days. I shall return to London at the latter end of the Autumn to settle everything for the meeting of Parliament, and I again repeat my hopes that matters may be happily adjusted, unless a provoking excess of hostility and defiance in Ireland by a party recourse to a partial remedy should seem to alter the state of the case, and subject the good disposition of Great Britain for conciliation and agreement to the risk of any humiliating misrepresentation. But I will not harbour so unpleasant an apprehension. Every reflection upon the temper, the honor, the magnanimity of both parties should banish it.—I have the honor to be, etc. THOS. ORDE."

### 58.—THOMAS ORDE to PERY.

"1784, 21st Dec. London.—I am very much obliged to you for the communication which you have kindly made of your observations upon the state of the Duke of Rutland's health. I hope, however, that his grace's appearance on that day may be accounted for by considering the nature of the disorder which had attacked him, and the abstinence from food which he had thought it right to observe. I am taught to hope that

[1] MS. illegible.
[2] Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Emly MSS. every symptom of danger is removed, and that he only wants some little exertion to rouze himself from a disposition to too much relaxation in bed. I have the more confidence in this prospect of his recovery from having been assured of former instances of a similar kind, both in him and in his father. I am, however, very sensible of the attention which ought to be paid to your hint, and shall not fail to do so with a true sense of thankfulness to you for your considerate kindness.

You will see our friend Mr. Foster so soon (possibly before this can reach you) and will from him receive so much information upon the business which has engaged our attention here, that I shall not trouble you with any remarks of mine.—I have the honor to be, etc. Thomas Orde."

59.—W. Ellis to Pery.

"1784, Dec. 31st.— . . . I beg leave to congratulate with you on the appearance of things being rather mended in our country, and I applaud the vigour of government which seems to have contributed to it; and I trust that measures are taken to secure the success of all the parts of the establishment. Yet I think I see ingredients enough to make this a stormy session. Expectations have been artfully raised of much more than can be granted, and therefore what will be granted will not give satisfaction there, while it may ruin the ministers here.

I have been so much and so chearfully obliged by you in many instances, that I am not unwilling to be farther in your debt. The plan which was adopted in Mr. Eden's administration of building the publick offices and the Four Courts on the Inns Quay, being in the neighbourhood of my property, would, if carried into execution be of great advantage to me. One square of public offices, as I am informed, is already erected. On the space between the two designed squares of offices it was by the plan intended that the Four Courts should be erected. I have been lately informed that some eminent persons in the profession have taken up a design to defeat this plan of placing the Four Courts there, and rather wish that ground should be purchased in College Green, contiguous to the two Houses of Parliament, and the Four Courts to be erected there. The only benefit which seems to attend this plan is that the judges will in term time during the sitting of Parliament be some minutes sooner in the House of Lords than they would be from the Inns Quay. But this small convenience will be purchased by other not inconsiderable inconveniences. First, a very considerable additional expense for the purchase of the ground; next, the distance from the publick offices, and lastly, that it will furnish a pretence for drawing a much greater affluence of idle and possibly disorderly people about the two Houses of Parliament; a matter not unworthy consideration. If your friendship for me should give any additional weight to these public considerations, and induce you to lend your weight to support the plan which has hitherto been adopted by two or three governments and favoured in two sessions of Parliament, you will greatly add to the many obligations I am proud to acknowledge myself under to you. If in the resolution for the grant of money to carry on the publick offices, the words 'and Four Courts' were added, it might tend to defeat the other project, as it would express a more explicit adoption of the whole of the former plan.

I ask your pardon for the length of this detail which will likewise add to the charge of my letter to you.— . . . I have the honor to be, etc. W. Ellis."

60.—W. ELLIS to PERY.

"1785, Feb. 22nd.—When I came home this morning from the house, I found upon my table the honour of your most obliging letter, for which and for what it contained I beg leave to trouble you with my most sincere and cordial thanks. I beg you to be assured that I have a due sense of your very friendly proceeding on this and on all occasions. The minister is this day to communicate to the house the plan which is to be submitted to their consideration for a commercial arrangement, and which has been before your house and returned with your address to his majesty. There appear some clouds, but whether they will gather into a storm I cannot take upon me to prognosticate.—I have the honor to be, etc. W. ELLIS."

61.—PERY to ORDE.

"1785, 27th May.—I have considered with attention the resolutions which Mr. Pitt stated to the house, but I despair of being able to furnish you with any observations which can at this late period of the business be of the least use, especially as Mr. Pitt seems to be too far engaged to recede from any material part of his plan.

I have already from time to time told you what I thought upon most of the articles. If anything I said has been communicated, it has made no impression and therefore it is unnecessary to repeat it.

Thus much, however, it may be proper to say, that some of the alterations in the Irish propositions are a departure from the system of reciprocity which is the professed principle of the settlement.

The new proposition, relative to the East Indies and the products of those countries, is of a most alarming nature. To cut this kingdom off, at once and for ever, from all intercourse with half the world, and to deprive her of all the products of it, however necessary for her manufactures, except what comes through Great Britain and subject to whatever taxes Great Britain pleases to impose, is a very serious subject.

It is true that Ireland has not at present any direct communication with the East Indies, but no man can say that, in the revolution of time, it may not, from a change of circumstances, become necessary.

The 17th resolution, relative to books, would put an end to the printing business in this kingdom, without serving Great Britain. It would transfer that business from Ireland to Holland or some other foreign country.

The mode proposed of securing permanency to the settlement will, in my opinion, give much offence, and render it less secure. It implies a distrust of the faith, the honor, and sincerity of Parliament, upon which, however, the stability of the system must ultimately depend, enact what you will.

I must confess to you, I have for some time lost all hopes of bringing this business to a happy conclusion during the present session, and I much doubt whether it ever can. If it is attempted to be forced, you may possibly succeed, though that appears to me uncertain; but you will lay the foundation of much discontent in both kingdoms, and instead of conciliating, will alienate their affections.

Pardon me for declaring to you thus explicitly an opinion, which I am sensible must give you pain. I trust, however, that it will be considered by you as a proof of my friendship to you as well as of my zeal for the public service.—[E. S. PERY.]"

Mr. Orde."

EMLY MSS.

62.—Extract from paper endorsed: "*Secret.*—Extract of a letter dated 27th June, 1785."

"This bill will best explain itself and the principles of the several resolutions on which it is founded. I shall therefore omit here the going into them, and content myself with mentioning that I stated every objection I could collect to each resolution, and Mr. Pitt took my objections in order to consider them in the bill.

He has, you see, agreed to your wish to bring in this bill, immediately upon the resolutions being returned to the house, and I hope the draft of it will reach you and get back in time.

Mr. Pitt's idea of what you are to do is this: to form a bill in Ireland directly upon the outline laid down in the sketch, and to return a draft of it with the draft of the bill he will send you, on the latter of which you will make your remarks.

Your bill to begin with the recital in the 1st resolution; then to proceed and enact the substance of the 3rd resolution; to recite the principle of the 4th—'That whereas it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, and essential to the objects of the present settlement, that in all time coming, the laws for regulating trade and navigation, so far as relates to securing exclusive privileges, etc., should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland. And whereas it is expedient for that purpose that laws similar to those which are or may be of force in Great Britain, should be enacted in this kingdom, so far as the said laws impose the same restraints and confer the same benefits: be it therefore enacted that an act entitled an act,' etc. (here specify the laws). Then enact, with a proper recital, the substance of the 5th, and as much as is necessary of the 6th, with regard to regulations; and then the regulations of the 7th.

Then recite the necessity of always following the purport of the 8th in equalizing, etc., and enact the present duties on export, etc.

Then enact so much of the 9th as goes to prevent ships clearing out for the East Indies, except as is therein excepted.

The 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th confer benefits, and Ireland has only to enact that persons be appointed to form a book of rates.

As to the 15th, care is to be taken to limit bounties according to the tenor of this resolution.

When England enumerates the articles in the 16th, Ireland to recite the principle and enact the duties on the specific articles.

17th, 18th, and 19th resolutions to be followed.

As to the 20th, to enact the appropriation according to the draft already settled, and as to the permanent provision, a clause relative to that will be stated separately.

As to the bill, you will get yours on as fast as you can, and as far, without getting the draft of the bill on this side which you may rely on I will push as fast as I can.

I stated to Mr. Pitt the omission of the clauses to restrain the import of East India goods except from Great Britain, which he admitted and desired me to insert in the 9th resolution.

I have brought him to admit that the true state of the tax on beer imported ought to be to reduce the duty again on import to 1*s.* 3*d.*, and then to add the Inland Excise of 4*s.* 1*d.*—total 5*s.* 4*d.* This is upon a fair state of the principle of the 12th resolution; and he moreover admits that at present he thinks that there must be a duty to countervail the 1*s.* bounty. This would put our brewers upon a good footing indeed. But although he admits the fairness of the principle, he must consult before he can agree to adopt it.

I hope he is disposed to agree that there is no use in the clause of permanent provision, and I hope to get rid of it, or to have it modelled so as to be harmless, but this I cannot promise as it depends on more than Mr. Pitt."

63.—THOMAS ORDE to PERY.

"1785, Friday, 8th July. Phœnix Park.—Private.—I cannot resist the desire I feel to communicate to you confidentially an extract of a letter which I have just received from Mr. Jenkinson. It is so pertinent to the subject upon which I had the honor to converse with you at our last meeting that I think you may be glad to see it. I most sincerely believe the full force of what is therein hinted, and venture to augur from it a happy issue to our important business.—Ever, dear sir, etc., THOMAS ORDE."

[Enclosure.]

"Extract from MR. J[ENKINSON].

"1785, 1 July. Addiscomb Place.—Private.—I have had one conversation with Mr. Beresford since he came over, and he has promised to come to me here, and to talk further on the Irish business. I have had also a long conference with the chancellor and Mr. Pitt. I am satisfied that you will find the ministers here inclined to do everything reasonable in order to accommodate matters on your side the water. As I am resident at present chiefly here, I know nothing more of the state of things than what Mr. Pitt and his secretaries from time to time communicate to me, but Rose told me on Wednesday that the last proposition sent from hence seemed to be well received by your friends in Ireland, and that the difficulty which had arisen on the 4th proposition was in a fair way to be settled. If this is so, I rejoice at it most sincerely. I always considered what is contained in that proposition as a most delicate though necessary part of the business. But as I was always convinced of the fair intentions of the king's servants here, I am surprised as well as greatly concerned to hear of the flame that had arisen in Ireland on a mistaken account, and that Mr. [ ] had taken the lead in it.

In carrying the business through the House of Lords, the chancellor is the most firm and able person that government has, and I can assure you he is very zealous and steady. The evidence of the manufacturers have at times made impression on many even of the friends of government, which Mr. Pitt has had difficulty to remove. You see I write to you in great confidence. If any difficulty should arise, and you will apprize me of it, I will most readily do all I can to assist you.—C. J."

64.—PERY to ORDE.

"The British resolutions comprehend a great system of commerce of the most extensive and complicated nature. It is not confined to the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, which was the object of the Irish resolutions.

It may be doubted whether the best informed man in either kingdom knows the extent of it, or whether the wisest can foresee what will be the effect of it.

It is not hazarding much to say that if it shall be adopted, it will soon require many alterations, additions, and regulations, which cannot now be foreseen, but which time will discover.

EMLY MSS.

The duration of the system must depend upon its proving advantageous to both kingdoms in its operation. If either kingdom shall find itself materially injured by it, the legislature of such kingdom will not hold itself bound to support it, and without such support it cannot long subsist. It is impossible to bind the legislature by any act of Parliament. The British resolutions import such an intention. It may be asserted, without imputation of rashness, that it will be found impracticable. It is, however, just that neither kingdom should derive any benefit from the agreement longer than it complies with all the conditions and terms of it. This is the best, if not the only security for the permanency of the system, of which it is capable, especially if it proves to be as beneficial to both countries as it is represented to be, and it may deserve some consideration whether it may not be prudent to insert an express clause in the bill for that purpose.

Many advantages would result from this. It would quiet the apprehensions of people on both sides of the water, who now think they are entering into an agreement, which few understand, and which is to bind them for ever, let it prove never so injurious to them. It may reconcile many here to consent to what they may consider as only a temporary suspension of some rights, which they make no use of at present, but which they would not relinquish for ever. But, what is of most consequence, it would remove all those difficulties respecting constitutional rights, which are supposed to be affected by several of the British resolutions."

Endorsed : " 10th July, 1785. A copy of a paper given to Mr. Orde."

### 65.—ORDE to PERY.

"1785, Friday Morning, 29th July. Phœnix Park.—Although I hope to have the honor of seeing you here at dinner, I cannot help sending to you a copy of an address, which was moved by Mr. Pitt, on Monday last, and carried without a division.

Beresford sends me the following account, when he came home at 10 o'clock on Tuesday morning :—" Just come home from the house. Pitt moved the address. Lord Beauchamp opposed it. Eden, Fox, and Sheridan spoke on that side. None well. Jenkinson and Pitt on the other. The last more able than anything I have heard. The house cleared, but they were afraid to divide. Pitt then moved for the bill. Fox and Sheridan opposed it. Dundas attacked them, abused them, and stated their being afraid to divide. So leave was given. Never was there a more powerful argument than on our side."

I really hope that this address and the bill, which will contain, I trust, every essential point to be wished, and every declaration of legislative right of Ireland, which may be also expressed in equal strength in our bill as the assertion of Ireland for herself, will do away every symptom of jealousy and uneasiness, and will carry us through our part with ease and credit. Excuse this trouble and believe me to be, with the truest respect and regard, my dear sir, etc. THOS. ORDE."

### 66.—ORDE to PERY.

" 1785, Friday, 12th August.—I beg leave to trouble you with a sketch of two concluding clauses, which I have together in variation of those of the British bill, and to operate, I trust, as I think they ought, to remove every possible difficulty or objection from the minds of the most scrupulous assertor of Irish independence. As no intention ever could have been formed to do so wild a thing on the part of Great Britain as

to attempt a resumption of the right of making laws to bind Ireland, I can have no hesitation to propose any reasonable mode of proving the certainty of it.

I sincerely hope that you may approve this suggestion, and I heartily wish for your opinion upon it. I have the honor to be ever, etc. THOS. ORDE."

67.—ORDE to PERY.

"1785, Friday Morning, 19th Aug. Phœnix Park.—Private.—The Duke [of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant] came to town so late yesterday that I could not get an opportunity of seeing him, till after you had left it. I called at the house thinking that it would be better to speak than to write to you, but you was gone. I must therefore take this method of informing you that his grace would be very glad that you should delay for one day or two the communication of your retiring, till he can fix in his own mind an absolute determination about the time, which you have kindly put in his option, whether it should be now, or should be postponed to the commencement of the next session. I will repeat my opinion in favour of the present moment, which is indeed strengthened by the increased confidence of the report circulated through the town, that you have already resolved upon the measure. The effect of this must be nearly the same in respect to intrigues and engagements about the succession, as if the thing was really put in train, and I shall therefore see the Duke again this morning, and will endeavour to fix his mind to that determination. I will not afterwards delay for an hour the information to you, that you may take what steps you please, in regard to your wish of communication to particular friends. We must naturally be anxious to follow you as early as possible, because we should otherwise offend those who will of course conclude that your first notice would be to my Lord Lieutenant, and we might also give advantage to any persons who might take this opportunity, although I do not much apprehend it, of creating difficulty and opposition to our plan.

I beg pardon for giving you this trouble, and for the freedom I am encouraged by your kindness to use with you. I have the honor to be, ever, dear sir, with true respect and regard etc., THOS. ORDE."

68.—DUKE OF LEINSTER to PERY.

"1785, Aug. 19th. Baymount.—I was favoured with yours of the 18th instant, and was extremely sorry I was not at home when you did me the honor of calling on me. I now take the earliest opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for your mark of attention to me in thus early communicating to me your intentions of resigning the chair, which, I own, on the part of the public, I most sincerely lament. At the same time, any arrangement that adds to your welfare and comfort will always give me real satisfaction.—I am, dear sir, etc., LEINSTER."

69.—JOHN FOSTER to PERY.

"Dublin.—The Commons of Ireland have ordered me, as their Speaker, to communicate to you their thanks in their resolution which I have the honor of enclosing. I am happy in the pleasing task of conveying them, having long admired that conduct which is there so justly thanked, and often felt myself the indulgent effects of it. Allow me to add that it will be my ambition to make it the model of my conduct. I shall esteem myself truly fortunate if I shall succeed in the endeavour. —I am, etc., JOHN FOSTER."

Emly MSS.

70.—Grattan to Pery.

"[1785], Sept. 15. Tinehinch.—There was nothing which gave me more concern than the want of an opportunity of bearing the testimony of one man in common with everyone else to the merit of the person who lately filled the chair of the House of Commons.

The question for thanking him was so rapidly put and so greedily assented to that I had not a moment's time to gratify my private feelings, and to fulfil a public duty. Had I been fortunate to have done so, I should have said that the first man who in the Parliament of this age denied the supremacy of Great Britain, the first man who conceived a demand of [free] trade, and the person who in his closet formed and drew the most productive acts for the strength and prosperity of this country, was the late Speaker, who did good without looking to fame, and who tempered public zeal with a discretion that gave it decorum and efficacy. Could I form a wish to perpetuate the independency, character, and pride of our House of Commons, it would be that the members should retain in full the deliberative powers of the legislature, and that the person who fills its chair should resemble his predecessor.—I am, dear sir, etc., Henry Grattan."

71.—W. Ellis to Pery.

"1785, Septr. 13th. Paulton's.—By the mail which arrived this day at this place, I am authentically informed of your resignation of the chair of the House of Commons, and of the just sense that the house has expressed to his Majesty of your long and very able services in that capacity, and make no doubt that his Majesty will with pleasure gratify the wishes of his grateful Commons by not only granting dignity, which proceeds from himself, but also such honorable remuneration as is suitable to their munificence who promise to make provision for it.

Every circumstance in this event is a matter of sincere congratulation on my part. I have long been in pain that the laborious attendance upon this long session might possibly be injurious to your health, and that your spirit might carry you beyond your strength. I rejoice to see that you descend those steps of your chair in order to ascend others that lead to dignified and splendid repose. . . .

With the utmost truth and respect, etc., W. Ellis."

72.—Orde to Pery.

"1785, 24th Nov. London.—I am confident that you will readily admit my excuses for delay of writing to you even upon a subject in which you are personally interested, and that you will give me credit for the earnestness with which I should have sought to give you earlier intelligence of my proceedings here, if I had not been prevented by accidental circumstances.

I make use now of the first moment which is allowed me by his majesty's permission, to acquaint you of his very gracious and ready approbation of my Lord Lieutenant's request that his Majesty would be pleased to confer upon you and your heirs the dignity of a viscount of the kingdom of Ireland, and also to grant to you for your life a pension of 3,000*l.* per annum. You will conclude that his grace did not fail to transmit the address of the House of Commons to be laid before his majesty on this occasion, and that his majesty was induced by

the consideration of so very honourable a testimonial to confirm the sense which that body unanimously expressed of your faithful services, by a striking mark of his royal acknowledgment. I have no doubt, at the same time, of your being fully persuaded that my Lord Lieutenant felt a real satisfaction, as well in conveying the sentiments and wishes of the House of Commons, as in adding the warmest instance of his own opinion and desire to strengthen the impression of your services, and to obtain a just retribution for them. I will only add my very sincere hope that the steps which his grace has directed me to take, and which his majesty has been pleased to approve, have been satisfactory to you. His majesty is entirely convinced of the honorable zeal with which, my Lord Lieutenant has fully vouched, you will ever confirm the high idea entertained by him of your faithful attachment to his majesty, and to his government. I rejoice in every opportunity by which I can seek to mark the force of my respect and regard to you, but I experience the most sensible gratification in being thus authorised to give you intelligence of the completion of those proceedings, which, in every part, reflect so much honor upon you.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you so soon after your receipt of this letter, that I will not longer detain you at present than to desire that you will have the goodness to signify, by letter or otherwise, to Mr. Hamilton the title which you wish to take, that no further time may be lost in transmitting it to England and in completing the grant.—I have the honor to be, etc., THOS. ORDE."

73.—EARL OF ATHLONE to PERY.

"1786, 10th January. Utrecht.—Your great kindness towards me, by the intercession of your nephew, incourages me to make use of it once more in favour of my eldest son, who will have, I hope, the honour to give you this letter himself, in company with a friend of mine, Mustp. Guoinces, who is so kind to accompaynie him in his journey. My son intends to stai a couple of years in Ireland, and perhaps longer, if my matters do agree in my plan for him, for I should wisch to settel him if possible entirely in Ireland. I am very sorry that it has been out of my power to come over to Ireland and schow you peculiarly my thankfulness for all the great services you have been so kind to render me, but publicq business is in such a bustel in this miserable country, that it is impossible for me to stir even for a moment, but I hope to satisfy my wishes as soon as matters are settled.—I have the honor to be, etc., ATHLONE."

74.—ORDE to PERY.

"1786, 22nd April. Dublin Castle.—Mr. Orde presents his compliments to Lord Pery, and takes the liberty of sending him a draught of the Lord Lieutenant's speech proposed to be delivered at the close of the session; which he submits to his lordship's consideration for such changes and amendments as shall suggest themselves to his lordship."

75.—PERY to LORD RIVERSDALE.

"1786, 2 Octr. Edmundsberry.—I am informed that you have mentioned in a letter to Lord Buckingham that you was promised through Lord Sackville's recommendation and mine a priority to any other.

Your lordship certainly could not mean that any such promise was made to me, for no such or any other whatsoever was ever made to me upon the subject.

Emly MSS.

I do well remember, indeed, that you gave me a letter from Lord Sackville to you, and requested that I would shew it to Lord Buckingham, and enforce your pretensions to a peerage; which I accordingly did, and informed you of the result, which was that his Excellency said he paid much regard to Lord Sackville's recommendation and mine, but declined entering into any engagement upon the subject, especially as many applications of a similar nature had been made to him.

I am fully persuaded your lordship never meant to make any improper use of my name, but I am much concerned that you have made any use of it at all upon a subject of such delicacy, especially without apprizing me of your intentions; and, indeed, I cannot conceive what end such proceedings can answer to you, and am not without fears that it may make an impression to your prejudice, which, if my advice has any weight with you, you will endeavour to remove."

### 76.—Athlone to Pery.

"1786, 16 October. Amerongen.—I hope that my son has done himself the honor of waiting upon you in giving the letter I charged him with for you, recommending him to your kindness and protection. I am very sorry that the circumstances of this unfortunate country have put me in the impossibility of coming over myself to Ireland, but my presence is absolutely necessary in this moment. The party to which I am attached, to wit, that of the Prince of Orange, is in a very bad condition, and the faction that works to turn his serene Highness out is now the strongest, being supported by the great influence of the province of Holland and the court of France. What will [be] the end of all this is as yet uncertain, but it must occasion the ruin of this once flourishing country, and you [can] conceive easily, Sir, that an honest man cannot leave the party in such a scrape.

I had for myself a great wish to go and settle with my family in Ireland; but, having a large family of nine children and no great fortune, wich even by various circumstances is much deranged, it is impossible to think on it without a prospect of even a certainty of getting them an employment that gives me the possibility of living there. I should be very happy if you would be so kind to give me your opinion on this subject, and if you think such a thing impossible, then in wat manner I could settle my eldest son there. By his letters I see that it is very dear living in Ireland and of consequence impossible to me to keep him there a long time at my private expense. But if he could get some employment, or perhaps make a good marriage, it would be a greater advantage to me. I take the liberty to put this matter in your hands, in hopes that the great kindnes you was pleased to use for me in the beginning of my Irish business will be continued in a moment so interesting and so necessary for my welfare and that of my family. I am, with great regard, etc., Athlone.

### 77.—Pery to Athlone.

"1786, 6 Nov. Dublin.—I am very sensible how disagreeable, if not dangerous, your present situation must be, and sincerely wish that this country may afford to you and your family such an asylum as may be at the same time both honorable and advantageous for you to accept; but matters of this nature must commence with his majesty: I therefore recommend it to your lordship, as the most prudent course, to procure a recommendation to his majesty from the Prince of Orange, to whose

interest you have made a most honorable sacrifice of your own; to such a recommendation, I cannot doubt that his majesty will show due attention and will naturally intimate his pleasure to my Lord Lieutenant upon the subject. This effected, I think I can assure you of a perfect good disposition here towards your lordship, and if I can in any sort contribute to promote your lordship's interest it will make me very happy."

78.—ATHLONE to PERY.

"I am infinitely obliged to you for your very kind letter and information, which I have communicated to the Solicitor-General, and in consequence of which I have presented a memorial last Wednesday to his majesty, and it has been sent over to the Lord Lieutenant on Friday last. I take the liberty of sending to you a proof of my filiation which Mr. Wedderburn has judged entirely satisfactory.

I intended to send at the same time a legal proof of the naturalization of my grandfather, eldest son to the first earl of Athlone, who was naturalized here in the year 1696, and took the oath accordingly, thinking it would be of use to the act passed here the 26th day of November, 1772, in favour of the grandchildren of natural born subjects, though Mr. Wedderburn's opinion is not to make any use of it, if it can be avoided, and he promised me to write to you, sir, upon the subject, but as it should require much time and expense to get it in the due form, I will wait with it, till I know whether it is absolutely required in Ireland.

May I desire you, sir, to put this in the hands of an attorney, in in order to deliver it to the Advocate General, and write to me, as soon as possible, if any other proofs should be required. It should be abusing your kindness to me to trouble you with this matter any more. May I hope that you will be so good to supply me with your good advice. I have the honor to be, etc., ATHLONE."

79.—SIR E. NEWENHAM to PERY.

"1786, 7th December. Dublin.—I think it my duty, at this period to return your lordship my most sincere thanks for the many acts of friendship I experienced from you, who was not under the smallest compliment to me; for my supporting you in that chair, which you so honorably and impartially filled, was no more than what every honest man ought to do.

You interfered out of the purest motives in two particular cases on my account. I determined that you should be satisfied I was not unworthy of the confidence you reposed in me. I immediately paid Mr. Latouch his demand. Afterwards I constantly demanded a fair account from the crown. It has been reduced here, by their own officers, from 2700*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* to 1195*l.* 10*s.* 11$\frac{5}{8}$*d.*, and I have this day paid the last sum. But I aver to your lordship, on the faith and honor of a man, that if I had been permitted to settle the office before books and papers were taken from me, I should not have been charged with 160*l.* Dismissed in the manner I was—papers, books and accounts taken without my being present, was an actual robbery—and to this day I never got up my bank receipts, private or public letters, nor was I ever offered or permitted to view the accounts, documents, or books, from whence this variegated demand arose, until Mr. Beresford latterly ordered it.

EMLY MSS.

Permit me now, my lord, to assure you that I feel a grateful sense for your friendship, and flatter myself that my whole conduct in these affairs will shew that your confidence was not misplaced. I have the honor to be, etc., EDWARD NEWENHAM."

80.—SACKVILLE HAMILTON to PERY.

"[1787] Wednesday Night, [24 October.] Phœnix Park.—I am heartily sorry to inform your lordship that what we have feared has come to pass. The Duke of Rutland died this night. The chancellor will be in town to-morrow (I do not yet know at what hour), and I hope it will not be inconvenient to your lordship to meet him at my office. If he should not be there at twelve o'clock, I shall let you know at what hour he proposes being there. I have the honor to be, etc., S. HAMILTON."

81.—FOSTER to PERY.

"I have found the case of Lord Capel which we were rummaging the books for yesterday. On 18 May 1696, he was ill, and appointed Lord Blessington and Brigadier Wolsey Lords Justices during his illness, pursuant to a power in his patent.

Three days after, he was seized with convulsions. A meeting of the king's servants . . . was called to consider whether in case of his death that appointment would cease: ten were of opinion it would; four, that it would not, among whom was the Attorney and Solicitor General. Among the ten were many of the judges. He died on the 30 May, at Chapelizod, and Sir Chas. Porter, Lord Chancellor, was by the council chosen governor till his majesty's pleasure should be known according to the act 33 Hen. 8.

On 29 July following, Lord Chancellor, Earl of Mountrath, and Earl of Drogheda, were sworn Lords Justices. Very truly your lordship's, J. FORSTER."

Oct. 25 [1787].

"Lord Cutts died in the government [1707]. I will shew you his case: it is too long to write."

82.—LORD MACARTNEY to PERY.

"1788, March 24. Lissanoure, near Ballymoney.—I venture to trouble you with this letter, although I confess myself under great difficulties in doing so, but my experience of your good nature encourages me, and my regard for a very old acquaintance is a motive which I am sure you will approve in me, however you may disapprove of the gentleman for whom I am interested, but the more censurable he may be, the more kindness will you show in bearing gently upon him under his present affliction. Poor Baron Hamilton has, I find, got into a scrape by some precipitate conduct of his at the late assizes of Limerick. If the fact be as it is related, he has been very blameable indeed; but unless he is very much changed from what I knew him many years ago, his error must have proceeded from ill judgment and not from ill intention. Your influence must be of great weight everywhere, but at Limerick (which owes so much to your family and public spirit) I know it to be almost unbounded. Will you then, my dear lord, allow me to entreat that you will employ it there, for this once, in favour of my poor friend Hamilton. I promise you I

shall not readily intrude for a judge again (for I am no stranger to the censure some of those gentlemen are apt to incur), but allowance ought to be made for them, in favor of the benefit our constitution has received from their independence, which is perhaps as yet too novel for them not to be a little dazzled with. Perhaps, too, you may not like to see any provincial bar interest become too hard for the authority of the bench. I rely on your goodness to pardon me for all this freedom, and beg you will believe me to be, with the highest sentiments of esteem and regard, etc., MACARTNEY."

83.—HENRY QUIN, M.D., to PERY.

"1788, April 14.—I was highly gratified and obliged by your condescension in permitting a medal of your lordship to be struck by an ingenious artist, who has lain long in obscurity, but whose reputation I foresaw would be greatly advanced by exhibiting your likeness, which, in my opinion, he has executed in a very masterly manner.

I must also confess that I most ardently wished to be possessed of a lasting memorial of that friendship with which I have been honored by your lordship on all occasions; and, to speak truly, I feel a degree of vanity in transmitting to my posterity a medal of Lord Pery. The splendid medal presented to me this day, by your lordship's order to Mr. Mossop, I prize for the image it bears, that image to whose value gold itself, in my eyes, could make no addition. With the most unfeigned gratitude I receive it, and consider it as a new obligation, added to the many others you have conferred on, etc.

H. QUIN."

84.—LUCAN to PERY.

"1789, 31 Jan.—I thank you for your letter and am glad you got over safe. If Lord Buckingham proceeds on the 5th to chuse the Regent, it will throw things into some confusion, as the intention here is, I believe, to recall him as soon as the Prince is made Regent here, which, I understand he has a right to do, although he has no right to send over a new Lord Lieutenant till he is appointed Regent in Ireland, and Lords Justices are to be named to act during the interregnum. Lord S[pencer] will certainly go over Lord Lieutenant, although some circumstances have happened which have made it a doubtful matter, but they have been got over. Mr. Pelham is secretary, but I believe does not go to Ireland before the Lord Lieutenant, as it was thought it might have given offence if any such influence was made use of. I know the P[rince] sets his heart on being better treated in Ireland than he has been here, and my opinion is that the restrictions are not of consequence enough to us to make us adopt them, when it will disincline him to us in future, and when otherwise our chusing him unrestricted Regent will and ought to endear us to him for ever. I wonder how any one can be influenced by B. when he acts only from private views. I make no doubt but that the Regent will be very prudent in regard to making peers; as to patent officers also. Could not the two Houses of Parliament address him upon that subject after they have chosen him Regent? In regard to pensions, restricting him would be admitting the right of granting them, which I think we ought never to do. Things go on very slow. The Chancellor is ill, which will cause still more delay. The king as bad as [if he] were inclining to idiotcy, which they say is a bad sign. Yours ever, LUCAN."

EMLY MSS.

85.—LUCAN to PERY.

"1789, 12 Feb.—Lord Buckingham's defeat has given as much satisfaction here as it did in Ireland, for he is so happy to be detested in both kingdoms. Sir John Blaquiere deserves public thanks for cutting up the odious wretch as he did—but it seems inconsistent to have been abused by every one, supported by no one, and still addressed unanimously.

Lord Spencer will go over as soon as he can be appointed in form. He will not enter on his new government with illuminations, but I am certain he will leave it with regret from the people, as I think he will conduct himself with the approbation of the public.

You will hear much of the king's recovery, and he certainly has got a degree of recollection he has not hitherto had, but it is now more imbecility than madness. He is not sensible of his situation—never asks any questions, but of the weakest sort. The fear of Willis is greater than ever, and he is not allowed to see any one he ever saw before. There is an idea that he may be brought forward, or rather made to act by some secret manœuvre, so as to undo the Regency, soon after it is fixed; but I think it will not be attempted, and that they will not let him act for at least twelve months, even if his recovery should be ever so certain.

Next week will finish everything here, and I suppose the new administration will immediately take place. Mr. Pelham will go before Lord Spencer. I propose going with them. I was rejoiced to see your nephew's name in opposition to Buckingham, as it was reported here that your friends, particularly Lord Wells, were violently against the Prince of Wales. I always denied it. Lord Spencer intends to set out with a magnificent establishment, and to live in the best style, and to buy everything he can in Ireland. As to his politics, I hope his friends will give him their advice and opinion, and I am convinced he will follow whatever he thinks will contribute to the advantage of Ireland.

Pitt's people are much cast down at what has been done by your Parliament, and say it is all owing to Lord Buckingham's horrid character. Ever yours, my dear lord, etc., LUCAN."

86.—LUCAN to [PERY.]

"1789, Tuesday, 17 Feb.—The word in this day's bulletin is convalescence ,but I know Warren says that it was not meant to say by it that the king was better, for that in fact he is this day worse, but that some one of the faculty wished to change the word, and he consented to it. Warren told the Prince of Wales, not an hour ago that the king was worse, that his pulse was much agitated, and that a relapse may be expected,—and the Chancellor, who saw the king this morning, sent the Prince word by Warren that he found him far from being a sane man, and that if he continued to mend no faster than he had done since he saw him last, that he would not be fit to do business for these two years. This you may depend on to be true and the latest accounts.

What was done in Ireland gives the Prince the greatest pleasure, [and] creates a very contrary sensation amongst his opponents. I am told that he intends to make use of his powers in Ireland with the utmost reserve and caution, and not abuse the trust they have put in [him]; and I dare say he will act cautiously in order to show that the diffidence of him here is unjust and ill-founded,

I am glad your calculation of the House of Lords was wrong. As I see a great majority there upon the first question, I suppose that the unanimity of the Commons must have great influence. Adieu.—Yours ever, etc., etc.

LUCAN."

87.—LUCAN to PERY.

"1789, 7 Mar.—I have just received yours of the 2nd. I am sorry that those who I think wish well to their country, do not all draw together, and shall be truly sorry if Lord Buckingham do not meet with the punishment his insolence deserves. They do not intend to let him stay in Ireland, only just long enough to prevent the disgrace of his being obliged to leave the country too suddenly. You see they have adjourned till Tuesday, and have put it off to the very last moment, as they really do not know what to do, for certainly the king is not sane upon all topics, and not fit yet for publick business, but such as he is, they must I believe let him act, as they have not time now to contrive any other way of going on with the necessary affairs of the kingdom.

Yesterday, when one of his family paid him a visit (the queen present), he rambled exceedingly, and said he intended immediately to visit the camp at Potzdam, and to take the queen there and to drive her in a green chair with four ponies. He is fond of bawbles like a child, has 12 pairs of spectacles in his pocket, which he takes out and kisses. She endeavours to stop all this and cries, sir, sir, etc. This you may rely on. At times, I believe, he talks rationally, but his spirits are indolent, and he walked for four hours on Thursday through Richmond, with Willis at his heels and Lord Onslow with him, till he knocked them both up. I think if he was quite recovered he would be more pensive and sedate as reflecting on what is past, and his situation would naturally make him grave and serious. The Opposition do not intend to take any part, to rest silent and to let the ministers do what they think proper, and I believe ministers were never more embarrassed. I hear they do not agree in the cabinet, and that I believe, as the Chancellor and Pitt hate each other most cordially. The delegates cannot get their final answer before Wednesday next. They intend to sleep that night on the road, not to stay one hour longer here than needs must.—LUCAN."

88.—CHARLEMONT to PERY.

"1789, 21st Aug. Marino.—I called upon you in your house in town to return thanks for your letter; but finding that you are for a time settled in the country, I take this method of assuring you that, though your kindness in communicating your intention most certainly merits my acknowledgement, my love for Ireland will not permit me to receive that communication without the most sincere concern. The loss of such a Speaker will be a real loss to the nation. Neither is the prospect of our getting you among the lords, where your presence will be not only useful but necessary, sufficient to console me. I am, you well know, more of a commoner than of a peer.

The consideration that the quitting your present laborious station will necessarily contribute to your ease and consequent health is the consolation of, dear sir, etc., CHARLEMONT."

89.—PERY to LORD HAWKESBURY.[1]

"1790, 14th Decr. Dublin.—On reading the representation of the lords of the committee of council upon the state of the laws for regulating the importation and exportation of corn, I observe that though some doubt is expressed relative to the expediency of allowing wheat to be imported

[1] Robert Bankes Jenkinson, subsequently Earl of Liverpool.

Emly MSS.

into Great Britain upon low duties from Ireland only, when the price thereof is at or above 46 sh., and other sorts of corn, when the prices shall be in like proportion, the said regulation to take place whenever the Parliament of Ireland shall make a similar regulation in favour of British corn, yet the opinion of the committee seems to preponderate in favor of the measure, especially if coupled with another regulation, to allow wheat to be exported without bounty, when the price thereof is between 44. and 46.; and as no particular objection to the measure is stated by the committee, it may be hoped it will take place in the whole as to all sorts of corn, the Parliament of Ireland having already made a similar regulation in favor of British corn. But if any unforeseen obstacle shall prevent its being carried into execution with respect to wheat and other sorts of corn, of which Great Britain generally produces sufficient quantities for its own consumption, yet oats and oatmeal seem to deserve a different consideration as Great Britain does not produce a sufficient quantity thereof in any one year for its own consumption, and it cannot be of any prejudice to Great Britain to allow Ireland a preference to foreigners in that article, and I have reason to believe would be of considerable advantage to the latter.

I make no apology for troubling you upon this subject, knowing your disposition to promote the interest of this country in everything which does not appear to interfere with that of Great Britain.

Upon the same principle, I must request your thoughts upon another subject of still more importance to this kingdom, indeed I may say to the empire. The consumption of home-made spirits by the lower ranks of the people here is encreased to such an alarming degree as to threaten the most fatal consequences. It not only destroys the health, morals, and industry of the people, but it endangers the safety of the state and is the cause of those tumults and outrages, which you see detailed in the public prints. To find out a remedy for this evil, which has been too long neglected by government, perhaps from too much attention to revenue, seems to be very difficult, but I hope it is not impracticable.

If any man can, I am persuaded you can point out the probable means of applying a remedy to this disorder. I therefore most earnestly request your thoughts upon this subject and I shall consider [it] as a strong instance of your friendship, which I have already experienced.

"Copy to Lord Hawkesbury."

## 90.—Hawkesbury to Pery.

"1790, Dec. 25th. London.—I was happy to receive a letter from you, as it always gives me pleasure to hear of you, or to be honored with your commands. I laboured earnestly last year to induce the members of our House of Commons to give a preference to Ireland in the importation of corn. I proposed it in the representation of the committee at council in the manner that appeared to me to be the most likely to ensure success. I offered the farmers a boon in return for it by allowing them to export corn at a higher price than was before permitted. The country gentlemen accepted the boon and made it part of the new system, but they would not allow Irish corn to be imported as I had proposed. I am clear that this was a wise measure, and that it might have been of some service to Ireland, without being of any detriment to Great Britain, particularly as far as relates to oats, of which sort of grain this country in no year grows so much as it consumed; but the Scotch country gentlemen and those of the North West of England would not consent to it. There is now another

proposition made, but of a more doubtful nature, viz. to allow the importation of Irish corn at the present prices, but to stop the importation of the like sorts of grain from other countries, till the price per quarter is 3 or 4 shillings higher. This measure would have the effect of raising the price of corn in this country and even at the present prices the poor are often starving, and there is frequent danger of popular insurrections. In a business of so much risk, I cannot venture to have a decided opinion. The House of Commons must take upon themselves this measure. There will be some country gentlemen for it. The members of cities or manufacturing towns will be in general against it.

With respect to the other business you mention, I remember when there was some complaint in England of the drunkenness or profligacy of the common people from the habit of drinking drams. This was many years ago. Various measures were taken to correct this evil, but all were ineffectual, till very high duties were laid on spirits, and, since that was done, the complaint has ceased, and the English have been in general a sober people. At the same time that the duties on spirits were raised, it would be wise to lower those on beer, particularly the smaller sorts, so as to lower the price and encourage the use of it. I know that there are objections to this plan, arising principally from considerations of finance, but it is the best that occurs to me.

It gives me great pleasure to find that I am in your lordship's remembrance. I have the honour to be, etc. HAWKESBURY."

91.—LORD ALDBOROUGH to PERY.

"1798, Jany. 10th. Great Denmark Street, Rutland Square [Dublin]. —My Lord, I was to wait upon your lordship this morning with my acknowledgments for the good offices you did me yesterday, and on Lord Clare informing me the only way of getting rid of this business was by an address of the lords to his Excellency for a *nolle prosequi* to stop further proceedings, I hoped he would make the motion. His lordship declined that, but, if I understand words, he said he would make no opposition to such a motion, and that he had no obloquy to me. To-day, however, he followed me into a shop to tell me that, from a conversation with Lord Carleton, he found I expected from him what he took that opportunity to undeceive me in, for that he intended to carry matters to every extremity, and had sent me a letter to that effect. I yet hope he will think better of it and return to his milder sentiments of yesterday. If not, I trust the lords will not see their dignity wounded through the sides of at least an unintentional offending a member of their body, and if your lordship would be so good as to make the above motion for me, what would come from a nobleman of such weight, humanity, integrity, and honour would have great influence and effect. If I can obtain this boon of respectability, I must intreat your lordship's early attendance at the house on Monday, but was it to be attended with the smallest injury of a health I hope God will long preserve, I do assure your lordship I would suffer the utmost rigor of persecution sooner than put you to such inconvenience. I have the honor to be, etc.—ALDBOROUGH.

P.S. My eyes are weak. I am near my sixtieth year, which will apologise for this bad writing, etc."

Endorsed: "Under all the circumstances which have passed, the Chancellor feels it impossible on his part to say anything upon the subject of Lord Aldborough's message."

# THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THEODORE J. HARE, ESQ., OF BORDEN WOOD, HANTS.

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FRANCIS HARE to his COUSIN [GEORGE NAYLOR].

1704, August 14. Hochstadt.—For want of paper I can give you but a short account of the greatest victory that has been won in the memory of man; after five days continued march we came on Monday to Munster, the Elector having passed the Danube before and being encamped strongly on this ground, their right at Dillingen and the left at this place. On Tuesday morning early my Lord Duke reconnoitred their camp, and some French forces appearing there was some appearance of action, but they retiring upon our army drawing out, nothing was done that day; it is probable they did not know we had joined Prince Eugene and hoped to have engaged him apart. Early yesterday morning the whole army marched in nine columns, first to the left a detachment of 20 battalions commanded by Lord Cutts and Brigadier Row, and 15 squadrons of dragoons commanded by Major General Wood (who has escaped perfectly in this hot service and is much your humble servant), these were to attack a village which was the enemy's head quarters on the left of this place; then there were two columns of English horse, then two of English foot, next two columns of German horse, and last two columns of German foot. The right having much further to march, and the way being bad, the left came up with the enemy long before the right. They came within reach of their batteries before nine, and stood a very fierce and quick fire till past one, till the right could be ready, which lost us a great many men: for they had many batteries with which they flanked us on the left, and fired very furiously. About a quarter after one the small shot began from the detachment under Cutts and Wood, between two and three it began in other parts of the left. The French, notwithstanding they were surprised, and thought so little of our attacking them that they foraged in the morning, yet had disposed all things in very good order, and having a very strong camp with a rivulet before it, pressed our men so hard that before three I thought we had lost the day. They drew all their force down to the village to repulse the detachment before mentioned, the action in other parts of the left was soon over, the heat of it, and all was drawn to the village, wherein they put 28 battalions and 12 squadrons, and they had besides hedges about it and those palisaded. This made the action in that part very obstinate, and a great while doubtful. Between five and six we that were spectators had the news of Count Tallard's being taken prisoner, and by this time all action in the left was quite over except in this village where the French behaved themselves extremely well. At last (about eight I believe) they were forced to capitulate and were made prisoners of war. These 26 battalions were the whole body of foot that came with Tallard, and every man with the 12 squadrons of dragoons is killed or taken prisoner; this you may depend on as true: what were killed in other places we can yet make no judgment of their number nor of our own loss. Brigadier Row is mortally wounded, Lord N[orth] and Grey dangerously wounded. Philip Dormer was shot in the thigh and is since dead, his brother is wounded but not mortally. Major General Wood was for several hours said to be killed, but is not hurt, he was all

day within half-musket shot, which makes his escape very extraordinary. I do not pretend to give you a list of officers wounded or killed and therefore name no more. We have lost no general officer, as I hear, besides Brigadier Row, but a great many men. My Lord Marlborough was everywhere in the action to encourage our men and exposed to infinite dangers. One of the first cannon shot came between his horse's legs and beat up all the dirt into his face, but God be thanked has received no wound. What Prince Eugene did in the right wing I cannot give any particular account, but he was everywhere in it and was twice or thrice repulsed, and then carried it, but my Lord Duke was forced to assist him with some forces from the left. This at present is all the account I can give of this glorious action, which for the length of it, the number of men killed and taken, and its consequences, cannot easily be matched. It is a very entire victory in all parts of it. Some of them retired to the castle of this town—about 60—but this morning they have surrendered. There was one battalion of Bavarians and five French cut in pieces in the right, and they say Count Arco is killed; but I know nothing certain of what was done there. The French are blamed for nothing in their conduct but in not bringing their troops down to the rivulet to hinder our passing it, which our generals all blame them for, and their own officers that we have prisoners agree in it. What will be the immediate consequences of this success you shall hear by the next if I can tell you. In the meantime I remain most affectionately yours

F. H.

This is sent with the express my Lord sends the Queen.

Mr. Wyndham is wounded in the thigh and leg, but it is thought not dangerously.

Almost all the generals were against my Lord's attacking the enemy, they thought it so difficult.

There were seven battalions cut off and thirty squadrons driven into the river, besides what were killed and taken at the village which they call Schuningen.

The right wing of the Germans has suffered more than we have. The Imperial horse behaved themselves very ill, and if my Lord had not succoured them, had lost the day. The left wing of the enemy stood but little after they knew the right was routed.

Prisoners.

Marshal Tallard.
Marquis Montperu, Major General.
D'avalliere, Brigadier.
Marquis de Meirevon, Lieutenant General.
Marquis de Blansack, Major General.
Monsieur de Hautefeuille, General of Dragoons.
Count de Rousy, Lieutenant General.
Monsieur Duson, Marechal de Camp.
Monsieur de Monfort, a general officer.

We are now at Steinheim and I believe shall follow the army.

1705, Saturday July 18. Tirlemont.—We are just come to this place having this morning passed the French lines with very little opposition. The army marched from Lens about ten last night, before eleven the Duke was on horseback himself. There was a strong detachment of horse and foot sent before to possess themselves of the proper posts and

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between four and five the army, taking to the right, which was not expected, to the great surprise of the French appeared before the lines near Leydeshem (?) near Landen and near Hespen and the villages adjacent. We had been there two hours sooner but that the general who led the march in the night lost his way. As it was, we were too soon for the French, and with the loss of half a dozen men passed those lines which was thought would have cost at least as many thousand. Our men were over them before one thought they were at them. There was in the plain on the other side about 25 squadrons of the enemy appeared, many of them Bavarians and all in armour, and yet behaved themselves so ill that they charged but twice and immediately after, each ran with the utmost precipitation. They were drawn up in one line, our horse that opposed them in two, the first entirely English, who behaved themselves with the greatest bravery and with hardly any loss destroyed six or seven hundred, which was a great number considering the little time they stood. They began between six and seven and over in a manner in less than an hour there were many taken, among them three general officers, one of them the Marquis of Allegre, a lieutenant general, my Lord J. Hay took with his own hands. His regiment (of dragoons) charged the French twice without the loss of one man. The number of standards, colours, and cannon you will have from the account that will be published. There never was so great success so cheaply bought. The French had suffered in their foot more than their horse but that their foot which was behind the horse retired before, our foot could get up, but for want of that they escaped.

Only one regiment was taken in this place. This success was so entirely owing to the Duke, and the design kept so private that he dared not offer to persuade the Deputies of the States with it, but perfectly bubbled them into it. The Dutch and we marched separate, and Monsieur Auverkerque was to make a false attack while the Duke with his army was to try if there were room for a true one. They readily give the Duke the glory of it, and own they knew nothing of it. It is to be hoped the mortification this will give Prince Lewis will rid us of him, and then if the Imperial forces were in better hands, he might venture again to the Moselle, though I believe this success will fill his hands with business here. But the present fill us with too much joy to give us time to look forward: he will not fail to do it whose business it is. I have more letters to write and therefore will break off. I wrote to you last post under cover to Mann. This comes by Colonel Duret whom the Duke sends express to the Queen. Service to friends. Adieu.

This design was kept so private, that the Duke was surprised to find the Dutch had any intimation of it and last night just before he marched, heard him enquire how it came about.

1705, Thursday, July 30. Meldert, near Tirlemont. — You will expect to hear from me, and therefore though the news be not what you might expect I cannot omit giving you some little account of it. The Duke on Tuesday had so concerted matters and managed the Deputies of the States as to bring matters to bear, and accordingly the army decamped last night between ten and eleven with intention to pass the Dyle at Neer-Eysche and Corbeck, a detachment of about 18 battalions and 20 squadrons being sent away in the afternoon before who came to their appointed posts about three in the morning, found the posts slightly guarded as the Duke had been informed, and made their bridges with little opposition, the men they found there soon retiring and the army though they lost their way in the night came up time

enough to sustain them. In the detachment four regiments were English, the rest foreigners. The English forces lying on the right and the attack being on the left they made the rear. This was the disposition and everything promised a glorious day for it appeared the French were again surprised, their army did not decamp till after midnight and in the morning when we had many battalions over and had obliged the forces that were near to retire they appeared on the . . . . . and not at all formed. In short things were in that posture, that it might fairly be said we had the point if we could have kept it, but some who owed the Duke an ill turn for not having a share in the secret of the lines were resolved to disappoint this, and when things were thus promising the Dutch forces were ordered to retire, which all did having suffered very little loss, which is imputed principally to Slangenberg, who according to his peculiar custom gave orders and was very impertinent without regard to his superiors. It is the manner of the man, and as he is who is said particularly to have resented the affair of the lines, a fine time a general has to serve with such people. This has caused in the Duke's army a very great and general resentment, and such is his good nature, that others felt more of it than himself, though it has cost him so much diligence and thought and management to bring it bear.

It is really so provoking, such usage, that nothing but the affection he has for the service of the Queen could prevail with him to continue in so troublesome a command. Men that consider will see his part this campaign has been very glorious, but the multitude don't use to think. I do not know when we may hope for such another opportunity the first fruits of our late success being so unhappily disappointed.

I have had no answer to my two last.

1705, Monday, August 3. Meldert.—As to the news you mention in the Postman the P.S. of Mr. Auverkerque's letter pretty plainly implies they knew little of the matter. Slangenberg was so little apprehensive of it that he wrote to Holland a letter of complaint upon the Dutch army's being sent over the Mehaigne as if it were exposing them to the French, and endangered their being cut off; and as to the Deputies of the States, I believe I told you, I am sure I did some I wrote to, that the Duke was surprised to find they knew anything of it. I heard him while he was at supper just before he marched enquire of Mr. Cardonel how they got any information of it, which they had it seems from a Dutch officer who was to be employed in that service. As to the councils of war, no doubt but there were consultations, but that was only to feel their pulses and manage them as well he could, but he kept his true resolution from them, and at last made them believe he would only march with his army towards the lines, and see if any advantage could be taken, the Dutch army were only to be lookers on and make the appearance of an attack in another place, both our own and the French army thought we were marching to St. Frond. I have heard it said since that the Dutch were drawn into it as you would manage children, and so they were in the last attempt which would certainly have succeeded had it been to have been made by our army instead of theirs, but as the armies lay that could not be. The Dutch were perfectly frightened upon seeing the French army appear upon the hills, and when the Duke sent to Monsieur Auverkerque's to know whether they should push for it, they were to a man against it and for retreating; Slangenberg was forwarder in declaring for it, the rest perhaps would have boggled at it, and nobody would have cared to have spoken first for it. The blame is principally laid on him and another who I believe is Topp. While this resolution

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of the Dutch generals was bringing to the Duke the body of forces they had over (at Neer-Ysche) push the French that opposed them with great bravery and made them give way in so much confusion, that had the resolution of retreating been delayed half a quarter of an hour longer, it is probable it had not been taken, but then it was too late. Lieutenant General Henkelom who commanded the Dutch forces that were over had not his opinion asked, though he was the properest judge at that time, and, had he been consulted, would, as it since appears, have been for maintaining his ground, which must have ended in all human probability in gaining the point. God knows when we shall have such another opportunity. The Duke thinks hard for one and labours indefatigably, but to what purpose, if when we come to execution, we have an ally that will hazard nothing.[1] How long we are likely to continue in this camp or whither we shall go next, one can as yet give no guess at. The Duke we are sure is for losing as little time as may be.

Monsieur Hompesch returned from the States but the night before our last march and yesterday was sent back to the Duke again.

The Italian news we had last week by way of Switzerland proves false, but I have seen since a letter from Prince Eugene of the 17th giving an account of his taking of Soncino and having sent troops towards the Mantuan and that he was preparing to pass the Po or the Adda as should be most for his advantage. Letters to-day dated the 22nd from Milan say that they were in expectation of a battle, and that they then heard great noise of cannon from Savoy, that the communication between Castagnetto and Chivas continued the 19th, which was longer than was expected and like to do so. There is no news from the Rhine worth mentioning. Villars continues at Weissemburg and may do so, for any disturbance Prince Lewis will give him we should be glad you could send us any good news from Scotland though I daresay we shall sooner send good news to you than receive any from that quarter from you. The pamphlet was we hear very warm, and the angry party threatened terribly, though we have not seen any of those papers here.

Lord Sunderland who came upon us just as we were marching to the last action, and jump into all the hurry of an army the first moment, leaves us to-morrow to pursue his journey to Vienna. Having been shown all that is to be seen here, the Duke showed him on Saturday the French lines, and to-day the army is reviewed. He has brought a parcel of notable Whigs along with him, Hopkins, Furnesse, Buckingham, and about half a dozen more, which I suppose you know better than I can tell you, therefore I shall say nothing of them, but wish he had come without them, as thinking their company will not much advance the Hungarian mediation.

1705, Thursday, August 20. Basse Wavre.—Though you will have heard the event of our late enterprise before this comes to you, yet your curiosity I know will not be satisfied without having, imperfect as it is, what account I can give you.

We marched on Monday from Genap, towards the Bois de Soignies, the right to Hulpen and the left to Braine-la-leud, and before them General Churchill encamped with a detachment of 20 battalions and as many squadrons. Next morning by three they began their march towards the enemy and passed the Hulpe near Hulpen and then wheeling to the left ascended the wood through a very narrow defile. I call

[1] There is nothing to be hoped for, till the two armies, the French and conf. . .lye so that something may be attempted on the right and then I do not at all question the success.

it ascending for it rises pretty steep from the plain under it. The detachment marched to the left of Hulpen through a great causeway that leads to Groenendale near which place they were to turn out of the wood and come upon the flank and rear of the enemy, while the army attacked them in front. They came near Groenendale about ten, where they found the French had cut down several great trees and thrown them cross the way to hinder their march, and at the opening out of the wood there were posted 18 battalions ready to oppose them. Word being sent to the Duke of the difficulties by repeated messages, they were ordered to retire and join the army, though during these messages another project was proposed, instead of going from Groenendale along the side of the wood to come upon the rear of the enemy that they should march to Holser, where they might be ready to flank the enemy when the attack should be made between that and Over-Ysche by part of the army. This was approved by the Duke, and the former order to retire countermanded, but the new order came too late, and those it came to, chose to adhere to the first and so retired. In the meantime the army having passed the defile and wood, which was between a quarter and a half a league over and very passable, they came into a large plain and found the enemy very strongly posted as they expected, having the wood on their left and rear, and the Ysche before them on which were several villages and the ground full of inclosures and hollow ways, and all filled with men, with batteries of cannon near them, from Neer-Ysche to the wood. The army was formed in line of battle about two o'clock, and the Duke and Monsieur D'auverkerque visited the several posts they intended to attack, which they proposed to do at the same time in four places, Neer-Ysche, Lembecq, Heelyberge and Over-Ysche, and orders were given to the Army to go on, and nothing was wanting but to get the consent of the Deputies of the States, which one would have thought might have been depended on, since they did not oppose the expedition in the beginning of it. Monsieur D'auverkerque did what he could to prevail with them, but to no purpose; they had consulted with their other Generals of whom that beast Slangenberg was very noisy and cried out that it was sacrificing their army and an impracticable enterprise; so the Duke after all his pains was forced to desist from it, though from the dryness of the ground and the goodness and superiority of our troops, there was a very hopeful prospect of success. It is true the camp was very strong, and it would have cost a great many men, but it was very well worth it, and could not easily have miscarried, for the enemy seemed to be in the greatest confusion, perpetually changing their motions this way and that, and not knowing what to stick to, and in many places they appeared very thin, so that had they been attacked in several posts at once, it is impossible to think they could have maintained them all. The Duke was some hours in endeavouring to gain the consent of the Deputies, and used all methods, sometimes fair words and sometimes hard ones, and at last told them that if they would consent he would carry on the troops himself, that if they neglected this opportunity they could never answer to it to God or their masters, and that this should be the last time he would lead them to an enemy, and he has since expressed his mind to this purpose in a letter to the States. The army encamped that night upon the groun d they were then upon, and next day came hither, the enemy not offering to disturb our march or fall on our rear. Thus fell this noble enterprise, the success of which would have been of so much consequence to the common cause, the last that will be made this year. The French will in a day or two have received a great detachment from the Rhine which.

was to be at Philippeville on the 18th. We have nothing now left but to level the rest of the lines and take Leeuwe, all our comfort is the campaign will it is likely be something the shorter and what is left of it will pass away very easily. This is what account I can give you of this matter in the haste I am in, I would have written more largely but have been pretty much interrupted, and the post will be going soon. We shall stay here a day or two longer then move towards Tirlemont. The French were so apprehensive that we should attack them the next morning that in the night they altered the disposition of their army, made new batteries and were entrenching all the next day as hard as they could.

1705, Monday, August 24. Corbais.—Preparations are making for the siege of Leeuwe which will be more difficult than was expected if the weather proves as it threatens, very wet. We shall leave this camp on Wednesday and go to Ramey near Judoign for convenience of forage. Letters to-day from the Rhine tell us Prince Lewis is marched at last towards the French and they are retired.

And this I suppose is all we shall hear from that side, though the Palatine and Prussian forces stay with him, we having men enough for the business we have to do here. Letters from Prince Eugene of the 7th say he intended to march the 8th or 9th to try to pass the Adda, so that the next letters from thence may bring some considerable news. I have not yet seen what account the French give of our late march towards them, but can assure you the account of our former attempt in the Paris Gazette in the article from Brussels is all over ridiculously false, and perhaps that was the reason they gave it from Brussels and not from their camp.

They have great reason to bless themselves for our not attacking them, for if we had, it is morally certain we had carried our point, which had ruined perhaps their army, or at least have left us masters of the country, but nothing noble and enterprising can be expected when a general's hands are so tied; though our good people of England it is likely will lay the fault on him who has done his utmost to prevent it: this may produce more pamphlets against winter. I have read the memorial which falls short of my expectations in everything but the ill manners it is writ with. I do not know how the answer is liked among you, but in my poor judgment upon a hasty reading it seems to be well written.

1705, Thursday, August 27. Nunnery of Ramey.—We came hither yesterday, and if we cannot find forage I believe shall continue in this camp some days. In the afternoon arrived the English letters of Friday last, by which I received yours with the enclosed, pray when you write to Sir Thomas give him my service and thanks for it. I wrote to you last post in answer to yours of the 7th since which we have no news from our own army, but received two mails last night from Vienna and Italy. The first brings nothing material, but that the defeat of the malcontents mentioned in the former letters is come to but a small matter, killing 4 or 500, and taking some cannon, and dispersing the rest. Indeed this is all victories over them can come to ordinarily, for they are little better than a rabble, and if a number happen to be knocked on the head on the first attack, the rest run for it. Letters from Italy are of more consequence, which I chose to send you some account of, because the common relations will it is likely have a great mixture of falsehood in them, as is usual on the first notices of such news. The Duke received last night a letter from Prince Eugene with a hasty relation enclosed, dated at Treviglio the 17th (four days sooner than we

usually have our Italian letters) the substance of which is to this purpose, that on the 10th he marched from Romanengo and by two great marches came near Concesa and Trezzo on the Adda, with intention to pass between those two places, having gained by these marches more than twice 24 hours of the enemy; but when he came there met with obstacles not to be overcome; upon which he ordered the river to be reconnoitred higher, and some miles above, was told there was a very convenient place, the more so because the enemy's line along the Adda in those parts was ill guarded, and at Caradigo a palace within half cannon that off the river there was but one French battalion with a few horse, hither he ordered his boats to make a bridge, which was to be begun early the 14th in the morning, but the carriages breaking by the way, the detachment arrived by break of day, the boats did not come up till noon, and it was five o'clock before three boats could be laid; by this unfortunate delay the enemy had time to advance towards the place, and possess themselves of a rising ground whence they cannonaded the Imperialists with some small pieces; besides, they found the river so rapid that considering the smallness of their boats it was thought impossible to pass either the horse or artillery over them, however to amuse the enemy and oblige them to draw their troops that way, he went on with his bridge and the next day finished it, and in the mean time marched with his army to the camp they came last from, at Brembato, with orders to the detachment to ruin the bridge in the night and rejoin the army next morning by break of day he decamped to gain the plain between Treviglio and Cassano before the enemy, and on the march had notice that the Grand Prior was on this side the Adda near Cassano, with above 20 battalions and 30 squadrons, having Cassano and the Adda behind him and a great canal before him, about one the advanced guard of the Imperialists fell in with some of their foragers, of whom they killed and took a good number, and about half an hour after one began to attack the Grand Prior. The Imperialists fell on with that bravery that they pushed them on the right in a little time, and make themselves masters of their bridge, by which and through the water they got over the canal, but the enemy rallying obliged to quit the bridge and retire; but the Imperialists charging them a second time put them into great confusion, and forced them over the Adda, and had the left had as much success, they had gained an entire victory: they at the beginning made as furious an impression as the right, so that several battalions of the enemy began to beat a chamade, but not being able to second their first assault, their arms and ammunition being wetted in passing the canal, the enemy returned to their fire, which continued with cannon and small arms above an hour with incredible fury. The right of the French had two canals before them, the first the Imperialists passed but the second was too deep; and a great many were drowned in attempting it. In this posture the army halted for three hours, and then retired to their camp at Treviglio. They were in possession of three of the enemy's cannon during the whole action but could not bring them off for want of horses; the account ends with telling you that they have taken many prisoners, standards, colours, &c. but names no numbers. Count Loriangen (?) the General of the horse was killed in this action and Prince Eugene slightly wounded behind the right ear. He promises a more particular relation by the next. His letter is written after this relation in which he says he understands since that they had their whole army there, the Duke of Vendosme having joined his brother with the forces he had on the other side the Adda, and says he shall order Te Deum to be sung for this success, gives a great commendation of the bravery of his men, who

threw themselves in whole battalions into the water, up to the neck, and representing how extraordinary a thing it was an enemy should be so beat in such an advantageous post. The letter is only signed by him, he excuses it's not being in his own hand by reason of his wound, &c.

This is all the account we have yet of this affair, which we think to be the more considerable on Prince Eugene's side, that the French have not made a *feu-de-joie* for it, they having news from Italy sooner than we can. They used to do it when they have the worst of an action, at least if it be a drawn business, which therefore we conclude this is not; indeed we did think they had made a *feu-de-joie* for it last night, but by a Trompette come to day from their army we understand it was not in their army, but from the town upon account of St. Louis day, we hope we shall have at least this advantage from this action, that will oblige them to draw more forces from Savoy, and by that means put off the siege of Turin. There will be a great reinforcement sent to Prince Eugene from the Rhine, which it is to be hoped will come time enough to enable him to make his ground, who is at present in great danger of being overpowered.

I suppose the Duke's letter to the States you have printed in England, as well as it has been at the Hague, which the States are not a little nettled at, and, I believe, will be puzzled how to answer, which they seem to take time for, none being yet come. This action of Prince Eugene is a great reproach to them, his attempt being ten times more hazardous than ours would have been here where a superior army sits with its hands tied and has nothing to do, to the great mortification of him who is at the head of it.

To-morrow we are to have a *feu-de-joie* for Prince Eugene himself.

P.S. Another French trompette that came hither this evening who is a very sensible fellow and may be depended on, assures the French did make a *feu-de-joie* last night, pretending the advantage was on their side.

1705, October 12. Herenthals.—I told you in a former letter of there being some thoughts of the Duke's going to Vienna, the Emperor having written to desire it both to him and to his ministers at London and the Hague, but then he thought it would come to nothing, it being so great a distance and it being so desirable he should be in England at the opening of the new parliament, but as the Emperor has since written again very pressingly, I presume the Queen has consented and the States are willing to it. He went hence yesterday for the Hague, to confer with them, how far they will empower him to settle with the Emperor's generals a scheme for the next campaign, which if they do to his mind, so that he may make his journey to some good purpose, you may expect in ten days to hear he has begun it. He returns hither on Friday. There will be no convenience for my going with him, nor if there were have I the least inclination to go, having seen the Emperor and most of the great men of that Court already, so that by means of this journey I may be with you a few days sooner than I expected.

We have it to-day for certain news that the Germans have taken Haguenau, though for want of investing the place of all sides, the garrison who could have no other terms but to be prisoners of war, have all made their escape out of the town, except about 400 out of 2,000. We have the same good news of Barcelona, but that I do not look upon so certain, though it were much more to the purpose if it was. Some regiments of the German army are actually defiling towards Italy.

1706, April 30. Hague.—You have heard I conclude from N. Mann of my safe arrival on this side and I have little to add now. As to our motions, nothing yet appears, but I suspect from some little indications, that a long march is contriving. HARE MSS.

P.S.—The French letter tell us from Barcelona, that the French King received an express from thence the 24th while at dinner and went with Monsieur Chamilard into his closet, and when he came out he said nothing but, that the express came from Catalonia, and that all things went well there, which from his saying no more we conclude they do not, but the news they bring from Italy is bad enough, that M. Vendosme has beat up the German quarters, killed 3,000, and taken 800 prisoners, all the comfort we have is, to hope, that when our own letters come we shall find it is not quite so bad. Brigadier Cadogan went on Wednesday —— express to Hanover.

J. Walpole to——.

1706, May 9. Siege of Barcelona.—Affairs of such consequence never had so different a prospect within the compass of so small a time, as has now been seen in these of this part of the world not above two days ago there scarce appeared one speck of blue to give hopes not only of the preservation of the town but even of the King's person, and consequently of the whole Spanish Monarchy. And yesterday the Heavens brought with our fleet and forces life and spirit to the whole affair and give us leave to expect from the utmost despair the security of all.

By the opposition of winds and sometimes of calms the whole fleet consisting of 50 sail of line of battle was obliged to anchor in the Bay of Algacos near Tortosa the 6th instant, the next day Mr. Stanhope received letters from the King of Spain dated the 4th with pressing instances for assistance, that Fort Mountjoy had been taken 14 days, that the breach was made, and daily expected to be mounted, and that it was impossible for the town to hold out or his person to be safe without an immediate relief; nothing could be done without a fair wind, which in a very few hours blowed to our wishes and brought us yesterday in the afternoon to an anchor before this place with the whole fleet and all the forces and recruits from England and Ireland. Never did succours come in so seasonable a juncture for the enemies had besieged the King here who was resolved to stand by his capital to the very last, 35 days, and had made two breaches; their approaches were brought to the covered way from which to the breaches, they had not 150 yards to march to the assault, when they first sat down before the place, the strength of the garrison was not 800 men; there having been no apprehensions they would have ventured upon this siege, without having first taken Lerida or Gerone. The breach that way made when our forces took it was not yet repaired, and Mountjoy in the same condition they had left it. The King showed more concern for the security of the town than of his person and used the utmost diligence to get reinforcements thrown in, to set the inhabitants to work and to encourage them by his own example to make a vigorous resistance. My Lord Peterborough put about 7 or 800 men by boats into the town, and the Garrison of Gerone with a great number of Miguelets had the good fortune to get in. But, at last, the Garrison did not exceed two thousand five hundred men of regular troops, and of them not above 7 or 800 English, six hundred were put into the fort which the enemy attacked first, and expected to take it sword in hand, as our

HARE MSS. forces had done before, but after a severe repulse they thought fit to proceed by regular approaches and having raised upon several batteries above 20 pieces of cannon took it at last with the expense of 22 days and a great many men, and had not my Lord Donegal been unfortunately killed and some troops given way sooner than they ought it might have held out longer. They next began to play their batteries with upwards of fourscore cannon against the town and though their approaches were made with much caution and regularity, they must with their continued fire in two or three days more have made great holes in the rampart and have endangered the place inevitably, the garrison being reduced to less than 2,000 men, and they constantly upon duty behind or near the breaches, the rest of the town was guarded by the inhabitants, whose spirit and resolution against the threatenings of no quarter, or kind offers of pardon, were entirely supported by the presence and example of the King, who frequently showed himself in places of great danger, and 'tis certain had his majesty left the town as some advised him to do they would have surrendered the very next day. I need not tell you the satisfaction and joy that the arrival of our fleet and the landing five thousand good men was received with; at which time they hourly expected an assault and the enemy still give out they will attempt to storm, which is scarce believed and as little feared if they should. The country is so enraged with the barbarities they have committed, that they have constant skirmishes with them and deserters tell us they have killed upwards of 400 of the French who are a preparing to march off, having lost above two of 15,000 men, however they still keep firing but mostly to do mischief in the town, and not as if they would improve their breach, some troops and the Miguelets have so effectually possessed themselves of the hills and avenues about the enemies' camp, that no letters can be sent from the Duke of Anjou's camp to Madrid without passing first by sea as far as Alicante and no provisions come to them so that they are in want of all sorts but bread, their fleet having landed a great deal of flour, but they get nothing but blows from the country people, and whenever they are pleased to leave us they will hardly be able to get off our cannon. Orders are sent to all parts of the country they must pass through to gather the Posse which joining with some troops that are at Lerida, Tortosa and the horse my Lord Peterboro has sent that way will have frequent occasions to harass them at the narrow passes and rivers which are in their way, which will prevent them from sending any considerable forces to oppose our friends in Portugal.

[P.S.]—Dr. George.

I must be so unmannerly as to thrust a copy of what I wrote to Wm. Addison upon you, and desire you to recommend me to Mr. Townshend, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Bids, and Mr. Shute if they have seen nothing better,

J. WALPOLE to ——.

1706, May 12. Barcelona.—Last night the whole French army, after having made a breach very practicable, brought their works and approaches to our palisadoes and received no sally and very little damage from the fire of the town, marched off with an unaccountable consternation, for they left an immense quantity of corn, 5,000 barrels of powder and 'tis said above 200 pieces of cannon and very few of them nailed down, ammunition of all sorts in great store, with their sick and wounded in a miserable condition, their march was overcast this morning with the darkest eclipse of the sun as almost ever was seen, by which the

superstitious here portend the eternal setting of the Bourbon son, but I believe the attendance of the enraged Miguelets from the mountains will prove most fatal in their way to Girone, whither we hear they are marched in very great confusion. Marshal de Thesse in a letter of a very humble and desponding style to my Lord Peterborough (desiring him to protect the sick and wounded from the fury of the enraged Miguelets) mightily laments the deplorable misfortune he has had, and the trumpeter he has sent says the Duchess of Anjou has left Madrid and gone to the Pompolona on the borders of France, which make us hope that some intelligence received of my Lord Galway's further success on that side has contributed to this precipitate raising of the siege.

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FRANCIS HARE to his cousin [GEORGE NAYLOR].

1706, Thursday, June 3. Merlebeck.—The express and the mail went from hence together which was the reason you could have no fresh news by it. The Major General is your humble servant and very well. He has got a great deal of glory in our late victory, for his regiment and two of Dutch dragoons pursued the rear of the French so close that they dispersed and cut off the best part of seven Bavarian squadrons that drew up the rear where the Elector and Villeroy were both themselves, as he understood afterwards by those he took. The English during the fight had little share of the action, the French left wing, upon their right being routed, retiring without making one charge, for they put their whole confidence in the Maison du Roy and never thought of standing when that was gone, which gave the English who were on the right by that means no opportunity to shew themselves, for there was a rivulet between them and the ground very bad, whereas the left from Ramillies to the Mehaign was a fine plain. But if the English did not engage, yet the body of them that the Duke brought from the right to succour the left by their presence restored things which might without them have been lost. The honour the Dutch have got and the success this action has been attended with has put all into very good humour and there is nothing now they will not let the Duke do. His letter to them and their answer you will have seen in print, I reckon before this, so will say nothing of them.

This success I presume will sink the hopes of the malcontents one winter longer and that their threats will not take place so soon as they thought for and promised themselves from the first appearances of things. I fancy they began to make a great jest of a paragraph in one of the Queen's speeches about the vigorous opening the campaign. I think we have spoiled the jest and in the main made her words good. We are now at the end of our rambles and our next business is to take some little towns to cover our great ones. Oudenarde we hope to have soon for this purpose. We shall likewise push our conquests towards Nieuport and Ostend, from the river to the sea. Next post will tell you I hope that we have Hocheyn and Oudenarde both. P.S.—We march tomorrow over the Scheld and Lys to Deynse.

1706, Thursday, July 1. Rousselaer.—The trenches before Ostend were not opened till Monday night and then the Colonel of the Dutch artillery had the misfortune to receive a wound in the knee, which I am afraid will not only delay this siege, but render a very able man unserviceable for the whole campaign. The batteries they hoped would be ready to play by to-night, but since they only hope so, I conclude it will be tomorrow night at least. They have deferred firing till all is ready and then they pretend five or six days will do the business, which I wish it may, though they seem to be provided to make a good defence,

HARE MSS. and it is impossible to block up the port so that small vessels shall not get in to succour it; three we hear got in yesterday. I long to have this siege and Nieuport over, for I am persuaded Dunkirk is the next design, which will be a terrible siege, if late in the year, the latter season being almost insupportable to an army in this country through the great rains and deep ways which are then hardly passable. If this be the project be sure it is on condition to destroy the harbour and make it utterly unserviceable, which is best for all parties, for we should not like the maintaining the expense of such a place ourselves, which would require seven or eight thousand men to keep it, no more than the Dutch would that we should have it. Dendermond is likely to prove a tedious business, the garrison being resolved to defend it to the last, and indeed they never seemed to have thoughts of doing otherwise, for the cessation they had of twenty-four hours was occasioned by a letter Brigadier Cadogan wrote to the Governor to induce him to surrender. The business was this; we had thrown into the place the few bombs we had, and then to conceal our having no more pretended to leave off in kindness to the town and to prevent the ruin of it sent to the Governor that if he held out any longer he must expect no terms and that he should have what reasonable time he would ask for an answer. Upon which he desired twenty-four hours and at the end of the time sent Terracena word, that he found it the unanimous sense of the council of war he had called, to agree with him in defending to the last a place so strong and provided with so good a garrison. Our trick not taking we must content ourselves with blocking the place up closely, which we do with 1,800 men, till we can bombard it in earnest. The Prussian and Hanoverian troops making with some other regiments from the garrisons, about 20 thousand men, are encamped since the 29th at Alost till further orders. You will see by the newspapers that the French king intends to play a new general against us, and has sent for Vendosme in the room of Villeroy, whom he has recalled. The Duke of Savoy has been obliged to leave Turin not being able to hinder the French from investing it on the side of the Po but we trust it will make a very vigorous defence. It is said the Portuguese took Salamanca the 5th and are gone on, and that the Duke of Anjou is gone from Madrid either to oppose them or I suppose to go off more conveniently.

1706, Thursday, September 2. Helchin.—I am very glad to find by yours of the 16th which I received yesterday that things in Bedford Row are already so well as to allow of your taking so soon the diversions of Haland which I am sure must be very agreeable. I wish I could make one with you at this time, when the pleasure of the campaign is going off, for after a great deal of dry and warm weather it begins to be cold and I doubt it will not be long before it is wet. The reducing of Dendermond is the affair now in hand. The garrison is inconsiderable, sickly, and half starved, and the fortifications in very ill condition, and a breach, we doubt not, may be made without much difficulty, but its strength is water, which though lessened by the extraordinary dry season we have had, we are afraid is still too much to be mastered, and that by the help of sluices they can render the approaches impracticable. All who have ever besieged this place yet have always found them so, and though the waters are lower than has been known these many years, they have been able to raise them several foot since we have begun the siege. The Duke who begins to be uneasy about the success of it is gone thither early this morning that he may see with his own eyes and judge of the feasibleness himself. Dumey the engineer who undertakes the siege is a brisk enterprising man, and much a favourite of the Duke,

but as he is young he thinks him capable of undertaking more sometimes than he can compass. It will be mighty inconvenient to keep such a place, blocked up all winter, and very hard to block it so closely that no provisions shall get in. If this work were over I believe nothing else is thought of for this campaign but taking Ath, which is necessary to cover Brussels. We might have had it in our power to have done more, if they had made any diversion on the Rhine, but as it is our friends think they have done enough; four sieges in one summer will be such an expense of ammunition, as they think will not be easily repaid by what they shall get by the towns they take, when the war is drawing to an end, and this I believe is the true reason they have not gone on faster.

The French are making lines to cover Ypres and Lille, which I fancy they will continue in the winter to Tournay and Mons, to shut us out next year, for which reason the taking one of those places now, would be very desirable, if it could be. We have no news from Spain but by way of France, and they have been so silent of late on that subject, that we may be sure, let things go how they will, it is not as they would have them. They own the junction of King Charles and the Earl of Peterborough the 10th, and we hope that gives them such a superiority, that when we do hear of them it will be to our content. We are in more pain for Turin, but still hope for relief from Prince Eugene. The French push the siege all they can, and our great fear is, the garrison want ammunition, but as the Prince was not above five or six marches from them the 19th his nearness will encourage them to expect relief to the last moment. How things go with them we cannot tell with any certainty, for there is no believing a word the Paris Gazette says that we do not know from other hands. We have in their very last Gazette a most notorious instance, or rather two or three, of the impudence with which they lie in that paper. They tell us we were repulsed from the attack of the counterscarp at Menin with the loss of about 3,000 men, that before that they nailed up a great many of our cannon and ruined our works; and that in the whole we have not lost less than 10,000 men, whereas it is certain they never nailed one cannon. There was not the least giving way of our men in the attack of the counterscarp, and in the whole siege we did not lose killed and wounded above 1,400 men, and the noise they make about the forage when Cadogan was taken has just as much truth in it. Now if there is so little truth in those parts of their news we do know, there can be no credit given to those parts we do not. This makes us hope things both in Spain and Piedmont are much better than they represent them, and it is a good sign to see our enemies reduced to think such gross lies necessary, though we do not want to be otherwise assured of the ill state of their affairs, which have so sunk the Elector that he is, we are told from good hands strangely altered, and I believe the next news we shall hear of him will be that he has left the army under pretence of going to St. Amand to drink the waters. It is certain the French army after all the reinforcements they have had from the Rhine and elsewhere are not 45,000 strong, whence we may judge to what a degree they drained their garrisons to make up their army before the battle and of the prodigious desertion there has been since. They are moving to try to cover Ath, but are so afraid of us that they take a huge compass round by Douay. We shall know more of their motions by next post. We are impatient to hear of the Fleet, how they have escaped the violent westerly wind we had this day sennight. We hear nothing of them but very uncertain reports by way of France. If the contrary winds and the lateness of

HARE MSS. the year should disappoint that design, the French will pour in upon us here what forces they have upon the coast, and Vendosme threatens a winter campaign to retrieve an ill summer. But I am apt to think peace and not war will be the chief business of the winter. It is said the French emissaries in Holland make already very advantageous proposals, and there is no want of inclination there to hearken to them, and since our allies on all sides grow but the worse for our success I believe we shall be of the same mind, and think if a good peace can be had, it is high time. I say not this from anything I have heard, but from what I see, which is fitter to be talked than written; though obvious enough to everybody. But it is time to have done. Sunday is a public thanksgiving throughout the army for Menin. The Duke returns from Dendermond on Saturday.

1706, Thursday, September 9. Velaine.—I did not write to you last post to give you the good news of the surrender of Dendermond, because the Duke not being then returned to us, I could not send you any particulars. It was very unexpected that a business we apprehended so much trouble from should be over so soon, and more that we should get the place upon such terms. But next to Providence, who has given us so dry a season, that the like has not been known here in the memory of man, the success is entirely owing to his Grace, who had secretly taken care to have ammunition ready at Ghent for this purpose under the notion of supplies for the siege of Menin, by which means the siege of this place was begun in three days after the other was over. The Thursday following the Duke went thither himself, with intention to return on Saturday, but being in pain for the event he was willing to stay a day or two longer, to try if his presence could put an end to it; which succeeded accordingly, for on Sunday morning he ordered a redoubt to be attacked, contrary to the expectation of the enemy, which our men did with that bravery, that the enemy quitted it immediately without firing above twenty shot, and which I think did not kill us one man. Our men pursued them from the redoubt to the town with that fury that one or two of our men got into the town with them, which put them into such a consternation, that immediately they beat a chamade and desired to capitulate upon honourable terms; but the Duke who had resolved beforehand to have them prisoners of war, immediately sent them that answer, and gave them but two hours to consider. At the expiration of that time, they sent word that the garrison was in no want of anything and that the governor would sooner be cut into a thousand pieces than surrender upon such terms. This answer would have got them good terms if the Duke had not been there, but he understood their answer better, ordered the hostages to be returned immediately, and the attack to be renewed. The governor as soon as he saw his hostages come back began to change his note, and desired one hour more to call a council, which was granted, but was told that if he stayed till one cannon more was fired he must expect worse terms, upon which in about half an hour he thought fit to accept what had been offered, which was to be prisoners of war, but the officers to be allowed their baggage and their swords. The Duke having ended this business so much to his satisfaction, returned to the army on Monday and the garrison marched out on Tuesday. What the Duke has done here was more feasible at Ostend, but they who hindered that would, if he by his presence had not overruled, have hindered this, fear and an ill-placed parsimony to save a little powder when the throwing it away is of most consequence; being never failing qualities of those genius's that haunt a general in these countries, I

mean Dutch Deputies. Thus this siege is ended without causing an hour's delay to any other enterprise; for whether that enterprise had been undertaken or not, we must have stayed at Helchin, just as long as we have done, that Menin might be put in a condition to be left. The Duke seems to be extremely pleased with his success, which has in a manner made him well, though he was so much out of order when he went to Dendermond, and while he was there, that he wanted nothing but leisure to be sick. And the French king I believe will be as much chagrined as he is pleased, for we are told that upon the news of our undertaking this siege he should say, with a good deal of contempt, that we must have an army of ducks to take it, he does not forget that he himself was six weeks before it, and was forced to raise the siege at last. I have been the longer in this piece of news because at present we have no other, and thinking it probable from the winds we have had that this may come as soon to you as the letters of the last post. We left Helchin this morning and came to Velaine, about half way between that and Tournay. We shall stay here two or three days, to manage all we can the forage about Ath, for the siege of which place preparations are making with all diligence. We expect news from Italy every hour, it being looked on as true that Prince Eugene has joined the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Orleans at Feuillade. What will be the effect of such a situation we are very impatient to hear. In the meantime we doubt very little of the safety of Turin, the confirmation of which will cause here an inexpressible joy, for the sake of the persons concerned as well as the good of the common cause, which after such a disappointment it will be impossible for France to stand against. The mighty Vendosme makes so little noise that I can tell you nothing at all of him. I trust this finds you well with friends at Haland. Pray desire your mother and other friends to let me know what commissions she has for me. It has rained every day since Dendermond capitulated and the wet season seems to be set in, a week of which would have made that enterprise impracticable, and it was the apprehension of this made the Duke glad to have Menin as soon as he could.

1706, September 27. Gramis.—I intended to have written to you on Thursday last, but coming that day from Ghent hither I had not time; nor indeed had I anything worth writing then, nor have I now. The siege of Ath trains as usual. We expected the counterscarp would have been attacked last night, but they have done hardly anything these two days, and now they begin to find they have chosen the strongest part of the town instead of the weakest, in their great caution have begun to sap, so that it will still be some days before we are masters of it, which does not please very well the Duke who is not content this should be the last stroke, but has something else in view, but I cannot imagine what it is, which makes time precious The Deputies in the meantime who are the overseers of the siege, though our army is so near them, and the French be in great measure separated, yet they want the Duke to take a new camp for their greater safety, but this will end in making some alterations only, for the better securing the posts that are most exposed, without moving the whole. The Turin news you will have doubly received unless the winds are very cross, both from Holland and by the arrival of the express by way of Ostend before this can come to you, and therefore I will repeat nothing of that glorious day. After four days rest the army was to march the 12th for Chivas, thence to Ivrea, thence straight for Milan by Novara, thence to Pavia and the Po, so to Valentia and Alexandria, &c. I hope we shall soon hear these

HARE MSS. intended motions have happily succeeded. As our joy upon this news is inexpressible, so is the consternation of the French and Bavarians, especially the last, all whose hopes lay in the success of the siege as their last stake. We were in great danger of losing this morning between 300 and 400 foot, who were covering some foragers. They were got into a chateau, where they were invested by eight or ten squadrons of the French, but the alarm was taken in so good time, and the left of our army made that expedition, that they came time enough to raise the siege, with the loss of only two men, the French retiring upon our approach with their usual precipitation. If the siege of Ath had ended the campaign we might have had the honour of seeing our friends in a little time, but as October is generally a good month we are not likely to end till then.

1708, May 21. Brussels.—We do not yet hear what progress you make in England towards a good parliament, but we are preparing what we can for it on this side, and hope for such success as will make you good whether you will or no. We have put our weak frontier into as good a condition of defence as we can, and Brussels the weakest part of it, we in some sort abandon, and remove all the councils, &c., to Antwerp, that we may be at liberty to act with all our troops against the enemy, who at present are very numerous, and with the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry at the head of them are forming a great design which they think cannot possibly miscarry, but French treachery is not always successful. They have for some time held a correspondence for betraying the Castle of Antwerp to them, which they do not know we have discovered, but will very soon find it, and then I believe all their projects are at an end on this side, and it will be time for them to think on the Moselle, where Prince Eugene with a good army may deserve their attention, though at present they seem to think nothing of it. Our troops begin to encamp to-day at Anderlecht near this place, and on Thursday next will be at Enghien, by which time I believe all will be near joined and then have at them. If they please we may soon come to blows, and if either they or we make a siege it may end in some. It is certain we do not intend to be idle, and it is said the States have given the Duke more power than before. The French continue to be in great want of money. Our last letters from Paris tell us a lieutenant general is put into the Bastile for desiring some to enable him to take the field, and the projects against Portugal and Catalonia are in a fair way to miscarry for want of it.

This is the present state of the politics on this side. When anything happens material you will be sure to hear from me.

1708, June 11. Terbank.—"I thank you for the favour of yours of 21st, but cannot in return send you such news as you would be glad of and seem to expect. The backwardness of our friends on the Rhine and Moselle keeps us here in perfect inaction. Prince Eugene has scarce yet left Vienna, where that court play the fool eternally. The march of the Palatine troops depends upon the Emperor's granting the Elector the investiture of the upper Palatinate, that has been so long promised him, and it was once fixed to the 4th instant, but some new difficulty, we are told, has been started since, and the whole cause must suffer for their delays. But I hope it is at last done, and that we shall come to work in earnest in a little time. At present we do nothing but review troops, which are very fine and in good order. We have to-day the good news that Sir John Leake the 22nd of the last month fell on with the Toulon ships, that were carrying provisions for their army in Spain,

and that out of 100 he took 80. If this news proves true, we trust with some other favourable incidents will quite defeat the French campaign on that side."

1708, July 2. Terbank.—Hitherto there has passed nothing worth troubling anybody with, much less one of so much business as you have of many kinds, but at last the scene begins to open, and it is now no longer a secret that Prince Eugene's army comes hither. My Lord Marlborough had yesterday an express from him with the news of his having passed the Moselle with his army on Friday last. He intended to be himself at Maestricht on Wednesday, and would be followed by his horse, who he expected would be there the 6th or 7th, and then his Grace and he, without waiting for the foot, who are left to follow by easy marches, will immediately try to attack the French, if they can be come at, but I am persuaded they will before that time take good care of themselves, and retire where they may be safe. It was expected they would have marched to-day. I am apt to think they will to-night or to-morrow. In the meantime his Grace has a watchful eye upon their motions, and in expectation of their decamping very soon from the intelligence he received last night, or rather this morning, he has ordered the army to be in a readiness to march at an hour's warning, so that in a little time you may expect some good news from us.

1708, July 8. Camp at Assche, halfway between Brussels and Alost.—You will have heard before this comes to you of the disgrace that has befallen us by the French surprising Ghent, which they possessed themselves of on Thursday morning, before my Lord Duke's notice he sent, could come to them. Their taking this town was of course followed by that of Bruges, but we had on Thursday night a fair chance for retrieving all at once. Our army marched that day, the left to Anderlecht, and the right to St. Quintin Lenniche, where they discovered the French army very near. But it being a long march and in ill ways made it six o'clock before the right came to their ground, and the left was not in till two in the morning, nor had we any artillery come up. However, when his Grace who lay at Anderlecht had notice of it, he made the necessary dispositions for an engagement, word having been sent him that the French were coming towards us, and with that expectation his Grace, though mightily indisposed for want of rest, was out before two in the morning to go to the right. But the notice that had been sent him proved all a mistake, for the French instead of coming towards us were really marching as fast as they could from us, and this blunder lost us such an opportunity of engaging them as is not to be again hoped for. When the mistake was discovered some attempt was made to fall upon their rear, but too late. They, the French, have made one of the boldest marches in the world, and passed the Dender without any other loss but of baggage, of which we have taken a good deal. Had our army come to their ground two or three hours sooner it had been impossible for the French to have avoided an engagement. On Friday morning we came to this camp, where we were joined at noon by Prince Eugene and Cadogan, which last had he been with us a day sooner he would have given his Grace better intelligence of the enemy, and have known the difference between their coming to us and marching by us. But what is past cannot be recalled. We came hither in hopes of being able to go on, but finding it impracticable, the French having passed the Dender at Ninove, and being come to Alost by the time we came hither, we have been forced to lie still a day or two to make the necessary dispositions for passing

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another way. The baggage is sent away to-day with a greater strictness than has been used on our side this war, that we may have nothing to hinder our march, which we begin to-morrow. His Grace has been confined all day to his bed by a hot fever fit, but something he took in the afternoon carried it off with a gentle sweat, and he rose much mended, and which had the effect of a good cordial; heard at his rising that the troops he had ordered to reinforce the garrison at Oudenarde were got in, so that we are in no pain for that place; the losing Ghent is certainly very much owing to the treachery of the burghers. Major General Murray who was encamped with two regiments of foot and one of dragoons almost under the walls of it, having sent his Grace word that when he appeared before the Bruges post at eight in the morning, they refused him entrance, though there were then not above six Frenchmen at the gate with the ordinary guard, whereas at the gate the French surprised they made not the least opposition, did not fire one piece, nor offer to turn the barriers upon them, for which treachery, now Oudenarde is safe, we hope soon to be revenged.

[P.S.] Herfelingen, July 9.—We marched at two this morning from Assche, and the march having been kept very clear of baggage, and the day very fine, the army came in in very good time, and after a halt of a few hours, will march on, to pass the Dender at Ath or Lessines, in order to engage the enemy if possible. Prince Eugene's horse will be to-morrow between Linai and Brussels, at hand to act as occasion. His Grace to-day is in all appearance very well, and I hope next letters will bring you some better news. The citadel of Ghent surrendered yesterday upon honourable terms.

1708, July 12. Oudenarde.—This brings you news I did not dare to hope for when I wrote last, of a complete victory over the French. Upon our passing the Dender at Lessines they drew off their troops that had invested this place, and passed the Scheldt yesterday morning at Gavere, which they continued to do until four in the afternoon, with intention to retire out of our way. But his Grace has been too hard for them. We marched yesterday morning from Le sines to pass the Scheldt at this place, and before the army Cadogan was sent with a strong detachment to make bridge and take post. Our army could not all pass before night, but with those that were over his Grace resolved to attack the enemy as soon as he could, which he began to do about three in the afternoon, and though the ground was impracticable for anything but foot and we had scarce a third part over, we attacked with that success that we continually gained upon them till night. They were posted in such difficult ground that they made a better defence than they used to do, to which it is to be presumed the presence of their princes likewise contributed something, and the advantage they had in numbers and situation cost us a good many men. But still we beat them from place to place until we could see no longer. My Lord Marlborough and Prince Eugene continued all night on horseback, and as soon as it was day attacked again such of them as were not gone off in the night, and in a little time their whole army or rather the remains of it were entirely dispersed. Besides a great slaughter of them, we have made a prodigious number of prisoners. They have been coming by droves into this town for many hours, and among them are several officers of note. I do not hear we have lost any. I believe this day has entirely ruined the French foot. They are retiring towards Deynse and Ghent, and are pursued by a great body of horse, so that we expect a good account of them. It was nine this morning before my Lord Duke and Prince

Eugene came into this town which they both did very well, though much fatigued. I hope you will soon hear of great fruits from this glorious victory, which you shall have as soon as they can be sent.

1708, July 26. Werwick.—I hope you received my last, which I sent by my Lord Stairs. Since the battle we have been busy in ruining their lines, harassing their country, and providing artillery to keep up the consternation the country is in. His Grace sent yesterday a detachment of fifty squadrons, 12 battalions, 1,000 grenadiers and all the hussars to ravage into the heart of Picardy. The foot stop at Bassee about seven leagues off, under the command of my Lord Orkney. The horse go on towards Arras by Lens, and thence are to send 1,000 horse with the Hussars into Picardy to play the devil for twice twenty-four hours. Whether they will be able to go so far is a little doubted, we having advice that the French detached from their army of Monday last about forty squadrons which were followed on Wednesday by 6,000 foot, by way of Nieuport and Dunkirk towards their frontiers, which may possibly disturb our people and make them stop short. It is thought the rest of the French army will defile the same way, leaving only a small body under Count la Motte to keep the canal and their stolen goods until we were at leisure to retake them. We have the good news that our artillery from Ghent had arrived yesterday safe at Brussels, where that from Maestricht is expected on Saturday, all diligence is using to get horses and wagons for bringing it to the army, and the country round are summoned, both friend and foe, to furnish a certain quota on pain of military execution. The Duke of Berwick has where he is concerned given counter-orders, but I trust our arguments will have most force with them, and besides what the country is to furnish, a certain number is supplied by the army out of the equipage of the officers, so many per regiment, the general officers left to their honour, and to do as their zeal prompts them.

The Duke of Berwick, we had advice on Tuesday, was gone from Douay with 23 squadrons, and all the horse of the garrison of Lille towards Tournay. Which we suppose was with design to attack our heavy baggage, and accordingly a strong reinforcement was sent to escort it from Ath to the camp, where it arrived safely yesterday without any disturbance from the enemy. We hear since the Duke of Berwick has passed by Mons. I fancy his eye is on our artillery, which it is mightily worth their while to endeavour to intercept, but all possible care is taken to prevent any such attempts. Prince Eugene is still with us, and there is much laying of heads together between him and his Grace, so that there is no reason to doubt but everything will be done that can be. His army is most of it on this side Ath until further orders. The Prince of Hesse with the rest is near Brussels.

1708, August 9. Werwick.—We have had but very indifferent summer weather hitherto, and I do not hear it has been better in England, which I hope we shall have some amends for in the latter season, which I believe no place will feel the benefit of more than Hurstmonceux. I think I have written to you once from this camp, but am not sure, but there is no danger of letters miscarrying, and therefore if you have received none, you may conclude I did not write. We are at last in prospect of leaving this camp in few days, having surmounted the difficulties of getting up our heavy cannon, which the enemy flattered themselves were insuperable. It left Brussels on Monday in the afternoon, and marching all night along the causey came by noon next day to Soignies and yesterday came to Ath, and it was

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hoped they should then pass the Dender. To-day they halt and in two more I reckon will be with us. The great danger was in their first setting out, but now we think they are safe and are in no pain for them. The French continue as they were, and when we are entered on a siege, pretend they will do the like to Oudenarde, or some other of our towns, but we fear them not. They may perhaps do something by surprise or treachery, but we do not mind their threats in anything, that cannot be done at a spurt. I do not know what place we shall sit down before first, but take for granted it will be Lille, and when we are once masters either of it or Tournay, their country is open to us, and we shall be able to go where we please.

1708, August 23. Amougies.—Upon advice that the Duke of Vendosme was in readiness to march from Ghent, and that the Duke of Berwick on the other side had drawn from their garrisons all the troops that possibly he could to Mortagne, and was preparing to march to Mons, our army passed the Scheldt this morning, the right is at Pottes, just on this side of the river, and the left at this place. By this march we hope to prevent their junction between the Scheldt and the Dender, and to be able to oppose any design upon Brussels, which they seem to have an eye upon. But we have another point to guard, which is to keep so near the Scheldt, that they may not turn short and pass it before us, which would ruin all. In this nice juncture things are at present, which will make us think it very long until the siege is at an end, though this motion of ours will show the enemy we do not intend to lie still, and that therefore if they will attempt to make a diversion, they must risk another battle for it, and perhaps that may damp their projects, especially considering the ill condition of their affairs in Savoy, where our news says, though we have no letters here directly from thence, that the Duke has beaten Monsieur Villars, though the Paris letters pretend, according to custom, that Villars has beat him, but at the same time they own that the Duke has taken Exilles and the garrison prisoners of war, which probably was the consequence of the Marechals being beaten, but perhaps letters from Holland may bring you a more particular account of that affair.

The trenches were opened last night before Lille, on each side the Lower Dyle, with the loss only of three men, and they hope to be masters of the place in a fortnight, the attack being against a part of the town where they can see the works quite to the bottom, which will make a breach easy when our batteries are ready.

The French threaten to relieve a town of so much consequence to their commerce, cost what it will, and say that the Elector of Bavaria is coming with 12,000 or 15,000 men from the Rhine, where it is in the paper that our people should never do anything, but I do not believe there is anything in it. We every day expect to hear of the landing of our troops somewhere on the coast of France, which at this juncture may prove a very seasonable diversion.

It is confirmed that the poor malcontents have been beaten in Hungary, and by it received a greater blow than any they have had before this war which is, I am afraid, a presage of their ruin.

1708, August 28. Amougies.—We have been long expecting the enemy's motions, which it is said were intended to begin on Thursday last, had not we passed the Scheldt and come to this place, which the Duke of Vendosme has endeavoured to draw us from, by making a show as if he intended to march by Bruges and Nieuport; but to no purpose. At last they are in motion. The Duke of Berwick marched on Saturday

from Mortagne to Bossu and the Duke of Vendosme yesterday marched from Ghent towards the Dender, but the Duke of Berwick lay still, which looked as if they had a design to make a countermarch and steal over the Scheldt before us, which obliged us to stay where we are. To-day the Duke of Vendosme came to Ninove, and we have to-night advice that he has there passed the Dender, in order to join to-morrow the Duke of Berwick who passed the Haine this morning and marched we suppose to Soignies. If it be confirmed that they have passed the Dender, we shall make a small movement to-morrow nearer that river, but leave a detachment at Pottes to secure our bridges over the Scheldt. It is thought impracticable for the enemy to attack us between these two rivers, it is so close a country, so that if they have a mind for another action, they must go to Lille, which will be a business of at least eight days, considering that by our being posted as we are, they must go about by Mons and Tournay. All things go very well at the siege. The batteries began to fire yesterday, and if there be no action, the town will be ours soon, and I hope sooner if there be. The Duke of Savoy has taken Exilles, though a detachment of his was defeated at Lesare two days before the taking that place, and Terestrelles is all we expect from that side this campaign.

We hear nothing of our descent and want three mails from England.

The French have no artillery to attempt anything against Brussels.

1708, Sept. 10. Fretin.—We have been this week at this place, and shall, with the leave of the French, wait here the event of the siege, which proves a more difficult piece of work than was expected.

It is commonly said now that our engineers have attacked the town in the strongest part, which mistake they were drawn into by the advantage they thought they had in the beginning, from the height of the ground. On Friday night the counterscarp after a delay of several days was attacked, but by no means with the success that we expected. Though Prince Eugene had made the disposition right and had ordered everything to be ready several hours before the time intended for the attack, which was six o'clock, yet by one accident or other it was past seven before they begun, by which means our men wanted light, which proved as it always does very unfortunate. For besides that all do not do their duty when they are not seen, and that those who do scarce know what they do, what they were to do, took up by that means twice the time and consequently exposed our men to so much a longer fire from the enemy, and besides, which is most cruel, they fell foul of one another, and many of our men were shot by their friends. But not to dwell on such an uncomfortable story, we lost on this occasion above 1,500 men killed and wounded, and most of the engineers being of that number, the workmen wanted directions, so that after so great a loss, we have not made our lodgments so near as was designed, and it is feared the town will still take eight or ten days, and that may endanger the whole enterprise; for besides the danger of the rains and the being straitened for provision and forage, I am afraid we may want ammunition. There is a convoy coming from Brussels, which I cannot but be in pain for. The French will do their utmost to intercept it, and the loss of it would be I doubt the loss of all. It set out from Brussels on Friday night and on Saturday in the afternoon the French sent thirty squadrons from their army to intercept it, upon notice of which we sent the like number, and we hear they have brought the convoy safe to Oudenarde. But it is still in danger, for besides that body of horse we hear La Motte is trying to fall upon it with 2,000 foot from Ghent.

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The French have made to-day a small movement with their right nearer to the Marque, to what end I do not know, I believe only to straiten us more for forage, or perhaps to cover better some posts they have on this side the river, which might be occasioned by an action of some of our young brigadier-generals, who on Saturday in the afternoon attacked one of their posts, a chateau in the rear of their army, with two battalions of foot, which 10 men might have kept against 1,000, and if we had taken it signified nothing, nor could we have kept it. It was perfectly running their heads against a wall, and after they had lost 150 men, killed and wounded, they had nothing to do but to come back again. I believe his Grace will not in haste trust men with officers who do not know how to make a better use of them.

If the enemy have any other design in coming so near us, we may probably know in the morning, and our letters being kept here till then I will add what there is more in a postscript.

1708, Sept. 17. Sanghin (?).—You will have heard by the last letters how very near we have been to action without coming to it. After Monsieur Vendosme had cannonaded us so long and to no purpose, he was content to draw off his batteries, and on Thursday and Friday the mighty train was sent back to Douay. Thus they give up all thoughts of raising the siege, which if our engineers had been good for anything, had been over before this, and they will try now to make a diversion, or at least endeavour to starve us. They marched Saturday and yesterday back the way they came, and to-day have passed the Scheldt, and in a day or two more we shall see what they design. In order to observe their motions, we made a small march yesterday, and to-morrow march again towards Helchin. It is a pity we had not another battle, that we might not be at all this trouble to dance after them.

The weather has been hitherto very favourable, had it been otherwise it might have done under such engineers what the enemy could not. Perhaps in a week's time we may have the town, but it is more than we are sure of.

Monsieur Chamillard who came Saturday was sennight to the army, is gone back to-day to give the King an account what mighty feats Monsieur Vendosme has done. He has hitherto done as one would desire him. I wish our delays do not force him to hurt us, whether he will or no.

1709, May $\frac{10}{21}$. Hague.—Though I landed on Saturday I did not come hither until last night, so that I can tell you very little of the politics, and for that reason should not write now, but that I am going to-morrow to Amsterdam, and by that means I should be obliged to defer a week longer. There have been several conferences between his Grace and the Marquis de Torcy, and by the joy that seemed to be in his Grace's countenance yesterday all seemed to go well, at least as to these two points, that the French were resolved to have peace on any terms, and the Dutch determined to do nothing without us. But to-day we have received a very unwelcome piece of news, which may first shake the Dutch, and if the French perceive it, that may make them less coming than they would be. It is my good Lord Galloway's acting the second part of Almanza, for he has been well beaten by the Marquis de Bay, though I hope not so much as the French letters make it. One would think his Lordship were bewitched, that he cannot let things alone, when they are on a good footing, but take pains to destroy the most promising appearances of a good peace. We shall soon know how this affair will affect

the treaty. Monsieur Rouillé and the rest return to Paris to-morrow, but the Marquis continues here; the misery France is in will make them notwithstanding an advantage at that distance, still very pressing for peace, so that I do not despair yet of a good one. The weather continues so cold and wet that it will still be some time before the troops can take the field, though his Grace talks of going very soon. Our army will be full 25,000 men stronger than last year, and I hope the field will do the business if the Hague cannot. When I know more you shall hear again.

1709, May 28. Hague.—After many conferences, the last of which did not end until two this morning, Monsieur Torcy has agreed to a project of preliminaries, but, pretending not to have sufficient powers for all the parts of it, has not signed it, but is set out this afternoon for Versailles to lay it before the king, and he is allowed to the 4th of June for his answer, and if it be accepted, several towns will be without delay put into our hands as caution for performance, and a cessation of arms agreed to for two months. It will surprise people to see so good and glorious a peace as this treaty gives us, which not only gives up all the Spanish monarchy and obliges the king (not only to quit, but) to recall his son, but gives satisfaction to all the allies in general. I do not know the particulars, and if I did, it is not proper they should be public until they are signed, besides that if you see Horace [Walpole] you will learn enough of him, who brings over the treaty.

1709, June 7. Hague.—I presume the preliminary articles are now no secret to you and therefore shall give you no account of them. Horace Walpole arrived here with the ratification on Wednesday evening, but found us not in so much haste for it, as he had reason to expect, for the same day in the forenoon a courier arrived from Paris to Monsieur Rouillé, the contents of which were that the King could not agree to the preliminaries. The King makes several exceptions to other parts of them, but the great difficulty is in relation to the 37th, and the evacuation of Spain within two months, which is the condition of the cessation of arms continuing to the end of the treaty for a general peace; for in that case, if the Duke of Anjou cannot be dispossessed in two months, and yet the King in the meantime gives up his frontier towns to us, then he is entirely at the mercy of the allies. But this and the rest of the objections is no more than what was said over and over by Torcy, and yet he acted in such a matter as to make us think it would be upon the whole complied with, and was very desirous our ratifications might be ready. There does indeed, upon supposition the French King cannot command his son, seem to be some reason in what they urge, but then there is another expedient would satisfy the allies, and that is, the giving up such towns in Spain as are garrisoned by the troops of France, and are therefore perfectly in his own power, and their refusing to comply with this is a demonstration this difficulty is started only to gain time and chicane. There was a conference with Monsieur Rouillé last night, in which the allies seemed all peremptory to adhere to what they had done, especially since England and several of the Provinces had actually ratified them. Monsieur Rouillé seeing he makes no impression threatens to be gone, but I am of opinion will still stay as long as he can and expect new orders. In the meantime all is making ready for war. Prince Eugene, as soon as he had notice on Tuesday that the King had refused to sign, immediately issued orders for the troops to draw together, and next Wednesday they will be all joined between the Lys and the Scheldt, and his

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Grace will be with them at the same time, and, in order to it, leaves this place on Sunday. This is all the account I can give you of the posture of affairs at present, which may possibly alter very soon. I dare say if Rouillé carries the jest so far as to leave this place, he will return before he goes to Paris, and that one way or other we shall have peace without fighting for it.

P.S.—Upon the report of the conference with Rouillé, &c. by the secret committee to the States General, they have unanimously taken a noble resolution to adhere to the preliminaries, and to push the war with all possible vigour, and sent it to their several Provinces, which, I believe, is what France did not expect.

1709, June 27. Villemeaux.—I deferred to thank you for the favour of yours of the 31st until I could send you some account, what we were likely to do here. Our troops have been in motion as soon as it was possible to stir, after we knew the French King's refusal to agree to the preliminaries, but the continued rains have made their assembling together 3 or 4 days later than it would have been otherwise, which time Monsieur Villars has improved to draw together all the troops he could and to fortify his camp, which is by nature very strong, and has very little opening into it. On Sunday the troops were all together in the plains of Lille, and next day the ways between us and the French army and the situation of their camp were viewed; and on Tuesday dispositions were made for a march, which everybody took for granted was towards the enemy, though nobody could tell how it was possible to come at them. Yesterday morning the heavy baggage was sent away, and at nine in the evening the army marched; and even then hardly anybody suspected whether we were going, and this morning to the surprise of ourselves as well as the enemy we find ourselves before Tournay, which on this side is invested from Antoing to the chaussée that goes to Lille by the troops under his Grace, and from thence to the Scheldt by those under Prince Eugene, on the other side is Mr. Lumley with 30 squadrons and 12 battalions, where he is joined with 10 squadrons and 5 battalions, from Oudenarde under Lieutenant-General Dompré.

On the march the Prince of Orange was detached, with 30 squadrons and 10 battalions under Monsieur Hompesch and Lord Orkney, to endeavour to surprise Mortagne and St. Amand, we do not yet hear with what success.

We hope to have a successful siege of it, since we are assured there are in the town but 14 battalions, and of them all but two new raised, and three squadrons of dragoons. Monsieur Surville commands in the town, and in the citadel Monsieur Megrigni, its Governor.

This is all the news the army affords at present, I suppose we shall soon hear Monsieur Villars has quitted his camp which he has taken so much pains about, and perhaps by the end of the siege we may find a better opportunity of coming at him, I dare say he will not give us a chance for it, by attempting to disturb us.

1709, July 8. Villemeaux.—Our last letters will have prepared you to expect by these the loss of the garrison of Warneton. The detachment sent from hence could not come time enough to their relief, and the officer who commanded neither made the defence he might, nor the terms he might have reasonably hoped for. He offered to capitulate when the enemy were upon him, which they took no notice of, and after forty or fifty shot the garrison surrendered. The post was in no condition of defence, but the men might have been saved, if they had

taken care to make a bridge over the Lys, as it was ordered they should, for then they might have retired in safety, upon the approach of a superior force. Fort Rouge though but fifty men in it, made a good defence and a squadron of the detachment we sent appearing they took the alarm and retired with great precipitation, by which we saved that place and Comines. The detachment is since returned but other troops were sent in their place, that have taken post at Deulemonte. Last night we broke ground against Tournay in three places. Lottum commands the attack against the citadel, Schulemburg against the town on this side the Scheldt, and Fagel on the other. They made last night a great progress, with the loss of two or three men only at the two first attacks, but at Fagel's attack there were about 40 killed and wounded. I hope in a few days we shall be able to send you news of the siege's being well advanced. The artillery is expected every day. Our chief engineer had the misfortune on Saturday night, as he was walking in the dusk, to step into a hole, and broke one of his legs, which has rendered him unserviceable in great measure, and we have no other here that can supply his place, which I am afraid may be a great prejudice to the success of our siege. We have extreme ill weather, it rains this evening violently hard, which must make it very bad for the poor creatures in the trenches.

All our accounts confirm the weakness of the garrison, and that gives us hopes we shall not meet with any great resistance. We hear from Lille that they desert in great numbers from the French army—for want of pay. If we can have but a little good weather, I hope we shall still be able before the end of the campaign to come at them.

1709, July 18. Villemeaux.—I have nothing to send you from this side, but that our siege goes on very well; we already find the difference between this and Lille. We made on Monday night at Schulemburg's attack, without the loss of one man, a better lodgment than that which cost us 3,000 men at Lille. The same night Monsieur Fagel made a lodgment also, with much the same success, though upon the whole that attack suffers most. The enemy make very little fire and plainly spare their men to reserve them for the defence of the citadel. These two generals seem to vie with one another, which shall get into the town first, but most are of opinion that Count Lottum will carry it from both, and that the town will be taken on his side for between the citadel and river it is covered by nothing but a simple wall, which we are preparing to batter. The enemy upon our investing the town had made two entrenchments for the further defence of that side, but we have beaten them, or rather they upon our approach to attack them on Monday and Tuesday nights retired out of both. They have sluices there, which are so low we cannot see them, and that is our greatest difficulty on that side, for until they are ruined we do not know how to deal with such a quantity of running water as is kept up by them. Monsieur Villars has given us no disturbance since the affair of Warneton, but the troops they expected from Germany begin to arrive and when they are all come, it is likely they will attempt some diversion, but I hope we shall have the town first, then we shall be more at leisure to attend their motions, and that the engineers tell us we may expect in six or seven days. The citadel will require more time, we are so much afraid of their mines which we are looking for by four different saps with all diligence, but I do not yet hear we have found any of them. We have not a day without rain and in the main very cold.

1709, July 25. Villemeaux.—Our last letters I believe have made you all expect to receive by these the news of the surrender of the town, but a fresh delay is created by a difficulty we did not apprehend. The

HARE MSS. enemy have by their sluices been enabled to throw ten or twelve feet of water into the fosse of Schulemburg's attack, where we expected to find none and this does not only require time itself before it can be drained off or filled up, but will oblige us to take the horn work on the left of that attack first, which Monsieur de Rocque told them from the beginning would be necessary to avoid our being exposed to so many fires at the same time, the fault which was committed in the siege of Lille, but those that command that attack did not think so much ceremony was necessary, since the garrison was too weak to man all their outworks well, besides that it was expected the other attacks would be ready at the same time. Whenever we do take the town, it will be at this attack, for Fagel's is absolutely impracticable, it being impossible to batter the sluices, and to fill the ditch with so great a quantity of running water in it—18 or 20 feet—and if we could make a bridge, which is very difficult and would cost a great many men, perhaps if they open their sluices, the force of the water would carry it away. And as for Lottum's attack the mines oblige us to be very slow in our advances on that side. This is the condition of the siege when we want extremely to have it over, to attend Monsieur Villars who has left his old camp to the guard of the troops under Monsieur Artagnan who is to be joined by the militia of Picardy and the Bolonois, and is come himself with the rest of his army between Douay and Valenciennes. Upon advice of their being in motion Mr. Cadogan was sent out early this morning with a body of 2,000 foot and 300 horse to reconnoitre the enemy and the ground between St. Amand and Valenciennes, and to see whether the wood of St. Amand is open enough for the troops to pass through. Upon his way he heard the enemy had the day before surprised an advanced post we had at Hasnon, who had orders to retire on their approach, but not being sufficiently upon their guard, of 150 men not much above half got off. Hasnon is an abbey on the other side of the Scarpe about half a league west of St. Amand. Upon this approach of the enemy the garrison of that place is reinforced with 400 men more, and a brigade of foot is to encamp between the village of St. Maure and St. Amand to be ready to sustain it if Monsieur Villars should attack it, which it is probable he will, and that may occasion a greater action. He is reinforced with 14 battalions and 24 squadrons from Germany, so that if he will venture anything this campaign it will be now. They have summoned in a great number of pioneers to make a line to cover them behind the Scarpe, which, were our siege of the town over, we might be able to hinder. But what makes me wish that most is the besieging troops that lie on the other side of the Scheldt, where I cannot but think they are in danger, and that troops may be thrown into the town on that side, but it is to be hoped that things will not be many days in this situation.

1709, July 29. Villemeaux.—You will have heard by an express that went hence this morning, the good success of the vigour with which we pushed our siege since our last letters, both at Lottum's and Schulemburg's attack, which made the enemy think fit to capitulate on Sunday evening. The articles will be finished to-night and to-morrow morning the Lille Gate is to be delivered to us. We shall attack the citadel with all the vigour possible, and spare no fire to make it too hot for them, so that I hope it will not be long before we shall send you a good account of it. It is now out of the power of Monsieur Villars to disturb us, who is very busy in making lines, and that is all we hear of him I do not doubt but we shall make a very good campaign of it, and the misery of France is by all accounts so great, that I think we canno tfail of a good peace.

1709, August 12. Hôpital d'Orchies.—Not being last Thursday with his Grace at Tournay, I could not send you Monsieur Ravignan's answer, which we did not think would have been so like that to the preliminaries. However, they show their inclination for renewing the negotiations, which though we could not enter into here, yet are in agitation, and it is very likely we may in little time see them again opened at the Hague. In truth, the misery in France is come to that extremity that they have no other part left. But we have shown Monsieur Villars that notwithstanding the reinforcements he has received, and that we are so much weakened by the siege and the absence of the troops employed in it, yet we would be glad of a fair opportunity of deciding matters a shorter way. On Thursday in the evening and Friday we endeavoured to attack a strong post they have on this side the Scarpe at Marchiennes. What success we might have had, had we without ceremony advanced to it, I cannot judge, but Mr. Cadogan's reconnoitring in the afternoon gave such an alarm, that by next morning their whole army was ready to sustain it, so that we had no part left but to retire our troops without attempting anything. His Grace and Prince Eugene were out this morning to view the ground between Fluies (?) and Pont-a-Rache near Douay, where they have another post. It is exceeding difficult to come at them any way, as they now lie, but our generals show their good-will, and that it will not be want of invitation if they do not come at them. I can say nothing particular of our siege but that it goes on, as well as mines will give them leave. For news from other parts you have them as soon from Holland ordinarily as we have them here.

1709, August 22. Orchies.—The army at present affords no news, and the troops of the siege being reinforced with 9 or 10 battalions more, it is not likely we shall attempt anything till that is at an end, which when it will be, God knows, for the attack which was begun first is likely to come to nothing. The Deputies threatened at first not to be sparing of their fire, but partly I believe out of the old frugal humour, partly to spare the town, which is exposed to our fire from that attack, and partly perhaps that we may not have time to do anything more, we make very little fire from that attack, and that enables the enemy to make a pretty great one upon us, so that little is to be expected from that side. At the other attack they go on with more vigour, though there too our fire is not extraordinary. We finished yesterday a bomb battery at that attack, under which the enemy had a mine ready, which we had the good fortune to discover the day before and found in it 18 barrels of powder. But the same day the enemy sprung another mine, under an old wall which was blown up, and there were unfortunately buried in the ruins of it a captain, a lieutenant, and 35 men. This is the greatest harm any one mine has done us yet, and what makes the loss of these poor men the more to be pitied, it is said the engineers did over and over foretell what would happen if any man were posted there. But where the direction of things goes through many hands there will be blunders. This is all I can tell you of our siege. As for peace I take it to be certain there will be one soon, though I cannot but think the continuance of the war more for the interest of England than any peace can be, every day's prolonging of the war is so exceeding ruinous to France, their condition being in all respects and by all accounts more miserable than can be expressed. But peace will assuredly conclude the year, I cannot doubt. All the point will be the expedient for the 37th article, which I cannot think so easy to be well compounded for, as it seems to be commonly imagined. I cannot but fear a Spanish

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war may prove very troublesome, as well as expensive, and that the load will lie entirely upon England, when the other allies have got all they want. But I am not in the secret, nor do I at all know what expedient is upon the anvil, though I am confident some is.

1709, Sept. 3. Orchies.—I can at last congratulate you upon the happy conclusion of our siege, sooner than I expected, and with more honour than I could have hoped for. The enemy offered to capitulate on Saturday morning before a breach was made, but in revenge for their flying off from their capitulation before, and knowing the want they were in, they were told they must expect no other terms but prisoners of war. Since that the matter has again been in agitation, and was last night as it were concluded, that they shall not be treated as prisoners, but accounted for as such, and not serve again until exchanged. They are very unwilling to the last article of leaving behind them their arms and colours &c. but will I believe be forced to yield to it. His Grace is just going to Tournay to conclude this affair, and this letter goes with him so that I have not time to add more.

We have from the French camp the ill news that Count Mercy's party is defeated, and we hear from other hands that the Elector has repassed the Rhine not daring to attack the French lines.

[P.S.] Tournay, 3 afternoon.

The articles are signed by which the garrison are to leave their arms, but in compliment to Monsieur Surville they will, I believe, be given them. The army marches to-morrow, but whither I know not, it is likely in order to the siege of Mons, a detachment having been sent two days ago to surprise St. Guilain, though as we hear just now, without success.

1709, September 7. Chateau de Havre near Mons.—I received on Thursday yours of the 17th which found us on the march to invest this place. The articles for the surrender of the citadel were signed on Tuesday in the afternoon, and at the same time the Prince of Hesse was ordered to pass the Scheldt at Mortagne, with a great detachment, and at midnight the army followed, and we have been in almost one continued march ever since, till last night. We had until Thursday night a continued rain, which made the march through a close country so difficult, that the detachment which should have passed the Haine and the lines between that and the Sambre on Thursday morning, did not do it until yesterday morning, but then they did it with good success, the troops the enemy had in them retiring in the night. Monsieur Villars marched with part of his army on Wednesday evening, and is come through Valenciennes as far as Quevrain, but to what end I cannot yet see. We shall to-morrow or Monday march again to take such ground as is proper to cover the siege. It is said at present that the garrison is not strong, but I find we generally under-reckon the strength of our enemies, of which we have had an instance in Tournay, from whence the garrison marched out yesterday above 4000 strong, including officers, besides sick and wounded. You tell me in the close of your letter that you wish we may do something very successful, because people are a little uneasy at the second sham of the French. I can see very well that the shams of the French are a good reason for people being angry with them, but I cannot understand how they can from thence be angry with us. But whether they are or not, I trust this will not be thought an ill campaign. The Elector of Bavaria left Mons on Wednesday in the evening and is retired to Maubeuge, and from thence it is likely goes to Compeign.

It is said the French were come within a league of their lines, when they met their troops retiring, upon which they returned to Quevrain.

1709, September 11. Blaregnies.—I write this in haste to congratulate with you upon a great victory after a very obstinate battle, in which abundance have suffered on both sides. We have been two nights lying on our arms near the enemy who had retrenched themselves in a great wood, between St. Guilain and Bavay, called the Bois de Sart. We have cannonaded each other for two days past, and this morning began the attack before eight, which lasted till three. The beginning of it was very rude especially on our left, and the enemy's batteries did us a good deal of mischief as well as their entrenchment. But, God be thanked, we carried our point, drove them out of the wood, and have dispersed their army, so that I hope nothing now can hinder a good peace which is impatiently longed for.

I believe this will be called the battle of Mons. We took St. Guilain last night sword in hand.

1710, April $\frac{1}{27}$. Camp near Douay on the side of Artois.—You will have heard by the last letters that we have invested Douay, and that the enemy have abandoned all their posts on the Scarpe, and are retired to Cambray. On Friday, the day I came hither, we began the lines of circumvallation, which being pretty far advanced, all the horse, except 1,500, will to-morrow march back to the other side of the Scarpe, to be nearer Lille and Tournay from whence we receive our dry forage that is brought in vast quantities up the Lys and Scheldt from Holland, and the foot will be in a manner all posted on this side. A thousand horse are marched to-day to Arteux to stop the sluices upon the river that carries water to Douay on that side, and at the same time we are cutting the Scarpe at Bioche between Arras and Douay, to let out the water into the adjacent marshes, which will otherwise increase the inundation of Douay that way. The strength of that place consists chiefly in the water, it will therefore be of great service to us, if we can by these means considerably lessen the inundations. We are making the necessary preparations for the siege with all possible diligence, and as the French cannot take the field for want of magazines, until the green forage is come up, we are not without hopes we may have ended our siege before they are ready to disturb us; if it continue as cold as it is at present, which will keep the spring very much back, and that is what we of all things wish for. I hear nothing how peace goes on, but not the slower I dare say for this success, for they seem to have no other choice left now, but either to make peace or risk a battle to raise our siege, which they will hardly venture in a plain country, where a general action could not well fail of being decisive; but you will know more of this from Holland than I can tell you.

We are told there are in Douay 17 battalions and 4 squadrons, but do not hear what provisions.

1710, May 29. — To-day we have nothing new, the French are assembled about Arras, and have laid bridges over the Scarpe, but as yet are quiet in their camp, though we find by all their deserters that they give out perpetually that they will come to us.

We made last night a little unexpected progress at the siege on the right attack, by one of the enemy deserting to us, and telling our men, there was nobody in that part of the covered way, upon which we immediately entered and lodged ourselves.

1710, June 5. Esquerchin.—This comes only to tell you that if you should have heard by other ways of J. Pelham's having been in danger

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you need not be in any pain. I saw him on Sunday last very well, but being obliged to be in the trenches on Tuesday night, when we made an attack upon a part of the counterscarp on the left, he had the misfortune to be twice blown up, both by a mine of our own, and by one of the enemy's. But he is come off so well as to be in no danger, his clothes were burnt in pieces, and his face, eyebrows, nose and beard pretty much singed and one nail of a finger beat off, but he will do very well and will not be at all disfigured. It is happy for him he has escaped so well. He suffered just enough to keep him safe for the rest of the siege, for I believe he will not be in condition to do more duty at it, but that I am not altogether sure of yet. Our siege goes on at the old rate, to everybody's dissatisfaction. Had it been carried on as it ought to have been we had been now besieging Arras before the French army had been assembled, which our generals certainly reckoned upon, when they took the field, and that I think could not have failed procuring us a good peace immediately, which nobody can endeavour more than my Lord Marlborough notwithstanding the ill use some of your friends are preparing to make of it, who are mighty impatient to overturn the ministry, as soon as ever peace will give them the power they then hope for. You will easily believe by my expressions that I do not suppose you in their secret, how much soever they may be in yours. There is no appearance that Monsieur Villars will now attempt to raise our siege, but that he might receive some honour from the advance he made to us, he attacked on Monday a post we had at Bioche about a league above Vitry upon the Scarpe, and took 130 men who surrendered without firing a shot, for which the officer, a Prussian, who commanded, will it is likely be made an example, for my Lord Marlborough had himself visited the post not above an hour before, sent a reinforcement of men into it, and had given orders to have them sustained, in case they were attacked, which made their surrender the more scandalous. The French contented themselves with carrying off the men, without taking possession of the post themselves. Next day Monsieur Villars was reconnoitring thereabouts, and the Prince of Hesse was doing so at the same time. They were so near (but a water between) that the Mareschal talked with the Prince and many familiarities passed, with compliments in abundance to my Lord Marlborough and Prince Eugene. This is like Villars and may have some effect in his army to persuade them peace is near, which will help to keep them together and in heart. We have the whole power of France on this side. I scarce believe he has 40,000 men in all his other armies put together. Yet such are our allies that we hope for nothing from the Rhine or Savoy, though the Empire make the greatest difficulties about peace, and Savoy be the greatest gainer in the war. We hear nothing yet from Spain, but have hopes that court are sufficiently embarrassed, and that they have few they can entirely confide in. For my part, I believe they would have none, were the Castilians convinced that France in earnest would abandon them. I am apt to think France will see the siege ended, and what further progress we are likely to make before they will speak out, and that they have taken their party and wait only for that. So that a month more will probably let us see what we are to expect for one while I live in hopes.

1710, June 26. Le Brayle.—You seem to think we know here a great deal more than we do of what is doing in England. For my own part, I hear nothing of it, but a little from Dr. C. and Mr. Mann, nor am I much concerned to know. Let us put just a good end to the war, and I shall be very little concerned at anything else. I hope the

taking Douay, which I can now give you joy of, will be a good step towards it. The town beat the chamade yesterday in the afternoon, but we refused to enter into any treaty unless Fort Scarp be surrendered with it. To which Monsieur Albergotti at first answered, that he had not power to deliver up a place that was not attacked, and therefore desired time to send to the king or Monsieur Villars. But that being refused, and being allowed for his answer no longer time than until ten this morning, he has considered better of it, and offers to surrender the fort also; the terms are now debating and I doubt not will be agreed. This saves us a piece of work that might have employed us two or three weeks longer, and is some compensation for the town's holding out so long. Nothing can make a good peace but a good war. I never expect else to have it from anything that can be done at Gertruydenberg, where the French act in such a manner, that we cannot be at all sure they are sincere, and it is a great pity they are not sent away, which I believe will be endeavoured with great earnestness, if they do not soon speak more to the purpose. It is great good fortune that King Philip can do so little in Spain. It is to be hoped that it will give a great help to matters to induce him to quit, without which all treating can end in nothing, but what is worse than nothing, a separate peace with France. which the Dutch are as averse to as anybody can wish them to be, and more than many would have them, who would fain lay the want of peace elsewhere. They have great reason to complain of a general for being against peace, when they show they wish for it, it is nothing else but that they may act with more success against him. Few men would have heart to push the war to an end in such circumstances, besides my Lord Duke, who notwithstanding so much provocation, takes the most effectual measures for a good peace in defiance, and I may say, in contempt of the ill use such ungrateful wretches are in haste to make of it. You will forgive this warmth in one who has been some years so sensible of the service his Grace has done his country. HARE MSS.

1711, July 6. Lens.—I can send you no news but of a little action that passed last night or rather this morning. The French having made up the dikes at Arleux, which we cut when we lay at Warde, and Douay being in some distress for water 700 men marched from thence in the evening and were sustained by the whole picket of our army, and as this might occasion a general engagement, the army were all ordered to be in readiness to march. About break of day our men came up to the enemy's posts, a redoubt in which they had 25 men, and a chateau guarded by 90, which both surrendered prisoners of war, before the enemy, who were all in motion, could come to their relief. This little success was the more extraordinary by the enemy's nearness to Arleux compared with the distance we are at, which is four or five to one.

We have no news from any other parts of the world. The French seem resolved to make an effort on the Rhine, having I think sent a third detachment, upon which the Germans desire a second from us, but we are their humble servants, and think it reasonable they should exert themselves a little better than they have done, before they call for help from us.

1711, July 30, n.e. Cote.—Nothing having passed hitherto on this side, or but of little consequence, I need not, I believe, make any excuse for not troubling you oftener with my letters. Things are now in the same motion and a few days may produce something considerable. The enemy have for some time amused us with detachments towards Maubeuge, which we could make no certain judgment what they were

HARE MSS. designed for. But at last it appears their intention was on Brussels, where the Elector has a good interest, and it is supposed a correspondence has been carried on to surprise the place, while we are at this great distance from it. On Tuesday these troops to the number of 17 battalions and 20 squadrons were near Binoh, and were to march again yesterday, leaving their baggage behind them. The Duke of Marlborough having for these ten days had some intimation of this design, has put into it troops enough to prevent a surprise, if there be no treachery. But as that cannot be much depended on, we have been for two or three days in some uneasiness. But this evening his Grace has news from Mons by express, that those troops did not march yesterday, and that it was discoursed among them that their design was discovered. This gives some ease, but whatever the design of the French be, we were endeavcuring to make what advantage we can of such a number of troops being detached from them, and shall march on Saturday towards their lines in order to attack them, if it be found practicable. We have a report this evening that the Duke of Berwick has been defeated in Savoy, but what there is in it I cannot say, perhaps nothing but the old story, or such another, of 3 or 4 battalions being forced from some pass. Good news from thence or any other part would be very welcome, for things have at present a very untoward aspect, the Kings of Poland, Prussia, and Denmark, and the Elector Palatine threatening to recall their troops, unless we will consent to their unreasonable demands, and France is intriguing in the Empire to disturb the Election. God knows how these things will end. I see nothing but some great success can set them right, and that is not much to be expected. A few days will determine what may be hoped for from this side, and I see very little hopes from any other.

1711, August 4. Villers Brulin.—Our last letters will have prepared you to expect some news from this side, though not just what you will receive by these. We came hither yesterday and orders were given for making a great number of fascines to-day, and early this morning my Lord Marlborough went out to view the enemy's lines with all the grenadiers of the army and 2000 horse, in order to attack them to-morrow. Our motions have alarmed Monsieur Villars so much that he has drawn all the troops within reach on this side between Arras and Hedin, and his troops are perpetually under arms. We are to march this evening, in appearance to attack him, but by the morning he will find he is duped, for we have a body of troops that assembled about four this afternoon at Douay, who will before morning I hope have passed the Sensett, and our army, instead of marching towards the enemy, will make the best of their way with all possible diligence, to pass the Scarpe at Vitry, and join them. What success we meet with, I will add before I close. We have had since yesterday noon a great deal of rainfall. It has held up a great part of this day, but is now, about six, begun again, with much wind and extreme cold. All the comfort we have under it is that it will be as bad for the enemy as us, if not worse, besides that they are more fatigued by the alarm they have been in for these four or five days past.

Thursday afternoon, From Vergier near Oisy.

On Tuesday about nine in the evening we marched from Villers Brulin, my Lord Marlborough at the same time advanced before the rest of the army with 50 squadrons to join the troops that marched from Douay. Those troops passed the Sensett at Arleux by break of day. My Lord Marlborough was with them about nine o'clock. Monsieur Villars

appeared not long after at the head of a body of horse, but found so many of our troops over, that he did not think fit to attack them but retired to Marquion, having a morass and rivulet before him. Our whole army could not be up till it was night, it being a march of at least ten leagues. We had the finest night in the world to march in, and the troops marched continually without halting. Thus the difficulties that were thought insuperable are overcome without losing one man. What use we shall be able to make of this unexpected success I cannot tell. I hope we shall at least be able to take Bouchain. The French are marched to-day over the Scheldt above Cambray, with design I suppose to hinder us from that enterprise. But we shall march again this afternoon, and be before them.

1711, September 7. Avesnes le Sec.—I was disappointed in my intentions of writing to you last post, when the motions of Monsieur Villars had furnished me with a little news. But it is too late to say anything of that attempt now, which you will see by the prints miscarried in the essential points, though the Mareschal had the good fortune to surprise us in one part, but the rest not succeeding, that was of no consequence. I suppose you have no particular maps with you, and therefore it will be no entertainment to you to enter into the detail of our situation, which is very extraordinary. The Mareschal has made no fresh attempt to disturb us, but as he has sent a good many troops to the side of Quesnoy and Valenciennes, that makes us redouble our precautions on that side, and as we have drawn a line from Ivry to Houdain upon their getting a pass upon the Scheldt at Etwin, so we have made a line on the Lower Scheldt from Louveh to our line of circumvallation, to cover our bridges for fear of any attempt from Valenciennes. If Monsieur Villars does anything he must make haste, for we hope by the end of the week to have the town, and in order to it, made ourselves masters of the covered way at the right attack last night without any loss. Monsieur Villars continuing still in the same camp may encourage the garrison to hope for succour a little longer than they would otherwise, and the consequence of that probably will be that we shall have them prisoners of war. What will succeed this siege I know not. The French are doing their utmost to prevent the siege of Quesnoy, which they suspect we design, by making it impossible for us to subsist, to which end they are carrying all the forage round about into their towns, and what they cannot carry away they burn. We are now, when this siege is at an end, in as sure a way, as humanly speaking can be, of carrying on the war with success, if it be not prevented by a peace, of which we have whispers from your side.

1711, September 19. Avesnes le Sec.—Though I can tell you nothing but what you may perhaps have heard before this reaches you, I cannot omit the opportunity of the express my Lord Marlborough sends to the Queen, to give you joy of the happy conclusion of our siege. The garrison beat the chamade on Saturday noon, but to the great mortification of Monsieur Villars could obtain no better terms than to be prisoners at war, which after some difficulty they submitted to, and to-morrow they march out to be conducted to Holland. We shall be obliged to make some longer stay here, to put the town into a condition of defence, which is at present a heap of rubbish. This has been the best conducted siege we have made this war, and considering the great difficulties under which it has been made, nothing this war has been more glorious, particularly for my Lord Marlborough, who undertook it against the unanimous opinion of the Dutch, and I may say of most others, who had not the heart to think so difficult an

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enterprise could succeed. What we shall do, or be able to do next, it is past my skill to say, the French having made it very difficult if not impossible to advance further this campaign, by leaving no forage in these parts for us to subsist with, and what they have not time to carry off they burn; a very extraordinary way for a superior army to defend their country by destroying it. If we undertake no other siege I shall hope for a short campaign, which upon any terms I shall think very long, but am apt to believe it will be the last, since France will see by this conquest and its consequences that they will have no reason to make difficulties in the way to peace, and there will be no want of disposition in the allies to overcome real ones.

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HENRY PELHAM to [FRANCIS HARE, Dean of Worcester.]

1722, Sept. 22.—I conclude you will have a letter from Mr. Walpole by this post, but as I always shall have the greatest satisfaction in anything that I think will be agreeable to you, so I could not help giving you the trouble of this, that I may at least share with others in very heartily congratulating of you. Mr. Edwin, the Usher of the Exchequer being dead, Mr. Walpole in the kindest manner imaginable recommended you for his successor, and yesterday your warrant was signed accordingly, and when I took upon me to thank him for it, he answered me, that I need say nothing, for that you deserved of him twice as much as that, and he wished it was in his power to do it for you. As to the nature of the office you know it much better than I, but if you remember, it was always my opinion that in case it became vacant it was what I thought you might with great honour to yourself accept of, both from the figure of the persons who have had it before, and it being a distinct office entirely independent of anybody but the Treasury. I have enquired a little into the value of it, and I find that in case you should have a mind to execute it by a deputy, you may have eight hundred or a thousand pound a year to yourself. I should not pretend to be so free with you upon this subject, but that I thought we having formerly talked pretty freely upon these affairs you would excuse, if not expect, my saying something to you of my thoughts upon it. I hope you will pardon my not writing to you any public news before now, for you must see by the nature of them, that if I did not tell you, what I am sure you must think improper to send by letter, there was little one could say at all. The public prints will acquaint you of Lord North's endeavouring to go over to France, and his being seized and brought up to London. Lord Orrery was yesterday examined by a very full cabinet council, and committed to the Tower for high treason. I do not find that he behaved himself with any extraordinary resolution. Nobody has appeared with more zeal upon these occasions than our new counsellor Harcourt, and I believe it will not be disagreeable to you to hear that the Attorney has acted with great prudence, skill, and courage to the universal satisfaction of all friends. Lord North I conclude will have the same fate with the other, but his examination is not yet over. There was an unlucky accident happened the other night. One of the State prisoners in endeavouring to make his escape out of a messenger's window three story high in Channel Row, tumbled into the Thames, and was drowned. His name was Nano, an Irishman, that was ordained by the Bishop of Chester two years ago. He had been very strictly examined by the Council, and I conclude in contest between honour and fear was resolved to make this last effort to escape. He was the very fellow who wrote the Journal of Mist upon the Restoration, which the House of Commons fell upon

last year, and several of the best and most abusive things upon the Government and Walpole. I fancy much might have been got out of him if he had stayed. The parliament will certainly meet on the 9th, but I conclude now we shall see you sooner, therefore will tire you no longer now but hope you will ever believe me, &c.

R. M[ARSHAM] to FRANCIS NAYLOR.

1733, Sept. 23. York.—I am ashamed your kind letter should have been so long by me unanswered, but really of late I have been very busy, I hope you are convinced 'twas not from any want of respect towards you, that caused my silence, for I should be very uneasy if I suspected you should harbour any such thought of me. Your old friend Buxton, of Clare Hall, and I have left Norfolk some weeks upon a little tour into the North. We went from Lynn to Boston, Lincoln, Hull, Beverley, Scarborough; here we stayed a week, from thence we went to Malton and so to this town, where we have been some days. In our way hither from Scarborough we saw Lord Carlisle's magnificent house at Castle Howard, the gardens are 127 acres, 70 of which are of an old grown wood of oaks, beeches, &c., this lays east of the house, and part of it is upon ground higher than part of the house, 'tis cut into glades, opens, and winding walks, surprisingly beautiful, and adorned with a small cascade from a rock, temples, statues, obelisks, and fountains, all of them done in an elegant taste, the house, park, and gardens together make the place the grandest I ever saw. From York we took a ride of 20 miles to see Mr. Aslabie's Park at Studley by Ripon, this is called the finest Park in England, but I cannot say the Park answered my expectations it being in my opinion too much planted; the gardens are at a distance from the house and about 100 acres, they are kept vastly neat, and are in themselves very beautiful, being chiefly nature in its greatest perfection, a little dressed by art, they lay upon the sides of two large hills, with a serpentine river running between them; this falls from one step into a canal of upwards of 400 yards long and 22 broad, which at the end of the garden falls its whole breadth down 5 steps into a basin of upwards of 7 acres, to take a view of the garden from this basin it appears more charming than can be imagined without seeing it; the canal appears a large river running between two woods which rises vastly above it, and at little breaks you see temples, and on one side a rock with large yew-trees growing out o the broken side of it, but I ought not to pretend to describe a place that everyone should see, or can have no idea of. We shall stay here a day or two longer and then propose going home by Nottingham and perhaps Derby, making a week or two more before we arrive at the place of our fore-fathers. I (hope to) find Plumptres at Nottingham, Terricks were both gone from hence before we came—we had the good fortune to be at Lincoln at the time of the Races, which had drawn a great deal of company together. Reynolds of the Clare Hall Club, and two or three more of my acquaintance told me all the people, which made the Assembly highly agreeable to us. The Assembly House, the Cathedral, and the Gaol are very fair buildings and well calculated to receive great numbers of the indifferent, the good, and the bad. If I can but keep clear of the number of the latter I shall be easy.

FRANCIS HARE, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, to his son FRANCIS NAYLOR, when travelling abroad.

1736, August 23. Hurstmonceux.—I have received from you two letters dated from Brussels of the 22nd and 29th, by the last of which I am glad to see you was upon the point of leaving it. Flanders is a

Hare MSS. country that will afford abundance of entertainment, especially Brussels and its environs. There is nowhere, I believe, so many noble towns in so small a compass. The places you have gone through were very well worth seeing. If the last war had held one year longer under the Duke of Marlborough's command I should have seen Cambray. Prince Eugene and he had concerted measures for the siege of it, and they hoped to reduce it easily by turning off the water from it. Menin, Lille, and Tournay we took. The two last are very grand fortifications, such as one would think it were impossible to take. The Rue Royale and the square at Lille are noble, and there are very many pretty manufactures there, it is called "Petit Paris." You saw I suppose the Quay at Tournay. Menin is a mere garrison, but very pretty. Douay is a filthy town, and the English and Scots there extremely bigoted and bitter against us. I remember at one of their colleges they showed us the heads and limbs of fellows that had been hanged for conspiracies and plots, as relics of martyrs. The reason we were so long in taking the town was that there lay an army of 100,000 men to defend it, and the reason they took it so soon was that the Duke of Marlborough was removed from the command of the army, and there was no army to defend Douay against the French. Had the Duke of Marlborough been at the head of the army, instead of the French retaking Douay, the allies had certainly taken Cambray, the last fortified place between the allied army and Paris. They are very superstitious at Douay, and so they are in all Flanders which they owe to their having been on long under the Spanish government, so that you will meet with abundance of legendary trumpery, and ridiculous miracles. What you say of the seminaries for English, &c., is certainly very true. They are the worst and most implacable enemies we have, and therefore perhaps it would not be ill politics to allow them some conveniences for educating their children in their own way at home. I am glad you had an opportunity of seeing the mines at Tournay, which will give you a better idea of such things than you could have had otherwise. What you have seen there and at Lille will give some notion of the expense in fortifying great towns which is immense, and at the same time will furnish you with some conception of the expense, as well as the difficulty of a siege. Louvain is, I think, the dirtiest and worst town in Flanders, I mean of the great ones, but has been famous for school divinity. It is a pity, but you should see Ghent, Mechlin, and Antwerp; and then I think you would not want to see much more in that country, unless you were on the side of the Maes, to see Namur, Liège, and Maestricht. The last time I wrote I directed to you at the post house at the Hague, as I do this. I shall be glad to hear they are come safe to your hands. This country affords no news. I believe I told you in a former that two or three people were dead at Chichester, Mrs. Farrington, Mrs. Webb, and Mr. Cole. Last week died Archdeacon Barker. He is succeeded in the archdeaconry by Mr. Ball, but his livings I cannot yet tell you who have. We have had a mighty fine summer, which made the meeting at Lewes horse races very numerous. The division is still kept up. The Dukes of Newcastle and Richmond were there, and were very civil to Mrs. Hare, who was there for the first time, and in the scarcity of ladies there were of that side, she was very welcome.

1737, December 18. London.—I hope you received my letter which I wrote to you the day after the poor Queen's death. I came from the Vache on Thursday (whither I shall return to-morrow) to attend her funeral, which was performed last night with great order, and was over two or three hours sooner than I thought it would. The Lords were all summoned to attend, and the procession went through the Prince's chamber through a scaffold across the old Palace Yard, to

the north door of the Abbey, then down the north aisle to the west end, and from thence up the south aisle into Henry the 7's chapel. There was no blundering or disorder. Princess Amelia was chief mourner. The procession began to be marshalled between five and six, and before seven the service in the Abbey was actually begun; and the whole was finished before nine, and I was at home before ten. The funeral service was performed by the Bishop of Rochester as Dean of Westminster. After the service there was a long anthem, the words by the Sub-dean, the music set by Mr. Handel, and is reckoned to be as good a piece as he ever made: it was above fifty minutes in singing. There will no doubt soon be printed a particular and exact account of the funeral, and that will probably come into the foreign gazettes, and by that means you will have a thorough knowledge of the whole ceremonial. The king continues still to be in extreme affliction for so great a loss which nobody can be more sensible of than he is himself. He has yet seen nobody but such persons as there was a necessity for him to see and has spent his whole time with his children and three or four persons with them. But now the funeral is over I am told he will begin to see more of his ministers this week, but when he will appear in a Drawing room, is not yet known. The malcontents raise infinite lies upon the Queen, without the least regard to decency or truth, and though she had an utter contempt of money, and dies some thousand pounds in debt, they tell us with great assurance, she died worth £300,000. She was a most valuable and excellent woman, and possessed of all the amiable qualities one could wish to see in a great princess. The enemies of the ministry flatter themselves that Sir Robert in her death has lost his support, and that now they shall soon be able to supplant him. But I think I may say with confidence, that they will find themselves greatly mistaken, and that the King is more firmly than ever attached to him. But a session of parliament must be over before a certain judgment can be made, which does not begin until the 24th of January. The Lottery ends to-morrow, but, with respect to my tickets, is ended some time since, which are all come up blank (if the printed lists are right) except yours, which is a prize of £30.

1737-8, January 26. London.—It is an age since I heard from you, I have had no letter since that from Lyons, 4th December, which I received the 7th or 8th. I wrote to you the day after the Queen died, and again after the funeral, which I hope came safe to your hands.

We continued at the Vache until last Monday, when it was necessary to come to attend parliament. We have had a very disagreeable winter, much wind and rain, and very sudden changes of weather, but I thank God, we continued all well at the Vache, where we have left the two little ones. If any news reaches you, you will have seen by the prints, that the sessions opened very quietly. The King made an exceeding short speech, without a word of the Queen, and in such words as left not the least possible room for debate. Lord Cholmondeley (seconded by Lord Cadogan) moved the address of thanks and made a very handsome encomium on the Queen, as did Mr. Fox in the Commons and in our house all passed with great decency and without any attempt to oppose, alter or add; and the same in the Commons. Only Mr. Shippen, as in all sessions, desired that what the House now did, might not be understood to preclude any debate in the course of the sessions. It was rumoured a clause would be offered to congratulate on the birth of the Princess Augusta, but it was dropped. It has been usual to congratulate on those occasions, but it will be by a separate Address. Great have been the threatenings of the gentlemen in the opposition, but upon

HARE MSS. trying their strength, they find they cannot in the prince's affair make so good a figure by a great deal as they did last session. The Tories will not come into the Prince's party, unless they will join with them in opposing the army, which is, I think, an impossible condition, and what cannot be complied with by any who mean the preservation of the Government.

Mr. Pelham of Stanmer being dead, who has killed himself with drinking, young Mr. Trevor will be chosen at Lewes without opposition.

The King still continues extremely disconsolate and Princess Caroline in a very dangerous way, quite emaciated with a consumptive illness, and sunk with grief for the loss of the Queen.

The town is full of reports of a reconciliation being near and many are very positive, and no doubt it were much to be wished, but according to my intelligence there are no grounds at all for it.

1737–8, March 9.—I came home late this evening from a long debate upon the Army Bill, which the Court carried upon a division of 75 to 29 present, proxies 24 to 6, in all 99 to 35. It was waiting for the result of this that made me not acknowledge by the last post your letter of the 4th, which I received the 1st, as I did this evening your last of the 9th. I am very glad to find that at last our letters are got into a regular way again. I find by both your letters that your English news was very bad, and therefore you should give no credit to anything of moment, but what you have by another channel than a newspaper. What you have heard of a reconciliation was indeed very common town talk, but without any manner of foundation, as you might easily judge it was, if you saw the papers that had passed in the summer between the King and Prince, and which were printed. There you will see such difficulties in the way of a reconciliation, which joined to the money affair are not easily to be got over, and there is as little foundation for the general talk there has been of the King's going this summer to Hanover, which talk has, I think, no other ground but people's ill-will and disaffection: they would have it so, because they think it would hurt the Government.

The reason I did not mention Sir Robert's [Walpole] marriage, was because indeed I knew nothing of it. I never asked a question about it from anybody that could tell, and I should not have been sorry if it had not been true, which now it appears to be. It was declared last Sunday. The lady came thither to dinner, where were met the nearest relations; the next day she was introduced at Court by Horace's lady, and that day relations more remote dined with them. I went to the Vache on Saturday and did not return until Tuesday night, so that I can tell you no particulars, but it is said there has been a prodigious concourse of ladies and gentlemen to pay their compliments. What the papers tell you of her great fortune is a gross lie, as indeed any man of sense may judge from the thing itself. She was worth 14,000*l.* from her father, who had the fortune to marry two rich wives and was a sad sordid fellow, and she is at present worth more than double that sum by about 2,000*l.*, and that, you may depend on it, is the truth. All talk of greater sums is only to throw odium on Sir Robert. Everybody says she is a woman of an extreme good understanding, and is very agreeable. Mrs. Williams of Chichester gives her that character, who yet loves scandal as she does her eyes, and therefore I take her to be a very good authority.

The Commons have at present before them the petition of the Spanish merchants. They are to go upon it next week, and the Patriots flatter

themselves they shall make mischief, but I think it will end as their other menaces have done, and the effect of their application will be the granting Letters of Reprisal, a thing that has not been practised for this last hundred years past. The Court are much offended at the answer they have received from Spain, in which though they give good words and promise an enquiry, and that justice shall be done, yet do in general assert, that if our ships are found in their seas out of their course to our own settlements, they are lawful prizes. If this general claim be submitted to, all enquiries into particulars will be rendered insignificant. The Commons have lost ten days by the Speaker's ill-will, but still we hope for a short session.

Mr. Vanloe performs exceeding well, and has more business than can well be imagined. He has made an extreme pretty picture of Miss Hare. I wish you was here to have yours.

On Tuesday there was an election at Windsor for a member, on Lord Vere's being made one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Lord Vere was opposed by the Duke of Marlborough and the old Duchess, and on Monday night they were very sanguine in favour of one Mr. Oldfield of Windsor, but yesterday the votes were even, 133 for each: the consequence of which I do not know. The Mayor, I believe, who is on Lord Vere's side, waits for directions from hence before he makes a return. I should have told you above when I was upon family news, that the reports of a design to restrain the press are as groundless as any of the other articles.

1737, (*sic;* should be 1738), Thursday, March 30.—I received on Monday yours of the 25th, and am very glad to find you were got to Aix. I hope what remains to be seen in those parts will be as entertaining as what you have seen already. In return for the relations you have sent me, I can now tell you some news from home.

The Commons have for about a fortnight past had a pretty many long days, the first upon an affair of no great consequence, the Windsor election. Lord Vere being made one of the Lords of the Admiralty in the room of Lord Archibald Hamilton, whose lady is the great governess at Norfolk House, that voided his election: upon his standing again he was most warmly opposed by the Duke of Marlborough and the old Duchess, in favour of one Mr. Oldfield of the town, a person of no great merit, and by very ill management on the part of the St. Alban's family, Lord Vere was in great danger of losing it. But in the event the votes were equal, 133 each. The Commons who have often made a minority a majority, you will easily believe could do it on an equality. However, they had three long days for it, the last of which was Monday, when they declared Lord Vere duly elected by 240 to 160. So great a majority was a good omen, for next day when the House finished the enquiry upon the Merchants' petition into the Spanish depredations, when there was the fullest House, that, I believe, has been since the Union, 468 present. This I think was the fourth day the Commons had been in a committee upon this affair. Perry in the chair in compliment to the Merchants, but it was too great a compliment, as it appeared by the event, for when they began to move after they had gone through the enquiry, Perry would not see the person that would have spoken on the Court side, but called on Mr. Pulteney, who had taken a great deal of pains to be well prepared, and I have heard from a good hand that he never spoke so well. He then moved six questions or resolutions which were declarations of what he conceived our right, and what were the specific things to be complained of. I have not seen them and speak therefore only in the gross. This disconcerted the Court side, and

HARE MSS. instead of the intended speakers obliged Sir Robert to speak to retrieve the point, and get it into their own hands. He took the first of their questions and made it a preamble to his own motion, which is one long one that fills half a sheet on both sides, that I have seen. The substance of it is, that in violation of the natural rights of the people, that use the seas, and in violation to treaties, the commerce of the king's subjects had been greatly interrupted, and the men they had taken treated in a most barbarous and cruel manner, then they desire His Majesty to use his royal endeavours to procure satisfaction, and to prevent the like for the future, that if his friendly endeavours should not succeed, they will effectually support him in taking such measures as shall be necessary, &c. There is in effect very little difference between the motions on both sides. But Sir Robert showed the great inconvenience that would attend the being so specific; that it would put ministers who should treat with Spain under the greatest difficulties, since they would not dare to recede from the resolves of that House in any point, and would make the King of Spain more obstinate to see himself so prescribed to, or to that effect, and hoped they would not insist on the other motions, in order to give the more weight to his general motion by their unanimity. But divide they would, and the Court carried their question by 47—256 to 209. It was to be reported to the House to-day, but I do not hear whether there has been any new debate, but if there has, it must, no doubt, end as before. This is the last struggle we shall have, I think, this session. The speakers were Sir Robert, Mr. Pelham, Fox, and Sir W. Young; on the other side Mr. Pulteney, Sir W. Wyndham, Pitt, and Lyttelton, and I suppose some others, whose names I have not heard.

I have told you in the former part of this letter how the Duke of Marlborough zealously opposed Lord Vere's election, which makes what I am going to tell you prodigiously surprising. The Duke has this day kissed the King's hand for a regiment of foot: it is said Murray's, who died three or four days ago. This is a mystery I am not at all able to explain.

1738, Monday, May 22.—The parliament rose on Saturday, and the sessions has passed pretty easy with regard to the Ministry. There is among the bills that have been passed one for restraining privilege of parliament, which was carried in the Lords House only by one vote. Lord Scarborough greatly for his credit was most zealous for the bill, and spoke incomparably well for it. The Duke of Newcastle was, I hear, of the same side, and Lord Hervey. I cannot tell who were the opposers, but I suppose we shall have a list of their names. I was not there myself and for that reason cannot give a more particular account of it.

I have for several years past promised your mamma to make a ramble with her of a few days to see some fine seats, but something or other has always fallen out to hinder it till now.

We set out from home on Friday the 12th, and did not return hither till the 20th. The first day we saw the Duke of Chandos' seat at Canons, but not the gardens, which to retrench expense are neglected and therefore not shown. We dined at Baron Edlin's, and in the evening saw Cashiobury. Next day we went to Lord Raymond's which is scarce worth seeing, and then to Moor park, which is indeed a noble fabric, but not entirely finished, much less furnished, and probably never will be, since the owner is building as grand a seat in Wiltshire. That evening we lay at the Vache, where we stayed until Tuesday, when we went to Berkshire to see the little estate I purchased at Burghfield. That

day we went to Caversham to the seat of Lord Cadogan, and the next day after viewing the estate, we dined with Mr. Poyntz at Midgham, five miles of this side Newbury, which is a fine situation, and where Mr. Poyntz is laying out in further improvements a good deal of money. On Thursday we went to Windsor and saw the (new?) Lodges and Mr. Bateman's house at old Windsor, and in the evening went to Richmond. The next day after seeing the gardens and Merlin's Cave, which I had not seen before, we went across Hounslow Heath to Cranford, to the seat of the Earl of Berkeley, and from thence to Dawley, which house pleased me above any of the rest, and so by Uxbridge home to the Vache, from whence we came hither on Saturday. Thus I have given you an account of a nine days absence from the town. We had the good fortune to have all the time good weather, and to find all the fine houses without their masters, so that we had no obstruction to the seeing them as much as we would.

I have not seen anybody since my return from whom I can send you any authentic news, but the last time I did, I have reason from what I heard to think the storm with respect to the Spaniards would blow over, and that we shall avoid a war.

The Bishop of Ely who has long been in a very dangerous way, is at last dead. He died on Thursday, and will be succeeded by the Bishop of Norwich. Who will go to Norwich, is not yet said. It will I believe be none of those the papers intimate, nor anybody that is already upon the Bench. The poor Bishop had a fair chance of outliving Dr. Bentley, who has had two paralytic strokes in six days, and it was thought could not survive them above two or three days, and then the Bishop would have had the Archdeaconry of Ely to dispose of, but the Doctor is said to be at present out of immediate danger.

1738, Saturday, September 9. Chichester.—I am extremely concerned to hear by yours of 24th August that you have been so much indisposed. I hope the method you have taken will effectually remove your complaint and bring your body into good order. Whenever you feel a heaviness, listlessness, or languor, you may be sure something is amiss, and should immediately bleed and go to bed. You was very much in the right to drink the waters upon the place, for all sulphurous waters must need lose the greatest part of their virtue, if not drunk immediately, but I am surprised at the quantity you mention. They used formerly indeed drink two quarts at Tunbridge and Bath, which would make eighteen pretty good glasses, but not large ones. But our physicians now universally condemn that practice and do not prescribe above a pint.

The appearances we had of a war with Spain are now vanished for the present, Monsieur Geraldino and the Duke of Newcastle having signed a convention, which is to be the basis of a new treaty with Spain, but in the midst of the satisfaction this gives the friends of the Government, we are greatly alarmed with the danger of losing Sir Robert Walpole. He was hunting at Richmond as usual this day sennight, but was much out of order, very ill on Sunday, and had he not been blooded and blistered immediately, it is apprehended he would soon have gone into an apoplexy. He was thought to be in great danger on Monday. On Tuesday they gave him the bark. He rested well on Tuesday and Wednesday nights, and it is generally said he is out of danger, but Dr. Hulse, I hear, is not so sanguine. This is a very important life to us, at this juncture especially, and should he die, the King would have a very great loss in him.

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You must have heard, long before this reaches you, of Sir J. Jekyll's death, who out of his great zeal for the Dissenters has left some say 2,000*l.*, others 10,000*l.*, to the widows and children of such teachers as were most active in endeavouring the repeal of the Test Act. I do not yet know who succeeds him; most likely Mr. Verney, Chief Justice of Chester. Doctor Gooch is at last translated to the bishopric of Norwich, and the Bishop of Llandaff being dead, Doctor Butler, who was Clerk of the Closet to the Queen, will succeed him in the bishopric of Llandaff, and the Deanery of Wells and Bristol probably will be given to Doctor Alured Clarke. We have had a very wet and disagreeable August, and the weather is now and has been for some days exceeding bad, so that we shall, according to custom, have but bad roads to London, whither we propose to be going the 20th.

1738, December 9.—Things here are much as they were when I wrote last. No Bishop of Llandaff yet, but I suppose now it will be declared soon, Sir Robert Walpole being returned from Houghton, where his old intimate Sir Ch. Turner died suddenly, as his gentleman was dressing him, yesterday was a fortnight. The parliament are to meet the 18th of January, and until then I propose to stay here, unless good weather, which of late we have had very little of, should encourage me to go to town against New year's day, to make my court at St. James's.

1738–9, February 15.—The parliament not meeting until the 1st of February, I stayed until that day at the Vache. The parliament was to have set the 20th, but the courier that had been some time expected from Spain not arriving till the 18th, the session was put off for a fortnight. It opened with great warmth in both Houses, that the Patriots might lose no time to condemn the measures that had been pursued with respect to Spain, in that the Ministers had not insisted on *no search* (of our ships by the Spaniards in the West Indies) absolutely, and upon refusal gone into a war, which in my humble opinion (and I believe in the Patriots' too) they would have been mad if they had. But that they might be sure to have any convention that could be made disliked, they insisted on a condition they knew could not be obtained. The convention was laid before the Houses on Thursday last. The substance is that the King of Spain shall pay in four months from the exchange of ratifications 95,000*l.* to the King, which together with his demands upon us (estimated at 60,000*l.*) is to be the satisfaction to be given to the merchants. In the Convention it is stipulated that in six weeks from the exchange of ratifications, two plenipotentiaries from each Crown who are named in the Convention, shall meet at Madrid to treat about the other points in dispute, viz.: the grievances complained of with respect to visiting, searching, taking of things, and seizing effects, and settling the limits of Florida and Carolina; this is the substance of the Convention, which was published by authority last Monday. The Lords have appointed to take it into consideration the 27th, the Commons have not yet named a day, but Tuesday next is appointed for the call of the House, and then, I suppose, they will fix their day: I am told it will be the 1st of March. The Lords did not divide upon the Address to the King's Speech, but the Commons did, and carried it by 89. They have had several divisions since, in which the majority was by 80 and 70. Yesterday they voted the Army. It was not a long debate, and none of the Cooks (?) spoke on either side, but they divided 238 to 153, and they divided again to-day upon the report of it from the Committee to the House 129 to 72.

There has been lately published a satire, entitled Manners, by one Whitehead, in which many Lords are very grossly abused, and the Bishop of Sarum's name at length. This was last Friday complained of to the House, and the printer and author were ordered to attend on Monday, and the author pretended to brave it much that he would certainly appear, but when it came to, his courage failed him, and he has absconded, for which contempt he was ordered into custody of the Serjeant at Arms, as was the printer, who did appear. There was great pains taken to save him because he had named the author, though he had not produced him. His name is Doddesley (*sic*), printer to Mr. Pope, and himself a poet, and in order to it moved to put the previous question, that the main question should not be now put, upon which we divided 62 to 30. I did not think they would have divided in a cause that all agreed to be most infamous. My Lord Chancellor on this occasion made an excellent speech to explain the true meaning of the liberty of the press, which he said he found was not at all generally understood, that it was not a liberty to defame and libel, but that it was opposed to previous restraints put upon the press, as had been formerly done by licencers and other methods.

We shall have a warm session and great pains is taken to infiame the City. First the Convention and the affair of *no search* which is as much the cry now as formerly *no excise*. Then we shall have in the Commons, if not in our House, the affair of the 100,000*l.* for the Prince, then an application from the Dissenters for a repeal of the Testament. The Quakers are prevailed with to desist for the present. When these matters have been upon the tapis, you shall hear again from me.

The Deanery of Wells is not yet filled. You will have heard before this reaches you that Dr. Mawson was the Bishop of Llandaff. Poor Mr. Venne has the small-pox. They came out this day sennight. I fear he is in great danger, but the doctor says we must stay till Sunday. Mrs. Trevigar and her husband are both well; she was here yesterday. They have been very busy in cake making for the Duchess of Marlborough upon the birth of a son. When the Duke sent news of it to the Dowager, it is said she sent for answer, that *to complete his joy she was very ill*, though in reality was very well. Lord Townshend has resigned the Jewel Office (I suppose angry that he has not a better place), which is given to Lord Abergavenny.

1738–9, March 14.—The news you have abroad I believe can rarely be depended upon. The marriages between France and Spain are, I think, a sufficient proof they do not intend to quarrel, on the contrary, there is to my apprehension great reason to believe there will be the closest union, to make Spain some amends for the ill-usage of Spain on the part of France in Italy.

We have had here on occasion of the late Convention, the greatest party struggle there has been since the Revolution. The Patriots were resolved to damn it, before they knew a word of it, and to inflame the people against it, which they have done with great success. They have taught them to expect what they well know could not be obtained, nor ever can, though we should go into a twenty years' war with Spain (which yet we cannot do, even for one year, without going into a war with France and Spain both, without one ally to assist us). The point clamoured for is, that Spain shall on no pretence whatever visit or search any ship in any part of the American seas, unless they are found actually within their ports, which would give the West India Merchants ample scope to carry on a trade with the Spanish settlements, though most strongly prohibited in the treaty of 1670, the first American treaty

HARE MSS. that we ever made with Spain. Nothing can be more unreasonable than to say that Spain has a right to prohibit all trade with her subjects in the American seas, but has not a right to the necessary means to make this prohibition effectual. This is the claim set up, which Spain we are sure never will nor can grant consistently with her own greatest interests, and for this they tell us the King should have gone into a war, and agreed to no convention without it. By the Convention satisfaction is stipulated for past depredations, viz., 95,000*l.*, to be paid in four months by the King of Spain in London, together with what is due on the part of England to him for the ships taken in 1718 in the sea-fight near Syracuse, which was stipulated by the treaty of Madrid in 1721, and in that of Seville in 1729, together with satisfaction for the depredations the subjects of Spain have suffered from us. Which sum from 180,000*l.*, our country has reduced to 60,000*l.* The whole satisfaction therefore to our merchants is 155,000*l.* The future security for our commerce in the West Indies, with all other points in dispute, is referred to a treaty to commence in six weeks from the exchange of the ratifications and to be concluded in eight months.

The clamours raised against this Convention have been carried to the greatest height both within doors and without. Not only the West India Merchants, but the City petitioned the 26th of last month. The Lords heard the Merchants upon their petition, and Mr. Stert the Commissary was examined upon the sum settled for the satisfaction. They say he is an able man, but he has not the gift of utterance, he did not answer the questions put to him with readiness or clearness, but yet, I think, did give answers which might satisfy those who were not resolved not to be satisfied. On the 28th they went into the consideration of the Convention. The debate was so long that it was a quarter past eleven before I got home, and either that fatigue or attending the address the next gave me so great a cold, that I have not yet got rid of it. The Duke of Argyle spoke a full hour and a half against the Convention, but in so rambling a way that I think he never made less impression. He could not gain one Scottish Lord to be of his side. The Bishop of Sarum spoke for it extremely well, but has been horribly abused for it since, in the discourses of a mad people. Lord Cholmondeley opened the debate and went through every part of the Convention prodigiously well, and concluded with a motion for an address to thank His Majesty for having laid it before them, &c. There has not been known so full a House of many years. There were upon the division present for the address 71, against it 51 among which four bishops, Lincoln, Lichfield, and the two brothers (*sic*) Oxford and Gloucester. Proxies, for 24, against 16, so the whole for it were 95, against it 74, of which the Prince one. The Protectors were 41, but the Prince not of that number. The Commons did not enter upon this affair till the 6th. They spent that day and the next in hearing and examining. The 8th they went into a committee upon the Convention, and sat until past twelve. The numbers were 260 to 232, and they reckon there went away about ten of [them] who could not hold out to the end. The next day they debated it again upon the report, numbers 244 to 214. The Patriots were so enraged to find they could not demolish the Ministry, which they reckoned upon with the greatest certainty, that their speeches were filled with the rudest and most opprobrious language, such as no man had ever heard in that House before, and Sir William Wyndham, who spoke towards the close of the debate the second day, called the majority a faction, and solemnly took his leave of the House, declaring he would come there no more. Mr. Puby and Sand had

said to the same effect before him. They had a mind to provoke so far as to deserve to be sent to the Tower, which they hoped would increase their flame to their hearts' desire, but their adversaries understand their play too well to gratify them. It is amazing Sir Robert Walpole has been able to bear so great a fatigue and such barbarous usage so well. He answered Sir William Wyndham with such a spirit and so much dignity as surprised everybody. Horace opened the debate the first day, which everybody said he did incomparably well. This is all the news I can send you of what we are doing.

The Princess of Wales is brought to bed this afternoon of another son. The King goes to-morrow to the House to pass the Mutiny bill.

Sir Robert Walpole's youngest son Horace is setting out upon his travels. Lord Selkirk died yesterday of the stone, I think aged about 77.

1739, April 23rd.—I can send you nothing new from home. Your mamma wrote to you the 29th of last month, which was the day on which the motion was made to repeal the Test Act, &c., and therefore I take for granted she told you that the motion was thrown out upon a division of 188 to 89, though so many of the good Churchmen had absented themselves, which they continue still to do. Nothing has passed remarkable in parliament since. All our attention now is turned to Spain, whether they will pay the 95,000*l.* or not, within the time limited for it, which for aught yet appears is doubtful, since the South Sea refuse to pay the 68,000*l.* due from them to the King of Spain, otherwise than by setting it off against part of a much greater sum the King of Spain owes to them. It has been moved in parliament and carried, to give Mrs. Stevens 8,000*l.* for her receipt for the stone, provided it be approved by the persons to be named in the Act. It happens a little unfortunately that Mr. Cartwright the postmaster, who was one of the great cures, is since dead, and upon opening two very hard stones were found in his bladder upon which her adversaries triumph much, though in reality it is no great objection to her medicines, since it was never pretended they would dissolve all stones and those smooth hardstones bear no proportion to those of a friable nature. The Parliament have little to do, but will not rise until they see what the King of Spain does. Sir Robert Walpole was taken ill a week ago, pretty much as he was in the autumn, but the fever soon intermitted, and he is pretty well again though weak. I have been a good deal out of order myself with a cold and cough, ever since the beginning of March, which being taken care of but by halves, has hung long upon me, but I have for a week past been free from my complaints. The weather has all this time been extremely bad, so cold and disagreeable a March and April I think I never remember.

Mr. Cartwright is succeeded in the Post office by Sir J. Eyles.

1739, May 31.—Things continue in a very disagreeable way. The Seceders continue to absent themselves, but that makes less disturbance than I believe they thought it would. They have really made themselves ridiculous by it; it is a conduct nothing can justify. But I suppose as soon as the parliament is up we shall have some bitter pamphlets under cover of vindicating themselves, but in truth to abuse the ministry and parliament. Things have gone on smoothly enough in the two Houses since the Secession except that there has been some debate upon two occasions. One was upon a message from the King to desire a vote of confidence, that he may be enabled, if the defence of the nation should require it, to increase his forces by sea and land, for besides the clouds from Spain, France is encouraging the Swedes to

HARE MSS. attack the Czarine, and is sending a squadron into the Baltic, which may oblige us to do so too. The Duke of Argyle and the opponents contended for a delay until the 24th and that if Spain did not pay the money, then estimates should be brought in the parliamentary way, and the forces augmented. But this was in effect declaring war with Spain, which it is hoped there may be no occasion for. The division was 72 to 32. The other affair was a message to enable the King to make a settlement upon the younger children out of the civil list, after his demise. One would think nobody could have opposed this, the sum asked being so very small, 6,000*l.* for each of the daughters, and 15,000*l.* for the Duke, and it did pass the Commons almost *nemine contradicente*, but they debated and divided in the Lords, the minority 27, the majority I do not remember. To-day there is a debate in the Lords upon the non-payment of the 27,000*l.* As my cough is still too troublesome to attend long debates, I can as yet tell you nothing of it, but may perhaps hear something before I seal. I have all along apprehended Spain would not pay the money, unless the South Sea paid their 68,000*l.*, but what Spain will do is as yet uncertain, no courier being arrived, though daily, I may say hourly, expected. They are angry that our fleet is not recalled. I wish it had been three months ago, since when it lies in our own ports, it can upon occasion very soon be upon the coasts of Spain. If Spain pays the money the pretence for delay will be that they depended on the South Sea Company paying a debt which themselves acknowledge due, but refuse to pay, because Spain owes above four times as much to them. If they refuse payment, what we shall do I know not, but believe the first thing instead of going immediately into a war will be to make reprisals in the West Indies, a method I wish we had taken twenty years ago.

You will have heard of the death of Lord Halifax. I was with Sir Robert Walpole when word was brought him of that benefit ticket. He is in some respects a very lucky man, the Clerk of the Pells fell void the first day he came into the Treasury. Lord Sunderland quitted in the morning, and Mr. Pelham died of the small-pox in the afternoon, and himself had been very ill but a few days before Lord Halifax died, so his two eldest sons are nobly provided for, for life. The two youngest princesses and the Duke are just recovered from the measles. The Duke had them last and worst and was apprehended to be in a good deal of danger, for he had been for some time before much out of order with a cold, and in that state greatly overheated himself, having ridden about thirty miles one day a hunting, was caught in a great storm, up to the knees in mud water, and in the evening went to Foxhall. This put the Court into a great alarm, and especially the King, who was under great anxiety for him, but the danger is now over.

I am just now told by one of my brethren, that it was moved to-day by Lord Bathurst, to address the King to know if the 95,000*l.* was paid, and if not, for what reasons it was not. The Duke of Newcastle told them he had the King's leave to tell them it was not paid, and that no reasons had been given why it was refused or delayed. The propriety of addressing or not, to know a fact, made up the debate, and they divided 54 to 40. Then they appointed Monday to go into the state of the nation, and the warm speeches are reserved for that. The Lords read the third time to-day the bill to hinder the exportation of wool, by suffering among other things the importation of Irish yarn. This bill had been greatly debated in the Committee, and they debated and divided again to-day, a very motley division, people voting as their counties happened to be abounding in sheep or not, whose particular

interests few have courage to give up for the good of the whole. Mr. Hayes' Vagrants bill, that has been so long cooking, passed the Commons, but thrown out in the Lords. The Lords have several long bills before them, so that I do not know when the sessions will end; a bill for the Bridge for a general Report [from the] River Company about the river Lea, which the City petition against; a sugar bill, to permit the exportation of sugar from our West Indian colonies to foreign markets, without obliging them to unlade first in England, which will meet with much opposition; a bill for recovery of small debts, by justices of the peace, which it is thought will miscarry, since it so much increases the power of the justices; and I think one or two more

The Duke of Argyle has so much opposed the Court this session, that there is great talk of his being removed, and of Lord Carteret being Secretary of State; but I give no credit to them, especially not to the last.

1739, June 14.—Nothing material has happened here in parliament since my last, except that on the 31st it was moved in the Lords to address the King to know if the 95,000*l.* was paid, and if not, for what reasons it was refused or delayed. As this was a mere inquiry of a fact, it was thought sufficient by the other side to have an answer from a Secretary of State. The Duke of Newcastle told them, he had the King's leave to tell them, it was not paid, and that no reason had been given. But the movers were not so satisfied, so there was a pretty long debate, but in the end it was carried against them, not to address: but this, I believe, I gave you some account of in my last. The division was 56 to 42, difference 14. On Monday following 4th June, Lord Carteret would have moved for the day, opened the debate on the state of the nation, and concluded with a motion, that the non-payment of the money by Spain was a breach of the Convention, a high indignity to the Crown, and great injustice to the nation. These were not the words but the substance only, for it was a pretty long question. As this was but a leading question, and must have been followed with another, in what manner to resent it or to advise an immediate declaration of war. This first question was opposed by a motion to put the *previous question*, whether that question should be now put. This was the subject of the debate. The speakers were Lord Carteret, and on his side Lord Halifax (whose father had not been dead a month), Chesterfield, Bathurst, Lonsdale, Argyle, and Strafford; contra, Newcastle, Cholmondeley, Hervey, Chancellor and Scarborough. The Chancellor spoke extremely well. Scarborough spoke very strong, that he never considered any question with greater attention, that the question implied a suspicion of the ministry that they would not do on this occasion what was right, that he was most firmly persuaded they would, and therefore was against the question, and was for leaving to the King the whole power of doing what should be proper, and not hindering it by interposing their advice. After about three hours debate (when we expected six or seven) we divided for putting the previous question, 63 to 44. In this division no bishop was against the Court, but of the four that had divided against them the 31st, three were with them, and one, Gloucester, did not vote. The Prince came from Clifton to the debate, but did not vote, Spain having, which was not then known, refused to pay the money, unless the King would recall his squadrons from the Mediterranean and the West Indies. I believe vigorous measures are resolved on. There was two days after this debate a violent press for seamen on the river, and it is the same all over the kingdom, and ten

regiments are ordered from Ireland, to put the nation in a posture of defence. It seemed to be the sense of both sides in the House, that since the Spaniards had broke the Convention, and consequently the injuries that had been so long complained of remained unsatisfied, that we ought to do ourselves justice by taking all the Spanish ships that came in our way, until we had reimbursed ourselves for their depredations. This, I believe, is the measure resolved on, and as the Spaniards will not submit quietly to this, the consequence cannot fail to be a war. As Spain would not use us thus, but at the instigation, probably, of France, or at least are sure of their assistance, one has but a melancholy prospect, but we must trust Providence, and if common danger can unite us at home, our enemies may wish they had used us better, but under this appearance of things I wish you was at home.

This is all the news I can send you at present, and you may depend on its being true. Possibly now the session is at an end there may be some changes at Court, but that I can speak of with no certainty at present. Horace Walpole sets out to-morrow for the Hague, where he will be to treat with people, who, if one may judge by their late conduct, are not to be moved, unless affairs should come to an extremity. It is amazing this situation of affairs should not produce union, where the interest of the whole family is at stake, for it is impossible in case of a war to suppose they will not endeavour to put the Pretender upon us. I hear the Jacobites are very sanguine, but so indeed they always are. [There are this] session two very material Bills, one to permit the importation of Irish yarn . . . . . ment the exportation of their wool to France, and another to permit the exportation of sugar from our plantations to foreign markets without unlading first in England.

A third bill for a general Register has been dropped in the Lords, Lord Chancellor having raised many objections to it, and it is thought it will not be revived another sessions, though the judges are ordered to prepare a bill for it. We expect furious pamphlets from the Seceders, who have acted a very unaccountable part with respect even to themselves, for had they continued to attend the House and to tease from day to day, it is more than probable they would have killed Sir Robert, and that under his indisposition, he could not have borne the fatigue; whereas, by their absence, the three last months have passed easily, and he is very well recovered.

1739, June 30. Chichester.—Yours of the 6th came to the Deanery the 22nd. I am extremely glad to see by it that you found at Naples a water so well suited to your constitution, and hope you will find lasting good effects from it. I wish your staying at Rome till St. Peter's day did not keep you there until the heats were too far advanced, and shall long to hear you are got well to Florence. I think you have determined very rightly to spend the hot months there. The Gallery and Library will find you good employment. I add the Library because it is the most famous in Italy for good MSS., and though you do not consult any of them upon any particular passages, yet you should look into them to see the size, the matter (I mean the vellum, parchment or paper) and the ancient hands and the known or conjectured ages of them, because they have been often perused and much quoted by all our good modern critics.

Your letters shew you are not incurious, but are for acquainting yourself with everything that is valuable, especially with such places as are taken notice of as considerable by the classic writers, in which I suppose Mr. Addison has led you the way, and I have the pleasure to hear the same from other hands. I wish nothing may hurt your health, and that

you may live long to enjoy the fruits of your travels, but hope the pleasure your virtuosism (*sic*) gives you will not draw you into expensive pursuits of any of them when you return home. There is no being a virtuoso, or gratifying that itch in building, medals, statuary, or painting, upon the foot of a moderate estate, and yet one finds some travellers bring nothing else home with them. As to the ancient private buildings I dare say they were no way comparable to our modern ones in point of convenience, or the making the most of a little ground.

I told you in my last how affairs stood with respect to Spain. Since that Spain has declared they will not pay the money, unless the fleet be recalled, and upon this point solely it is refused, by which they have put themselves in the wrong the most that is possible, the recalling the fleet being so far from being a condition of the Convention that it never was so much as mentioned in the conferences for the Convention, nor by the Spanish minister here. It is true our Court did intend to recall the fleet upon signing the Convention, but not in compliment to Spain, or to remove any umbrage taken at it, much less in virtue of any promise, but partly upon the point of good husbandry and to save the expense. But when the ministry found, how much the people and a great part of both Houses were dissatisfied with the Convention, and how confident they were the money would not be paid, the orders were recalled and Haddock was ordered to continue in the Mediterranean. This vile conduct on the part of Spain gives France a handle for not taking at present a part in the quarrel. The Cardinal has declared to Lord Waldegrave, that he is as yet under no engagements with Spain, and indeed without that declaration one might, from the present situation of affairs, be pretty sure, France is not disposed to break with us at present, having so many other irons in the fire. How this will operate on Spain I do not know, but am persuaded a war is unavoidable. I can never believe the Queen of Spain with her high spirit will patiently bear our taking their ships, but upon the first capture will look upon it as an act of hostility and immediately declare war. So much for politics.

We left London on Thursday and came hither in good time last night, having had a better journey than usual. We came this time by Epsom, Leatherhead, Horsley, and the two Clandons, which is a much better and pleasanter way than the other, and it took up very little more time if any.

1739, August 5. Chichester.—I wrote to you the beginning of July, soon after my arrival here, and then gave you what account I could of the situation of affairs between us and Spain, the consequence of which, I think, must unavoidably be a war. Admiral Haddock's orders for seizing Spanish ships, &c., came to him the 3rd old style, and by the last letters from him he was before Cadiz. The Spaniards are arming in all their ports as well as by land. What this will produce time must show, but it is strange they should choose to put themselves to so vast an expense, besides losing the benefit of their flotas going out, and of their galleons coming home, rather than pay so small a sum comparatively as 95,000*l*. But as probable as the prospect of a war is, or rather as certain as it is, I am sorry to find you did not pursue your first intentions of going to Florence, since I do not see how a war will affect Italy. By staying at Rome you lose what you proposed at Florence; and the heats will not let you do at Rome, what the length of the time would, if you could stir abroad. But you are now fixed for the remainder of the summer. I shall much wish for the heats being over, and to hear you have not suffered by them. Next year possibly

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the Pretender's interest at Rome may make it impossible or at least uneasy for Englishmen who are not in his party to be there, but how that may prove, must be collected from what has formerly been done, when there have been attempts in his favour, particularly in the years 1718 and 19, and that perhaps you can easily inform yourself of upon the place. If France should take part with Spain, and it is probable it may next year, I do not see how that will affect Italy. All the inconvenience I apprehend from thence is, that you cannot return through France, but must take your route through Germany, in which there is no great inconvenience considering how much you have seen of France already.

We have had hitherto as bad a spring and summer as I believe anybody remembers. The fruit of all kinds is in a manner universally spoilt. We have not had above a week of warm dry weather together, and this last week we have had for five days together nothing but rain, which must have done great damage to the corn, a good deal having been cut before the rain came.

I can send you no news from hence, but what is in the public prints, which by the way little credit is to be given to, with respect to letters inserted from the Hague, and to the Paris à la main. Dean Naylor, of Winchester, is succeeded by Dr. Pearce. The deanery of Norwich, I believe, is not yet disposed of, nor Bath and Wells, which has been so long void. We had ten days ago the disagreeable news that the Turks had defeated a body of the Imperial troops, which I am afraid will prove of fatal consequence to the Emperor's affairs. It is strange they cannot see how they are amused by France who has made them expect in vain a suspension of arms for several months past, when their design plainly is to force the Emperor into a separate peace, by which he will be deprived of the only good ally they have; and if they can compass that, then the Russians are to have all the weight of the Turks and Swedes upon them at the same time, and if France can compass that they will be amply revenged upon them for Poland, as they have already revenged themselves upon the Emperor. Nothing can sure be more unaccountable than the conduct of the Imperial Court; to draw upon themselves one war and suffer themselves to be drawn into another, without being in a condition to defend themselves, much less to attack in either. This conduct gives France such an advantage as cannot fail to have the most fatal consequences upon the affairs of Europe, and particularly our own, especially as we are so unhappily divided [against our]selves. For want of matter, I have been drawn into politics, though I hate to think of them, when the prospect is so bad.

1739, September 1.—I received the 24th yours of the 8th by which I am very glad to find you have borne the heats at Rome so well. I long much for another letter with the news of your being well at Florence. The very day I wrote last to you, I had a letter from Mr. Spateman in which he says he had not a great while heard from you, and expresses his wishes that you were returned to England, for though if a war should break out, passports may protect you from public seizures of either your person or goods, yet private violence is always more busy in such times of commotions, and one travels with less safety, which no doubt is true, but I should hope with proper precautions there would be no great danger from thence. I have told him I believed you would govern your motions by what you saw other English gentlemen do, of whom there are not a few now in Italy. I can say little as to public affairs more than I have said already, having here no opportunity of knowing anything from the first hands. But I believe

it is certain France will do nothing this year, but I take for granted they will declare for Spain the next, if no accommodation be made in the meantime. It is a great mortification to us that the Assognes ships are got safe into the Spanish ports, which we should have had a pretty chance to have fallen in with, if Admiral Vernon had not been so long windbound at Spithead. The Emperor's affairs seem to be on the brink of ruin, and he will be forced to accept of such a peace as the Turks will give him. He lost I believe 10,000 or 12,000 men at least in the last battle. His general deserves to lose his head for not having better intelligence. He has but a handful of an army left. The Turks will most certainly take Belgrade, if it be not first yielded up to them by a treaty of peace, which we expect every day to hear. Lord Crawford was not killed, but so dangerously wounded that it is much feared he will not recover.

The day your letter came came hither we returned from a five days' ramble we had been making to Southampton, Sarum, and Winchester, a thing often intended, but by one incident or other put off until now. We had the pleasure of good roads and pretty good weather, and besides these towns saw Lord Peterborough's gardens near Southampton, Lord Palmerston's house at Romsey about seven miles from Southampton in the road to Sarum, which he has greatly improved, and Wilton, which take it altogether is the finest thing I believe one can see in England. Mr. Trevigar and his wife saw Portsmouth likewise in their return. We did not go thither because the small-pox is much in the town. We propose to leave this place the 12th, and after a few days at London, to go to the Vache.

Dean Hayley died here the 12th of last month, and is succeeded by Dr. Hargraves whom I expect here next week. The deanery of Bath and Wells still remains undisposed of.

I am told that at Rome the chief thing to be avoided, not to be made uneasy, is the coffee-houses, which are filled with the Pretender's people, who are very apt to go into talk, which an Englishman cannot with patience hear, and that may produce quarrels, and therefore such places should be much avoided. This I had from a good hand. The Goodwood family dined here last week, who enquired with great civility after you. At Lord Palmerston's I saw some very pretty marble tables, which his son sent him over. He told me he had sixteen. There were some very pretty of a sort of dove colour, a whitish brown mixed with a dark one, in small sort of flowers, not much unlike Brussels lace. I thought them extremely pretty. They were bought at Naples exceeding cheap; I think he told me four of that sort cost but 5*l.*; if any such come in your way, you would do well to buy some. The carriage by sea to London, he told me, was but a trifle.

1739, October 13. Vache.—No letter was ever more welcome from you than that received yesterday of 4th September from Florence. How came it to be seven weeks in coming hither, when your letters from Rome used to come in a month at farthest; I cannot imagine unless they are detained in France? What made me expect your letter with the more impatience was that you left Rome in the height of the hot weather, and in your former of the 8th August, said you would write as soon as you came to Florence. This made me greatly fear all was not well, since I did not dream of your making it a three weeks journey, which in the direct way is not, I think, above three days. I am very glad you found the journey so agreeable, and the gentlemen of the several towns you passed through so obliging, I hope you will fill up your time as much to your mind at Florence until you return to Rome.

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I can tell you nothing of public affairs that can be at all new to you. The parliament meets the 15th of next month, when the Seceders will, I believe, attend, and do all they can to make it an uneasy Sessions. By all their papers, their play will be to push a Place Bill, and if they cannot obtain one will secede perhaps again; and in the meantime to inflame the people, to be zealous in it and to petition their members to be for it. The City of London has shown the example, and the patriots will endeavour to persuade the other great towns to follow the example. They have put by Sir G. Champion from the mayoralty for voting for the Convention, which is a most scandalous part in the city, when it has been approved of by both Houses of Parliament. There might be other reasons with respect to his character in private life for setting him aside, but the reason given is his voting for the Convention, and private character could not very decently be insisted on after their choice of J. Barber who is far from being a saint: but enough of this disagreeable subject. After the Parliament is met, a little time will show what we are to expect at home as to affairs abroad. There is no convincing the people the Government is earnest, or if we shall have a war, which is so monstrous, that if one did not see it, it would be incredible. I do not yet hear what part France will take, but since there has been in the public papers some appearance of their choosing for the present at least to act the part of a neutrality, the good patriots now tell us, nothing is so dangerous as a neutrality, and that we had better have a war with them, which one would think none but madmen (except downright enemies to their country) could wish for. If France continues neutral until spring, and we have any success in the West Indies, Spain perhaps may be more tractable and disposed to agree to reasonable terms. I say nothing to you of the peace between the Emperor and the Turks, and the consequence of it, that Russia has been forced to make peace likewise upon the best terms they could, your own reflections and the papers in the part of the world you are yourself in, will furnish you with the proper reflections. But it is a melancholy thing to see the Emperor's affairs in so sad a condition, and three such unsuccessful and ill-conducted campaigns against an enemy, who has for a series of above fifty years been always beaten by them. There never was a war that showed more the importance one man is of. Had Prince Eugene been alive and been at the head of the Imperial army, if the Emperor had gained nothing, I dare say he would have lost nothing. The first campaign they acted as if they had no enemy to oppose; the second they thought they were engaged with the whole Turkish army, when it was only a part; and the last, they thought they were attacking a part when it was in reality the whole. Such intelligence and such conduct are inexcusable, and yet every campaign has been under a different general, which shows in a most sensible manner, what a condition the Imperial Court are in. To add to our ill situation at home, the ill weather we have had almost ever since Bartemy tide to the beginning of this month has made the harvest for barley, &c., exceeding bad, so that in many places it is not worth mowing. This will ruin abundance of farmers, and in general fall very heavy upon the country, and it is the more mortifying as there never was a finer crop. Barley is now almost twice the price it was, and, what is another hard article for the poorer sort, coals are grown extremely dear, occasioned by the great and continued press for seamen, joined to the knavery that is always practised on such occasions.

1739, November 4. Vache.—I have yours of the 1st October, and am very glad you find yourself so agreeably entertained at Florence. I

suppose before this you are returned to Rome, where by our accounts it is more than probable there is a vacancy in the Holy See, and then you will have an opportunity of seeing the finest sight perhaps in Europe. I am able to make you very little return of anything that will be agreeable from hence. You will have heard long before this reaches you that war is at last declared against Spain. We had, I believe, a mind Spain should have been the declarers, and then those who were engaged only in a defensive alliance with Spain might without difficulty have avoided taking part in the war, and indeed from the spirit of that Court and of the Queen, it was natural to think they would have declared war upon the first ship we took from them. But they thought better of it, and followed the example we had set, and granted on their part letters of reprisal, in return to our having done so: as it was easy to foresee there would soon be war declared either by them or us. We made the necessary preparations both for being safe at home, and for enterprising something in the West Indies, from whence I hope we may have some good news before Christmas. What part France will take is not yet declared, but it is impossible to think interest and alliances both will not oblige them to take the part of Spain. The only question is, with what vigour they will do it and how soon, for if they immediately declare and make great efforts, it is very possible they may be involved in a general war, which they will not be very fond of; they remember too well the last. It is happy for us that the success of the Russians has induced the Porte to make a peace with them as well as the Emperor. This has mightily, I think, altered the face of affairs, and disappointed the project of France, which was to force the Emperor into a separate peace, that Russia might be crushed between the Turks and the Swedes; which project is now vanished into smoke, and the peace of the north will be preserved, and Russia be at liberty to be a good ally to us. We have had the good luck to take two Caraccas ships, worth about 150,000*l.* each, which has put the people in very good humour for the present; but how long it will last I cannot say, they will be expecting such good news once a month at least, though there are no more such ships to come from the West Indies, and consequently no such can be taken. There was, I am told, at the proclamation of war the greatest concourse of the populace that ever was seen, and the most general satisfaction shown; but such is the spirit of the people, that a great many will scarce yet believe we are in earnest. The Parliament meets the 15th, so that now we shall soon see what part the patriots and seceders will take.

I am very glad to hear you are likely to have such a number of sober young gentlemen at Rome this winter, which will enable you to pass your time there more agreeably.

1739, December 22. Vache.—As to the war, I am able to say nothing new about it. The opposition pretend to be sure that a peace is far advanced, but upon what grounds is to me inconceivable, except it be from the price of stocks, which instead of sinking upon declaring war have considerably risen, which is indeed a mystery. We have no news yet from the West Indies, but please ourselves with the expectation of hearing soon some good. The first part of the Sessions is now ended, and the Commons have adjourned to the 8th January. I do not know what means you have in Italy of hearing English news, but suppose some printed accounts come to all the great places, and therefore I will say the less. In the main things have gone on very smoothly and no delays have been attempted with respect to the current service; on the contrary so much despatch has been given that the Land and Malt Bills

HARE MSS. are finished and passed yesterday. The opposition began with taking the merit of pushing the war with vigour much upon themselves, and moved that no peace should be made without the favourite point of *no search*, this was carried unanimously. Then they desired a conference with the Lords to join with them, so it became the unanimous address of both Houses. This encouraged them to make some other motions in which they did not succeed so well. Among other things they moved that 5,000 marines should by way of frugality and good husbandry be drafted out of the standing forces, which question as it was a very absurd one, they lost by a great majority; for that is in effect to keep up 18,000 men from the apprehensions of a war, and when there is actually a war, to reduce them to 12,000 or 13,000: and they have succeeded no better in their other attempts since. The last they made was on Tuesday last, for a call of the House soon after the holidays, in order to have a very full House when they are to move a Place bill, which is the great engine they are now to work with. But as those who had been of the Secession could very ill appear zealous for a good attendance, it was but a short debate, and they lost their point by a great majority, 126 to 60. Sir Robert Walpole has this session kept well and in high spirits beyond expectation until last week, when he caught a bad cold, but by proper applications was so well recovered as to be in the House at this debate.

The weather has been very variable, and in the main very bad, which has made the town sickly with colds and sore throats, which seem to have something malignant in them. Of this poor Mr. Pelham, the Duke's brother, has felt the most fatal effects, having lost his two sons in the space of a few hours, one after the other (upon about a week's illness I am told, but of that am not sure). It shews itself by a speck in the throat, which soon mortifies; but I hear the physicians, or rather surgeons, have got the better of it, by cutting it out as soon as it appears.

1739–40, January 19.—Yours of 30th November, I received the 28th of last month, and that being in the recess of parliament and having written but a little before in answer to your former, I have deferred writing longer than usual, in hopes I might be able to find something to say that would be agreeable or at least new, but find myself quite disappointed. The parliament met the 8th, but it being excessive cold weather adjourned to the 15th, and I do not hear they have done anything since but election work. The Place Bill is not yet moved for; when it is it will be opposed in the first step, that it may not be brought in, and if that point be carried it is not unlikely but the opposition may make a secession again as they did last year, but that is uncertain, they not being well united among themselves or agreed in their measures to distress the ministry. We have since Christmas day had as bitter a cold season as has been known in the memory of man, especially the last three days of December when things froze by the fireside. The cold still continues and is likely to do so, and good part of the time the weather has been very stormy, by which much mischief has been done at sea and upon the Thames. The poor suffer exceedingly by the severity of the season, having little or no work, and everything growing very dear, particularly coals, which are near 4*l.* per chaldron. It is very unfortunate to have so hard a winter at the beginning of a war, our only comfort is that it does not fare much better with our neighbours. Things continue in a very uncertain state with respect to the spreading of the war; but you know by my former letters my opinion of that matter, which I see no reason to alter, though stocks still continue high,

which shows the people are strongly persuaded that the war will not be of any continuance, and that great advances are made towards a peace, but upon what grounds they think so, I know not. We have no news of consequence from the West Indies. Vernon lies before the Havannah, and Brown before Carthagena, but as neither have land forces on board, they can do nothing by way of descent. 8,000 men are getting ready for those parts, but upon what particular designs is not known, nor is it fit it should. The affair of Marino is a strange story. It suits well enough the character of the manager of it, but how his holiness can sanctify so unrighteous an attempt, or be willing the holy see should enjoy the fruits of it, I cannot comprehend. It is surprising the Pope holds out so long in a state so extremely weak. If this weather is felt at Rome, it must be very difficult to preserve him against the effects of it

I think your travellers need be in no great pain, about getting safe to England, if they once get safe into Holland. There are frequent opportunities of convoys, and even in the common packet boats there is very little danger, of which there cannot be a better proof than that in all the last war there was not one taken, or not more than one, and that occasioned by a tempestuous wind which broke their masts.

We have the Myrobalanus here, but it is little used. Quincy says it is a kind of dry foreign plum that they use much in the Arabian pharmacy.

Postscript.—An election for Plymouth having been heard for two days at the Bar of the House, the Court party carried it by a great majority, 180 to 118, but this does not discourage the opposition from trying their strength for a Place Bill, which it is expected will be attempted on Tuesday or at least in the compass of the week.

1800 more marines will be asked for some secret expedition.

1739–40, February 23.—Your letter of 20th December came to me 30th January and I answered it the 3rd. In that I gave you an account of the debate in the Commons for bringing a Place Bill, which the minority upon the division lost but by 16, 208 to 222. This made them very sanguine and they threatened great matters, but nobody could be sure what, the Prince's affair, Triennial parliaments, calling Mr. Keen to account for accepting the King of Spain's declaration, and other things were thrown out. Two or three days before the call of the House, which was appointed for the 21st, they moved for a pension bill and a qualification bill. The first, I suppose, is to be much the same with what has been so often attempted before, and will probably in our House meet with the same success ; the other is, I believe, to make the former bill more effectual, which regulates what estate in land a man must have to be a knight of the shire and to represent a borough. But their great effort was reserved for the 21st, which was indeed the boldest and most home push against Sir Robert Walpole they have ever attempted yet. The motion was made by Mr. Pulteney in a violent, laboured speech, and seconded by Sir William Wyndham, for an address to the King to lay before the House, all papers, letters, memorials, &c. relating to the Convention, *to be committed to a Secret Committee of* 21 *persons*, as was practised in 1715, when the House intended to impeach the Oxford ministry. This they owned was their pattern, and called it *Lex talionis*. You will easily believe people who declared this, treated Sir Robert in the most virulent manner in their speeches. They thought themselves, one would think, very sure of their strength, and that they should now be able to demolish Sir Robert. But they found themselves greatly mistaken. Sir Robert

Hare MSS. spoke admirably well, said little of the Convention, but made his friends see this was a trial of him, and that his fate was to be decided this day. The House sat until about nine, and upon a division the debate ended in a great victory for Sir Robert. They carried it against the motion by a majority of 51, though the opposition had used their utmost efforts to bring together all their posse. The numbers were 247 to 196, which with the Speaker and four tellers made 448, a very full House. This defeat will, I believe, make the rest of the session quiet and short. The Call of the House before the debate was put off for a month, but after the debate Mr. Pulteney rose up and said, three months. Considering what had happened, which shows all their views of putting down Sir Robert are for the present at an end. This was so extraordinary an affair that I thought it would not be disagreeable to you that I have dwelt so long upon it.

I told you in my last what I had just heard of the sudden death of Lord Scarborough. It is now certain, as I presume you have long since heard, that he shot himself, and the ball was found in his head, for his brother had him opened, intending at first to dispute his will, but I hear since the caveat is withdrawn. It is said he was to be married in a week to the Duchess of Manchester, with whom he had for a year or two past been in great intimacy, so that he was gone too far I suppose to retract, and yet could not resolve to go on, and therefore took this short way to put an end to all difficulties. He was a strange mixture of a man, fond of popularity and yet of nice honour, of good parts, and yet without solidity of judgment to adhere steadily to anything. But it is in the blood to fall into this sort of disorders, father and mother and uncle (the general) all fell into the deep melancholy way before they died.

1740, March 25th.—I sent you in my last an account of our affairs here at home. Nothing very material has passed since the Patriots miscarried in their attempt upon Sir Robert Walpole, by a difference of 51. The Pension Bill, as formerly, passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords by a majority of 12. There was a bill brought in by Lord Cadogan (I do not know upon what particular inducement) to prevent clandestine marriages, by nulling those between minors without consent of parents or guardians, but there was in the Lords such a diversity of sentiments, that the bill dropped, as all attempts of this kind have always done. There is now before the Lords a Register bill, and has been for some time. There was a division upon the choice of the officer, the Duke of Bedford moved he should be chosen by the freeholders of 100*l.* per annum, but it was carried for the Clerk of the Peace. On Thursday the Lords are to go upon the *state of the nation*, at the motion of Lord Bathurst. This, I think, is all I can tell you of our home affairs. You will have heard of Admiral Vernon's success in the West Indies, who attacked Portobello the 22nd November, stayed there three weeks, and utterly demolished all the fortifications of the place, by which it is now become an open town, to the great joy of the Jamaica people, and all engaged in carrying on a clandestine trade with the Spanish settlements. I want much to see the Spanish account of this affair, which we have not yet received. The Spaniards by all their accounts are making great preparations for attacking Minorca, by troops sent from Barcelona to Majorca. They likewise threaten us with an invasion from the coasts of Galicia, but that little is said of in the articles from Madrid, and we apprehend it so little here, that stocks instead of falling have risen especially since our good news from the West Indies. France still professes a neutrality, but how long she

will keep it, who can say? But we have taken the best way to have her keep it by having a strong squadron in the Channel, that we may be ready in all events, and, if the neutrality be kept, to that, I believe, most people will impute it. This is the state of affairs, so far as I know of them, with respect to Spain.

1740, April 2.—I have no public news to send you since my last, having written about a week ago.

I received last post a letter from Mr. Lancaster to tell me that Lord Craven's estate at Wartling is to be sold, it is about 450*l.* per annum that it has been offered to Lord Wilmington and Mr. Fagg, and that Lord Wilmington is willing to buy the marsh land but not the upland. This looks as if Mr. Lancaster had not had very early intelligence of this estate being to be sold, though it lies so near him, and has been so long expected. It perhaps may be sold before I can have an answer to this, but it is too great a purchase to make without your approbation, besides, I apprehend it will come dear, as indeed all Sussex estates do. Whether you should buy it or not depends I think chiefly upon this, whether you propose to keep Hurstmonceux or not. If you do, it would be most advisable to purchase in that neighbourhood; but if not it is in my opinion, the last country one would purchase in. If Hurstmonceux were my estate, I should not have a minute's doubt about it. The annual expense of the house, gardens, and park is near a third of the clear produce of the estate, whether one live there or not, which is an insupportable grievance. The high price of labour, the dearness of provisions and difficulty of getting them for want of markets, the expectations such a house creates, and the number of hangers on, with which the kitchen is always full, are further grievances. People seem to expect that a man's expense should be measured by the size of his house, and not of his estate, which is so absurd that one would think no reasonable man could think in that manner, and yet Mr. Lancaster, who is otherwise a very honest man, is always on that side the question, and instead of supporting attempts to lessen expenses and particularly to prevent hangers on, he always appears to be out of humour at them, and yet there is not a more frugal creature in his own house than himself; the meaning of which no doubt is, to make himself the idol of his poor neighbours at your expense. One cannot forbid weeder (?) women coming into the house (where they have no business), but it is plain he is against us. If you keep Hurstmonceux you must pull up a spirit to break all this trade at once, and let him, and others see you resolve to live like a private gentleman and within compass, and not to support a ridiculous popularity and the figure of a great house, ruin yourself, and be forced to sell an estate which you would be glad to keep. You will consider yourself maturely upon the matter, and let me know your thoughts. I have no concern in this matter but your interest, and for that reason only have given you my thoughts; but you know the place and can judge for yourself. If you have a mind to purchase the Craven estate, I will endeavour to find money to supply what your own money falls short.

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LETTERS from MARY (formerly Miss ALSTON) widow of Bishop HARE to her step-son FRANCIS NAYLOR.

[1740], April 27. Vache.—It is with the most inexpressible sorrow I set pen to paper to acquaint you that my dear husband departed this life at three quarters past four o'clock in the afternoon yesterday, after

Hare MSS.

having suffered much with a fever, cough and swelling in his hand and side, which were lanced by Mr. Bigg, who came three times from London to him, Sir E. Hulse twice, and Mr. Lisle almost lived with us from the time my dear lord was taken ill till yesterday morning. In Passion Week (I believe) he catched cold by being too free in walking in the garden. The Thursday in that week he had issues made in his back, which being uneasy I thought might occasion his being low-spirited; and on Easter Monday he was attacked with first a shivering and afterwards a fever fit, and from that time I almost despaired of his precious life, though about a week after that Lisle flattered me with hopes, and I a little flattered myself, for he seemed to grow stronger for several days. But our hopes were soon dashed, for his fever returned as bad as ever, and a pain and swelling in his hand and side, the cutting of which he bore with great patience and resolution, and was most complying in taking readily every disagreeable medicine that was offered him. He was from the first sensible of his danger, but not without some hope, and several times in this illness talked to me in the most tender moving manner imaginable, and was perfectly sensible to the last, and spoke to me in less than half an hour before he died. He did not care to see the children in all this illness, and when I once took notice of it to him, he said he loved them too well to like to see them in his sad condition. I have been very particular to you, Dear Sir, who I know will be desirous of learning every circumstance relating to this sad event of the best of fathers, husbands, masters and friends, and in a word the best of men. It is no small addition to my grief that you are at so great a distance, at a time when I most want the advice and assistance of all my friends, and more especially yourself in this melancholy juncture. Mr. Comyns, who has been twice here, was desired by my dear lord to give me all the assistance in his power, and he has assured me he will do so to the last day of his life. But though I shall have good offices from him, and I hope from many of the friends my dear lord had opportunities of obliging, yet there will be a continual want at home that nobody in the world can supply, the tenderest fondest husband and most agreeable companion, whom I was always happy with [and never] easy without him, being truly sensible of his uncom[mon] great and good qualities, and loving him most passionately, almost to adoration, is taken from me. I am left a poor disconsolate woman in a large house a great deal too big and good for me, with two little children and as few servants as I can possibly make shift with, for I propose soon to part with all that are unnecessary, and to send Miss to school, for at least this first dreadful melancholy year. Thus you see I have a most sad prospect before me, but whatever I suffer myself I am determined to do everything that I think will be most for the advantage of my children, who I love much more as being his than my own, and the greatest honour I can do his memory is (I think) to take the utmost care of what he was so fond of, and has, he several times told me, put entirely into my power, a trust I will never be guilty of a breach of, and I doubt not of your kind assistance and advice, having had so long experience of your goodwill, both to myself and them. I do not urge you to return home, before you have finished what you went abroad to see, but I hope you will make as much expedition as you conveniently can, and that the end of the summer at farthest will bring you to your friends again, who all think it very long since you left us. I love you extremely with great reason, Dear Sir, upon your own account, and if I had not, your being so very dear to him, who was infinitely so to me, would entitle you to all the regard it is possible for me to show you,

and you may assure yourself, I will make it my study to make everything as agreeable to you as my way of living will admit of. My dear lord was desirous if it had pleased God to have lived till next winter, that he might have had the satisfaction of seeing you, and leaving you with me, being fully assured as he has often told me of your friendship for me and fondness for the children. His ill health for thirteen months past gave us little hopes of his being continued long a blessing to his own family and to the world, but we had some hopes that as he had got through this very bad winter he might have held on to the next. But it has pleased God to determine otherwise, and I must submit to his divine will. Mrs. Trevigar was so kind to come to me ten days ago, and will stay with me till I can get somebody else to me (I hope Mrs. Gurdon). I have ordered the three poor children that are buried at St. Paul's to be taken up and buried with their dear father in his church. When that is over I will write again. I am sorry to give you the uneasiness of reading this long melancholy letter, but I do not know how to leave off so long as there is any room left.

1740, May 17. London.—I hope the shocking news I wrote you the 27th April has not affected your health. I have great reason to thank God I am tolerably well under this most heavy affliction, the dread of which has been a load upon my spirits above a year, and I have the comfort of kind offers of assistance and condolence from one or other of my dear lord's friends every day, and much more civility from my own relations than I expected. Mr. Soame wrote me one of the handsomest friendliest letters that could be, and both my sisters very proper ones upon the occasion, with invitations from Mr. and Mrs. Soame to Thurloe at their return from a journey they intend into Yorkshire very soon, and in their absence the use of their house, if it would be more agreeable to me than my own.

I buried my dear lord on Saturday the 3rd of May, and I hope you will think in a proper manner. I desired Mr. Comyns to consult some of our friends in town, and to give me their opinion about it. My lord had desired in his will that his funeral might be private, and the expenses very moderate according to my discretion, but I did not like the fashionable way of burying people without bearers, and, except the funeral service read over them, with no more ceremony than they would bury their dogs. So we agreed to invite Dr. Baker, Dr. Lavington, Dr. Tyrwite, Dr. Thomas, Mr. Spakeman, and Mr. Nash for bearers (for they told me bishops would not go so far out of town) and Mr. Godolphin, Mr. Longueville, Mr. Edlin, Mr. Proctor, Mr. Mann, and Mr. Comyns to walk as mourners. They came from town in three mourning coaches and six with relays. I ordered some dinner for them at one o'clock, at three my dear lord was carried to church, and from thence the company returned to London in very good time, and everything was conducted (as Mr. Comyns told me) with great order and decency. I ordered a vault to be made and the children that were buried at St. Paul's were taken up and placed in it with their dear father. The pulpit, desk, chancel, and my pew are hung in mourning. One room was hung in mourning as Mrs. Trevigar says it was at Mr. Naylor's funeral, with many scutcheons round it, a velvet coffin with plumes of feathers and other ornaments. It was not thought proper to invite any company in the country since these particular friends were so kind to come from London.

[Particulars of the Bishop's will conclude the above letter.]

HARE MSS.

1756, Sunday, 15 (*sic* August ?), Harrogate.—I am more particularly glad to receive yours to-day, as if I had not it would have been a long time before it would have come to my hand, for having fixed to-morrow for my departure I desired Nann (?) not to send any letters after Thursday here; if she had any to send on Saturday, to me at the Post House at Newcastle and after that to Mr. Edlin's. Yesterday John sent me word he was so very ill that he could not possibly drive me on Monday, he has had a purging ever since last Monday, but is so averse to taking anything that he concealed it, I sent immediately for the Apothecary and hope I may be able to set out on Wednesday as to what I shall see by the way will depend upon the weather, if I go directly I believe I shall do it in 7 days, but hope to be able to write to you from Durham, Newcastle, or somewhere. Nancy soon got well and has been excessively happy with frequent dancing, last Thursday we had 11 couple though part of our company went to dance at the Queen's Head; Friday, with the help of some of their company, 18 couple. Lord Northumberland's sons are there, Lord Warkworth with the eldest Miss Walmsley and Lord Willoughby with the eldest Miss Hare at the same time (our room being long) opened the Ball with minuets, they both drank tea, played cards, and supped; commended our ordinary and say they have nothing good at theirs. Lord Warkworth is a puny chicken, but behaves very manly and with great politeness, he has a famous piper that played to us that evening. Lord Willoughby is one of the prettiest men I know, he has drank tea with me once, and I expect him again this evening. Mr. Arden left us yesterday to my sorrow for I was much taken with his conversation, he is greatly senior to your schoolfellow for he was at college when I married and used to go frequently to Thurloe, knows them well and everybody else that I ever knew or heard of. The clergyman and his family leave us to-morrow, they have been very civil and prove agreeable people. Here is a Mr. Drake who is related to yours, has a living at or near Doncaster, several gentlemen of fortune not far from hence come two or three times in a season for a few days, so that one has an opportunity of seeing many people and living gaily at a small expense. I call it small compared with other public places for there we pay largely for lodgings and all diversions, here only for board; if I was at a reasonable distance I would come every year. Mr. Leigh whom you saw at Scarborough with his daughters is at the Salutation because here was no room, as is Mr. Bewick, a friend of your Mr. Taylor's, he was at the White Hart at Buxton last year. One day last week we went to Knaresborough to see the Dropping Well, and ruins of the Castle, both extremely well worth seeing; the beginning of the week some of our company and from the Queen's Head, eighteen at least, hired a waggon with a tilt, put in benches, six horses in pairs, broad wheels and turnpike road, trotted away very expeditiously to see Studley, lay at a good Inn at Ripon, danced 9 or 10 couple till two in the morning, and came home as gaily as they went, highly pleased with the frolic and thankful to me for giving encouragement to it. The very wise ladies were against the waggon as thinking it had a romping appearance but the Miss Walmsleys and one more said if I would give them leave they would go, there was no getting chaises enough to carry them, they went sixteen very much at ease and could have put in two more. Lord Willoughby and some more gentlemen attended them on horseback. I thought the company they went with was the thing and not the vehicle that carried them and glad I was that everything answered so well as I heard so much said against it. I am rejoiced to find you have sold your horses so

well, thank Mr. Fr. for his account of the little fellow, I will write to him soon, but now have spent every moment to you; letters come in but a little before dinner and go out before five. We had dancing last night; three nights together is a sign our company is gay. I suppose Mr. T. Drake is gone home as we hear nothing of him, there has been but little company at Scarborough, and very few lodgings are taken at York for the Races, the camps take away the great men; tho' I don't write politics to you, we hear much and find they all despond. We had a vast deal of rain Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, but as our road is turnpike and chiefly good I hope to give a good account of ourselves in due time.

1756, August 27, Alnwick.—I wrote to you yesterday from Newcastle but had not time to tell you that I found there a letter from Mrs. Trevigar which had lain a week at the post house for me. I will send it you that Mr. Fr. may see what she says with regard to him; when you think proper he should write to Mr. Trevigar about his going thither. I suppose my daughter will soon remove to Old Ford, and then he may go to Sussex. As I came out at Durham from the ladies where I drank tea I saw Mr. Weston's flame: she seems a very handsome woman, they tell me she is rather awkward; he came out of breath yesterday as we were setting out, to see what we were to do, and said they were that moment going out of town with the Bishop, desired compliments to all at the Vache; he is certainly a very goodnatured man. I took it very kindly his spending so much time with us, and leaving the fleshpots of Egypt to eat at a dirty inn. Some of the road yesterday was most execrable, but most of it much better than I expected, we went upon the whole four miles an hour and got to Morpeth early, expected a very elegant inn, but found it quite the reverse; an old fowl and french beans with bad butter, hard bed, and vile tea this morning which I threw away and made my own, cherry brandy (I believe), which my landlady would have sworn thro' thick and thin was the best port in the world. This morning the bill was 4*s.* for eating and 2*s.* 6*d.* tea, and [she] said she made people of quality pay 1*s.* ahead for tea; however she did vouchsafe to take eightpence a head for breakfast for tea we could not drink, and a shilling a head for supper we could not eat. We drank our own wine and brought away hers to mix with some of John's physic. To-day we stopped at Felton Bridge 10 miles, the road being very rough and up and downhills. John chose to take off the horses and we were tempted with a great variety of good cold things, for which the house is famous, the man is very nimble and talks as fast as Blaney, we eat some ham and baked herrings and paid a shilling a head the most I ever paid for cold things in my life. Nine miles from thence hither paved road and pretty jumbling; we could go no further for there is no place fit to lie at, till we come to Berwick thirty miles; this afternoon we have seen the Castle, a place vastly better to me than most new fine houses. Lord Northumberland is making fine things there, in about three years they suppose it will be done all the rooms over the gates, which are three, and all the turrets in the walls which are many are to be fitted into rooms for some purpose or other. I like their taste and would do the same were I in their place; they have 30,000*l.* a year here.

Warkworth Castle (the picture of which you may remember we saw upon one of the staircases at Petworth) is nine miles off, close to the sea, and is such another place as this, but they do nothing there till this is finished. As we came today [we] counted above thirty ships upon the sea, which is four miles from hence. Your sister talks the Scotch brogue so

HARE MSS. intolerably well, and is so fond of it, as to give me offence; she set me a laughing at Morpeth with talking it to my landlady and the woman looked as if she thought she mocked her, so I have begged her to do it no more unless she can't make herself understood without it.

Sunday, 29th. Berwick.—Yesterday we came 15 miles, paved causeway some of it pretty rough to Belford, met Mr. Edlin's coachman who had been come two hours; he told us his master &c. had been very uneasy on account of the rain and floods, and almost despaired of seeing us. Presently came after us a gentleman, his lady and a little boy about ten years old in a postchaise called out to Mr. Edlin's man and asked how they did soon: after they sent compliments and desired to know how our bad journey had agreed with us, they live very near Mr. Edlin, set out this morning and will let them know to-morrow night where they left us the first seven miles yesterday afternoon. I wondered the man came so far to meet us for 'tis all turnpike but soon we came to Hind Heads' Br. mountain, the road very level and broad enough for two coaches, but I could not reason myself out of fear and unluckily was in the wrong side of the chariot, and what in reality was bad yesterday was narrow single arch bridges very steep down, and up again, the road for two miles before we came here very bad so that we left the turnpike. We hear the road to-morrow and next day is very deep occasioned by the rains; today is the third fine day or fourth, so I hope summer is come to stay with us some time and then I shall endeavour to see going back what we lost now. The beginning of the fourth volume of the Tour through England describes this place just as we find it, I think better of Northumberland than he does, 'tis none of it so bad as Buxton, and in many places there is corn as well as grass. We have been twice at church; no people of fashion there; 'tis very pleasant walking upon the walls, and the sea very beautiful; the post goes out at 7; we are now neither in England nor Scotland. To-morrow soon after eight I hope to be in the latter, and when we are got to our journey's end to give a good account of ourselves, shall expect to find a letter from you. Beck got into a wagon the day we set out that was going by as we went to church, which I thought was lucky, she called at Catterick on Tuesday as we was at breakfast, and I gave the waggoner 8*d.* to let her stay half an hour. She called again at the same time on Friday at Morpeth, has been sufficiently punished now for her obstinacy last year and if we can be at any certainty as to time in coming back shall have a place in the stage coach. I hope the coachman will be well. Will says he takes his physic very good and eats roast beef or anything; if he and Beck would have let me rattle him off before he would have been sooner well. The beginning of last week a privateer cast anchor here but was soon made to sheer off again with the loss of one man. I see Lord Blundell and Sir Thomas Dyke are dead, the city have addressed the King in very plain English (I think) and the county of Suffolk in their advice to their members copied what one reads in Lord Clarendon's history. I do as I would be done by, write as full as the paper will hold when I have time, and strange stuff it is I see, wrote bits at a time, but you won't have such a task again in haste (?) for I shall have many letters to write. Poor Mrs. Gurdon has not heard from me this age and I am afraid has been uneasy for us. Nancy has an ugly cold and cough. I hope it will leave her when we are settled.

All join in much love to you and yours and to Mr. Fr.; and compliments to all friends, &c.

R. M[ARSHAM] to [FRAS. NAYLOR.]

1761, Sept. 4. Whitehaven.—I don't know whether you or I are to blame for this long silence? or whether either are blamable? but this I am certain of, that if I had found anything the knowledge of which I thought would have given you pleasure you would have had it. I am now conscious of that want but when one is leaving the kingdom, one naturally thinks of those we love and leave behind us. As you are a gay *old man* I conclude the wedding carries you to town; as I am a *very grave very old man*, I run out of the kingdom.

I was in hopes of living a week with you this autumn; but a sudden whim took me that I would see Keswick Lake, that estimate (*sic*) Dr. Brown had given so fine a description of. I have now seen it, and like every other thing that is highly commended I am disappointed. Windermere exceeds it in every particular, except the lofty and pointed mountains that surround Keswick. Indeed the Skiddaw is a glorious mountain. It cost me five hours weary walk to the top before I got down again. From hence you see all the lesser hills, the Lakes, and all the circumjacent country as in a map laying at your feet, and at a distance the Isle of Man, and the long ridge of Scottish mountains that stretch towards Ireland. The natives call Skiddaw a mile high, but the hills bordering upon Windermere are a vast height, and the lake is so much larger and the wooded islands so much finer than those in Derwentwater, that I must admire Windermere above all the things I have seen in England for grandeur.

I had heard so much of Lord Scarsdale's grand house and oaks, that I was impatient to see them. The oaks I found vastly inferior to Lord Powis's, by Ludlow, and the house I think will not be equal to Holkham. The wings join by circular corridors, one is his and children's apartment, like Holkham but a little larger . . . . By the other wing it appears the Hall must join the drawing-room, and I think cannot exceed 40 feet in line. So you see it can't be larger than Holkham; I can't tell how the rest is to be disposed. If no gallery, then of course no state; if a gallery, then a want of rooms. The present park seems insipid. Now I am on the subject of great things, is it true (what I have heard) that you have sold Hurstmonceux? I came from Keswick by Cockermouth, and paid my respects to Lord Egremont's Castle. This town is one of the neatest and pleasantest situated I know. The hill rises immediately and overlooks it, and the Isle of Man, and all the range of Scottish hills; and the Skiddaw appears in stately majesty 25 miles off. Here I intend embarking for Dumfries and from Port Patrick for Coloraine, and when I have seen the Giant's Causeway, moving south to Dublin and Cork, and at the Post Office at the latter, shall rejoice to find a letter from you. I count to stay a few days at Dublin, and to see Lord —— fine cascade near it.

R. MARSHAM to FRANCIS NAYLOR, in Great Burlington Street, London.

1761, November 13. Carmarthenshire, a village without a name.—I had the favour of yours of the Coronation day at Cork, and am much obliged to you for it. I think 'tis agreed on by all moralists that a friend is to help one in any distress—Now I (after having travelled from Holyhead hither, viz. about 150 miles in very bad weather, thro' very bad roads, on very bad horses & generally had very bad lodging and eating) have been shut up all this day, by violent rain, in a little inn,

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So the use I will make of you, my good friend, is to discharge all the ill-humour I have contracted upon you. Why in the D—— name were not you (that have as little to do as I) here and I at home? As you would not see the Coronation you ought to have left the Kingdom. Now my wrath is ended and I heartily congratulate you upon being Master of Hurstmonceux. If it was mine I would not part with it for 100,000*l.*, yet I have seen a seat, since I saw you, that I think a grander situation viz. Castle Kennedy, Earl Stair's. 'Tis on an island but large enough to have a grove by the house; the lake is environed by wood, and the whole guarded from the N. & E. by high mountains. It commands a view of the S. & N. Seas, and has for grand objects to the S. the Isle of Man and the Mull of Galloway, and to the N.W. the Isle of Ailsa. This is the finest rock I ever saw it looks like the Dome of St. Peter's at Rome; only vastly larger and higher. I was 40 miles from it and yet it appeared a vast heighth. I crossed from Port Patrick to Donoghadee and then went to the Giant's Causeway and from Colerain to Dublin, and thence to the lake of Killarney, and so returned to Dublin by Cork viz. about 700 English miles in Ireland. I don't offer at descriptions of the Causeway or Killarney because you have [seen?] them, only I must say the lake is a finer thing than I have ever seen of that sort. Lord Powerscourt's Park by Dublin does also in the soft and romantic. You enter it, by a narrow glen winding between mountains. This opens at once into a grand amphitheatre of mountains covered thick with grove, and facing you, a small river seems to steal from the wood, and falls full 50 yards, in the finest sheet of clear water I have ever seen. I was so much charmed with it, that I almost doubted whether I was awake or in a scene of enchantment. Indeed, I think it worth going 500 miles to see, but not at this season.

My patience has been long since wearied out with waiting for winds and tides, at different places and I was so near being lost, in only crossing the little Bay from Whitehaven to Kircudbright that I had fully given myself over, but thank God our boat arrived safe at last, and the passengers only wet as if swimming. So I hope I shall live to have the pleasure of seeing you at Stratton, although I lost it this year. Dublin is so much improved since I was there 20 years ago, as I could not have believed. It has vastly the air of London. Sackville Street is double the breadth of any of the new streets in London, and the two theatres are very handsome, and Mrs. Abingdon I think the finest comic actress I ever saw. I wish I had a frank for all this stuff, but if it cost you ten pounds I must write in a rainy day, so pray for fair weather, &c.

### The SAME to the SAME.

1768, July 9. Inverness.—If I had wanted anything to remind me of your kindness I received a hint at my leaving England, for at Tweedmouth, Buck's view of Hurstmonceux Castle stared me in the face. But indeed it only pleased me for I can't be out of the kingdom without thinking of those I love that I have left. I am now at my furthest North and expect to move southward to-morrow. I hope you, Mrs. Naylor, and Miss Soame had as much pleasure in your little ramble as you expected. You, I think, were never north of Stirling but some things are so changed since you were in the North that you would not know them. The Duke of Northumberland has for several miles improved and enclosed the vast fields and wastes about Alnwick and planted slips of groves by the road side near the castle. You travel

through a lane of flowers and flowering shrubs on both sides, and the old naked castle is now the noblest seat I think in the kingdom yet the drawing-room is but 18 feet wide and the eating parlour but 21. They are in the taste of Strawberry Hill. They are building at Edinburgh as in London, and one of the squares will be very handsome; and at Perth the bridge cross the Tay (which they are now building) is 700 feet in 7 arches of 75 feet each. But the glory of the North that I have yet seen is the Duke of Athol's place at Dunkeld. The gardens are stretched on the North side of the Tay which is there a noble stream equal to the Thames at Staines. The bank rises boldly and the walks are disposed (I think) in a very pleasing manner, and the trees all flourish as well as in the South; a little walk (cross Tay) of sweet briar and roses, leads you to a hermitage covered with ivy, and from the window a large river falls over vast broken rocks with the noise of thunder within a leap of the room. You and I have seen larger, of the Rhine, and the Velino, but I never saw one so beautiful; here in a place that seems shut out by nature from the luxuries of the South he may have them all. The flowers and fruits, the strawberries in the garden, the figs, grapes, and pine-apples in the hothouse seemed all good. His other seat at Blair though larger I did not like so well. The rest of the scene northward was chiefly mountains heaped on mountains, with frequent cascades pouring down their sides and patches of snow shining in the high clefts and rapid rivers roaring at their feet. Then with every little strath of land that would bear it filled with corn and the sides of mountains covered with wood, have afforded pleasing thoughts to beguile time and the thin-inhabited way, and pays the traveller for very moderate eating and lodgings; when he is (like me) not very nice. Mrs. Naylor, whose good taste I am confident enjoyed the various beauties of Hagley, and would enjoy those wild ones of nature here, would suffer a little to see a flayed calf (that seemed to die of starving) hung up by the bedside and the dirty blankets and sheets well stocked with active fleas, and the graver gentlemen in half-mourning called lice. But I disregard both the lively Frenchmen and the sober Dutch, &c.

The SAME to the SAME.

1770, July 1. Stratt[on Strawless, Norfolk].—As you was so polite to say you should be glad to hear from me you must take the task that you have brought upon your own back; so I make no further apology. I thought the great town of London could at all times supply those in want of a post chaise, but to my surprise when I wanted one on Saturday, after sending to at least a dozen houses, I found I could not have one till they returned from the Review on Blackheath.

Between three and four I set off and took a view of Lord Petre's great new house at Thorndon. I will not say it pleased me much. The outside is of miserable coloured white bricks some being as brown as mahogany, and a range of mezzonines under the attics appear strangely. You enter a lofty rustic floor, and your only way to the principal floor is by a pitiful staircase. There the rooms are large and lofty; the hall a cube of 40 feet and the salon about 60 by 30, the hall is floored with oak; two large wings are joined to the house by circular corridors two storys high. In one is his lordship's library which has a whimsical effect, the other end opens to an elegant chapel, and the portico (like Holkham) has no step from it. I think the house is above 170 feet long, and the depth in the middle must be 70 besides the walls as 'tis the hall and salon, and 'tis the highest house in appearance that I remember out of Edinburgh.

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as there is an attic floor above the hall. A drawing room of 40 by 24 I thought a very pleasing room. Upon the whole when it is furnished 'tis worth going 19 miles to see. The Kentish land rises prettily over the Thames which shines as if it had never been sullied with the filth of London. I manfully got into my chaise the next morning at Witham by 10 o'clock as I had only 82 miles home, which I reached by midnight, and the next day dined with a houseful at Sir H. Harbord's, who is now gone to London and so to Bath. As I generally look out of my window before I go to bed, last Wednesday night I found a comet, and called some out of their beds to see it too. I find by the news that others have found it too, &c.

J. J. CARTWRIGHT.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS OF JAMES ROUND, ESQ., M.P., OF BIRCH HALL, ESSEX.



This collection is miscellaneous in character and has been much neglected. I discovered several of the documents in a loft over the stables, among them being one bearing the autograph signature of "the King-maker," with an impression of his seal, believed to be unique, and another containing the curious formula of the ward-staff of Ongar, the existence of which had remained unknown. In a lumber room I found, among old newspapers, the voluminous Petkum correspondence, relating to the secret negotiations for peace in 1707–1711.

The manuscripts are calendared in five divisions. In the miscellaneous deeds and papers will be found several relating to the neighbouring borough of Colchester and other Essex localities, including a curious receipt from Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester "filz et frere des Rois." Among the other items of interest in this division are three deeds concerning the surrender of Revesby Abbey, and a fine plan of Limerick in the 17th century. The second division comprises the papers relating to the great Essex family of De Vere, and to the Baynings, whose heiress married the last Earl of Oxford. This is followed by a "Diary of the Siege of Colchester," which, though it needs to be used with caution, contains many details not found elsewhere, especially on the opening fight. This narrative, which was used by Morant when writing his "History of Colchester" (1747), and has also been used by Mr. Gardiner for his "History of the Civil War," was evidently written by a local man on the Loyalist side.[1] It is of the same character as that which the Commission has printed in the Report on the Duke of Beaufort's MSS. A fourth division is formed by the correspondence of Mr. Charles Gray, member for Colchester in five Parliaments from 1747. Antiquary, scholar, politician, philanthropist, his correspondence includes letters from the credulous Dr. Stukeley (bearing on the famous Bertram imposture), and an interesting description of New Jersey and Princeton, in its early days, from Governor Belcher. The bulk of them are from the pen of the scholarly Thomas Falconer, "the Mæcenas of Chester," who was related to Gray by marriage. To this correspondence have been added some extracts from Mr. Gray's Parliamentary note-book.

The Petkum correspondence has been classed by itself. Comprising not merely the letters received by Petkum, but the drafts of his own, it is of special interest from the close relations in which he stood to Heinsius the Grand Pensionary of the Netherlands. It is largely in cipher, but the deciphering is interlined. Most of the letters to Petkum are from Torcy, the French foreign minister, but there is an interesting series of news-letters from Paris at the close of 1711, illustrating the feverish desire of the French, at the time, for peace.

J. H. Round.

[1] Mr. Round's MS. is an early 18th century transcript of the original, which is not known now to exist.

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## I. MISCELLANEOUS DEEDS AND PAPERS.

Ante 1228. Notification by Geoffrey le Moyne that he has granted certain lands in Gynges Joybert [Butsbury] to Eustace, Bishop of London [d. 1228] for the yearly render of a pair of gilt spurs or sixpence, in consideration of the sum of six marcs.

[Annexed to this is an indenture of fine, 25 May 1231, by which Payn foliot passed to Ralf Le Moyne a knight's fee and one hide in Ginges Joybert.]

*Armorial seal* of Geoffrey.

1228. Acknowledgment by Geoffrey Le Moyne that he has received yearly from the consecration of Geoffrey de Burgh, Bishop of Ely [29 June 1225] to Easter 13 Hen. III., from Eustace, Bishop of London the sum of five marcs, being the full ferm for his land of Gynges Joybert [Blunts in Butsbury, Essex].

*Armorial seal* of Geoffrey.

1238, Jan. 27. Agreement between Andrew Blund and Simon fitz Ralf of Huchendene. Andrew has quitclaimed to Simon all the land in Huchendene that Ralf, Simon's father had leased to Robert, Andrew's father, in consideration of 60 marcs to be paid by Simon.

[Hen. III.] Quitclaim from Hamon Norman of London, goldsmith, to Hugh le Blund knight and Felicia his wife of all his rights in "la Neulande" in Butsbury, which he held at ferm. Witnesses: Ernulf de Monteny, William de Cloville, knights, and others.

*Intaglio seal of Hamon.*

[Hen. III.] Official transcripts of the *cartæ* [1166] of Ralf Haunselin and William de Wirmegay (following the Black Book rather than the Red Book text). Both these fiefs had come by marriage to the family of Bardulf, which accounts for the combination of these *cartæ*.

MEMORANDUM *in dorso.*

"In Comitatu Lincolnie v$^{xx}$xiiij. carucatæ terræ.

In Comitatu Derbie xxiiij. carucatæ et iij. bovatæ et dim. terræ, et preter hoc viiij. carucatæ et dim. bovata et sexta pars unius bovatæ terræ.

In Comitatu Leycestrie xlvij. carucatæ et dim. terræ.

In Comitatu Norhamtoniæ xj. hydees (*sic*) terræ.

In Comitatu Eboraci xxxiij. carucatæ i. bovata et dim. terræ.

In Comitatu Notinghamie xlij. carucatæ vij. bovata et dim. et v. perticatæ terræ.

Summa totalis xiii$^{xx}$ix. carucatæ et dim. et v. bovatæ et sexta pars unius bovatæ terræ. Et xj. hydees (*sic*) terræ."

[This abstract clearly refers to the Haunselin fief, which extended over these six counties. The figures, however, are in some cases larger than those recorded in Domesday, which suggests a later and independent calculation. The total, it will be found, involves the estimate that 8 bovates were always equal to a carucate.]

[Hen. III]. Grant by William fitz Richard of Frating, to Stephen fitz Geoffrey of five acres. Witnesses, Richard fitz William de Elmstead, William his son [d. 1260,] Richard Bataile, Geoffrey de Cokaine, Richard de Asketot, Richard fitz Sawal', and Martin.

1270. Letters patent addressed to all holding of the "manor" of Colchester, directing them to pay the fee-farm to Queen Eleanor, to whom the King has granted it. Windsor, 4 June, 54 Hen. III. *Seal.*

1283. Grant by Agnes, dau. of Thomas de Derneford, of land in Holton [Suffolk]. Halesworth, 1 Jan., 11 Ed. I. *Seal* of Agnes.

1301. Grant from Roger de Dikele to Christine de Bromley of a curtilage. Dikele, Friday after St. Andrew's day (30 Nov.), 1301.

1311. Court Rolls of Great Bromley, 4–20 Ed. II., beginning 15 April 1311.

1335. Deed of agreement between Queen Isabel, the King's mother, and John, Earl of Cornwall, and Robert de Morlee, reciting that the late Robert de Mohaut had settled all his estate, saving life interest to Emma his wife, on Queen Isabel for life, with reversion to the Earl of Cornwall. Robert de Morlee, as his nephew and heir, had challenged their succession, but his claim was compromised. York, 4 June, 9 Edw. III.

1345. Letters of attorney from Thomas de Drokenesford to Robert Bullock the younger and William de Cofford for all his manors in Essex, Herts, Hants, Wilts, and Somerset. Sunday after St. Ambrose, 19 Edward III. *Seal.*

Receipt from Henry, Earl of Lancaster, Derby, and Leicester (great-grandson of Henry III.) to [Gilbert de Umfraville] Earl of Angus for 14*l.* 10*s.*, due to him on the marriage of his [eldest] daughter [Maud] in respect of 14½ knights' fees held of him by the said Earl [Gilbert] in co. Lincoln. Given at the Savoy, 8 February 1347–8.
*Seal* of the Earl [afterwards Duke of Lancaster].

Grant by Robert Pencrich of Elmstead to Thomas Clerk, chaplain, and John Ketel the elder, of Elmstead, of all his lands and tenements in Elmstead. Elmstead, 1361.
Seal gone.

1361. Tuesday after St. Nicholas. Grant from Thomas Savage knight, William Clere, and Hugh Fastolf to Laurence de Brenle knight of their shares in the manors of Martham and Gilyngham.
*Armorial Seals.*

1355, 20 Oct. Quitclaim by Edward III. to the warden and chaplains of St. Elizabeth's chapel, Winchester, of all military service due from the manor of Norton St. Walery held by them *in capite.*
*Great Seal.*

Notification by the Official of the Archdeaconry of Suffolk concerning the vicarage of Freston, 4 Jan. 1361–2.
*Fragment of Seal.*

1369. Grant by Sir Ralf de Hemenhale, Kt., Ralf, parson of Great Pakenham, and Richard de Pakenham to Ixworth Priory [Suffolk] of certain lands, thirty "opera yemalia," ten "opera estiualia," ten "opera autumpnalia," and a rent of sixty shillings, three capons, and six hens in Wykes, Ashworth, and Thorp for the souls of Mary, formerly wife of Edmund de Pakenham, and Sir Thomas de Pakenham, Kt., her son, to found a chantry. Monday after St. Luke, 43 Edward III. *Seals* of Ixworth Priory, Ralf de Hemenhale and Richard de Pakenham.

1373. Grant by Conan de Ask to Henry Fitz-Hugh and all his tenants at Fremyngton [Yorks] of common of pasture at Marrik, Fremyngton. Saturday before Ascension, 47 Edward III. *Seal* of Conan de Ask.

1374. Appointment by Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, Lord of Wigmore, Clare, and Connaught, of John de Vautort as receiver of his rents in London. London, 1 May 48 Edward III.

1378. Court Rolls of Farnhamhall, co. Suff. 1 Ric. II.–3 Hen. IV., 9–13 Hen. IV., and some later ones.

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1380. Court Rolls of Wakes Colne. 4–23 Ric. II.

1384. Indenture of War between King Richard II. and Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent, assigning the said Earl £4,000 a year as Governor of the town and castle of Cherbourg. 20 Nov., 8 Ric. II. *Seal* of the Earl.

1392. Gaol delivery roll, Colchester. 26 March, 15 Ric. II.

1419, 12 Oct. Acknowledgment from Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, "filz et frere des Rois," for seventeen pounds ten shillings received from the good men of Colchester, being the fee-farm for the last half year. London, 7 Hen. V. Seal.

1422. Will of Thomas Stevens of St. Osyth's, dated 21 Feb. 1419–20, proved 6 March 1421–2.

1426, June 11. Letters of Attorney from John Heveningham jun. knight, John Lonsday sen. and others. Chediston.
*Armorial seal of Heveningham.*
*Seal of Lonsday with Gnostic emblem.*

1462, 30 Oct. Official copy of pardon of outlawry for Sir William Trussel of Elemesthorp, co. Leic.
*Seal.*

1429. Acknowledgment by John Wykham, Prior of Colne, 10 April, 7 Hen. VI.

[Circ. 1450.] An elaborate pedigree of the Kings of England and their descendants from the Conquest to Henry IV., the rest of the roll being destroyed. The descent of the Crown is shown by a thick green line and the relationship of younger branches by thin red ones: the initial letters are illuminated in gold. [English.][1]

1457. Gaol delivery roll, Colchester. 26 March, 35 Hen. VI.

[15th cent.] Fragment of a cartulary of St. Mary's York, containing transcripts of eight charters, ranging from 1242 to 1326 (6 fos.).
Enclosed is another fragment (paper) containing transcripts of six other charters (2 fos.).

1465. Quit claim from Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and Lord Bergevenny, Great Chamberlain of England, Captain of Calais and Lieutenant of its marches, to John Ottyr of all actions against him. Autograph of "R. Warrewyk," 1 Feb., 4 Ed. IV.
[The fine seal is in perfect preservation and is believed to be unique. The legend runs "Sigillum ricardi nevill comitis warrewici domini de bergevenny." The four grand quarters are (1) Beauchamp quartering Clare (2) Montacute quartering Monthermer (3) Neville, with a label (4) Newburgh quartering Despencer.]

1466. Quit claim by John, Lord Wenlock, to Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, of all his rights in the manor of Westwittenham and a moiety of the manor of Burghfield, Berks, with a moiety of the advowson of Burghfield. 12 March, 6 Edward IV. *Seal* and autograph of "J. Wenlok."

1466. Grant by Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, to George Nevyle, Archbishop of York, Richard Nevyle, Earl of Warwick, John Nevyle, Earl of Northumberland, Sir John Henyngham, knight, Sir Edmund Rede,

[1] A precisely similar pedigree of this period was found by Mr. W. H. Stevenson at the back of the Gloucester rent-roll of 1455. (*See* 9th Appendix to 12th Report, p. 425. *See also* 4th Report, p. 341.)

knight, William Harlestone, esq., William Stanley, esq., William Castell, esq., and William West, clerk, of the manor of Westwittenham, and the moiety of the manor and advowson of Burghfield, which she had recently acquired from John, Lord Wenlock. Westwittenham, 16 March, 1465–6.

1470, Aug. 10. Grant by Alice Duchess of Suffolk to John Earl of Northumberland and others of half the manor and advowson of Burghfield recently granted to her by John Barantyne Esq. son and heir of Dru Barantyne, Burghfield.
*Armorial Seal.*

1475. General deed of feoffment by John, Duke of Suffolk, to William Dudley, Thomas Chaundler, clerk, Richard Harecourt, and Edmund Rede, knights, and others named, of all his lands and possessions. Test., Edward Wodehouse, Henry Wyngfeld, Richard Ludlowe, knights, and others. 9 June, 15 Edward IV. *Seal.*

1482. Quit claim from John Freynssh of Sandwich, Capper, and John King of Bocking, Essex, husbandman, sons and heirs of Jane, wife of William Freynssh and daughter of John Rigsby of Bocking, to Richard Spryng of Bocking. 20 September 1482. *Seals* of John French and John King with the Mayor's seal of Sandwich.

1481–2. Roll of the free suitors who made default at the Sheriff's Tourn at Tendring. 21 Ed. IV. [English heading.]

1501. Will and probate of Hamond Claxton, merchant and alderman of Norwich, dated 15 May 1501. Proved 9 March 1502–3. Bequests to the high altar of St. John Maddermarket, to the four orders of friars in Norwich, to "the lippers at the yates of Norwich," the "house of Maudelyn," etc.

1504, Feb. 12. Demise from Robert Barlow of Colchester Mercer, and Thomas Cristemasse sen. clothman to William Buxstone and Alice his wife, John Raynforth, knight, John Makyne, grosser, William Benet, alderman, John Lawford and Henry Beer, of a tenement in the market-place of Colchester. Witnesses: Thomas Cristemasse and John Makyne Bailiffs (and others whose names are separately given *in dorso*). Colchester.

1515. Indentures between Thomas, Marquess of Dorset, and Charles, Duke of Suffolk, concerning the manor of Wyneston, Suffolk, which the King had granted to the Marquess, 26 September 1514, and which the said Marquess now sells to the Duke. 2 February 1514–5.
Autograph and seal of the Marquess.

1527. Feoffment from Thomas Audeley of Colchester, gent., [afterwards Lord Audeley of Walden, K.G., Lord Chancellor], to Thomas Powell of Colchester, clerk, of "le Whight harte" at the New Hythe [Colchester]. 1 March 18 Hen. VIII. Autograph of Thomas Audeley.

1536. Grant by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Audeley, Lord Chancellor, of the manors of Terling and (Great) Lees, Essex. 10 Oct. 28 Henry VIII.

1537. Will of Thomas Nuthale the elder, of St. Peter's, Colchester, yeoman, dated 15 April 1537. Proved 28 April 1537.

1538. Indenture between the Duke of Suffolk and the Abbot and monks of Revesby Abbey, whereby they covenant to surrender the said Abbey to the said Duke in consideration of his payment of its debts and

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of annuities to themselves for their several lives. 22 January 1537–8. [English.] Autograph signatures of the Abbot, officers, and monks. *Seal* of the Abbey.[1]

1538. Surrender of Revesby Abbey to the King by the Abbot (Robert Stykford) and his brethren. 29 Henry VIII. Fragment of Seal. Autograph signatures of the Abbot, late Abbot, Prior, and seventeen monks.

1538. Report from Sir Andrew Byllesby, knight, Sir William Sandon knight, John Wingfield, esq., Anthony Missenden, esq., and George Clayton, clerk, to Henry VIII., informing him that on receipt of his letters patent to that effect, they had immediately proceeded to Revesby Abbey (23 March) where the Abbot and monks, assembled in the chapter-house, had freely and voluntarily executed the deed, signed and sealed, which they now transmit, with their report, for enrolment in Chancery. 25 March 1538.

*Autographs* of the five Commissioners above-named.

1550. Grant by King Edward VI. to Sir Edward Montagu, knight, of the wardship of Harry Longe, son and heir of Sir Richard Longe, knight, deceased.

*Seal* of Courts of Wards.

1553. Grant by King Edward VI. to John, Duke of Northumberland, under the great seal, of Stratford and other manors, co. Warwick, Wolverhampton, Staff., Yardley, Worc., Hook-norton, co. Oxon., Blakesley, co. Northants, Messenden, co. Berks., Chelsea, co. Midd., together with other lands, in exchange for Tunbridge, Hadlow, Sevenoaks, etc., co. Kent, surrendered by him 18 February preceding.

[16th cent.] Armorial of Suffolk families (13 fos.).

[1542–1546.] Rental of the Hundreds of Ongar and Harlow, Essex (53 fos.).

This important manuscript is the original authority from which Morant took his account of the famous "wardstaff" of Ongar. Palgrave quotes from Morant, but the existence of this MS. has remained unknown. It is finely executed, but injured at the top by rats. The "order" of the Wardstaff is found on the last seven pages. The curious doggrel is printed accurately enough by Morant (*History of Essex* [1768] I., 126), though he reads, in the fifth line, "yotlie" in error for "yo the."

This manuscript is of considerable importance, not only to the local genealogist and topographer, but also to the student of institutional antiquities. The formula for each township runs as follows:—"Bob-"bingworth Village come to the Turne aforesaid by iiii men, Tennants "by coppie, and the Reeve of the village there." The "free suitors to the Turne" are entered under every township immediately after the tenants by copy. The common fines for each township are also recorded. The date is determined as subsequent to the appointment (here recited) of John Stoner as bailiff of the Hundred in 34 Hen. VIII., and previous to the death of Robert Barefoote, of Lambourne Hall, in August 1546.

[N.D.] Restraint, under the Signet, by James I., reciting that Fitz Rafe Chamberlain Esq. "hath, in a dutifull regard to us, for our disport, encreased the breede of phesants and partridges within his mannor of Kingstonwood nere to our howse at Ryston (a thing very acceptable

[1] According to the *Monasticon*, no seal of this Abbey is known.

unto us)," and commanding all persons "that they forbeare to hawke or use any nett or engine to the killing or destroying of the said Game within the said mannor of Kingstonwood or any other place nere by adioyning" at their peril.

*Autograph of James I.*

[N.D.] Autograph letter from [Henry, 10th] Earl of Northumberland to his "tres cher amy monseur Wotton."

[1625–1627.] "The Pedigree of Sir John Barker, Baronet, and "Sir Thomas Barker, Knight, his brother by the halfe-blood, sonnes to "Sir Robert Barker, Knight of the Bath, deceased." [Contains large additions to the printed pedigrees of the family.]

1633. Six folio common-place books, apparently forming part of the collections of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who has annotated them in places. Their contents are of the usual character and offer nothing of special interest.

[17th cent.] A parcel of private correspondence of the Luckyn and Grimston families (Lord Verulam's ancestors).

[17th cent.] "Plott of Lymerike." An elaborate plan of the city of Limerick and its defences, 23 ins. by 46 ins., drawn on the scale of "40 pas to an inche at three foot to the pase." The buildings in the city are all shown together, with the "bulwarkes," the "ravelyns," the *tête-de-pont*, and two detached forts, the several defences having notes written against them.

[17th cent.] "Waterford towards the land, by St. John's Gate, w^th^ "the marche to Mrs Sherlocks Abbey," 8 ins. by 12 ins. Shews the walls on the land side, with the *tête-de-pont* and the defences round the abbey. Indorsed in the same hand as the preceding.

1652. Bill of sale from Roger Punnet, of St. Philip's, Barbados, planter, to Edward Nightingale, merchant, of "one negroe woeman by "name Phebe, together with her younge childe named Cherry, and one "breeding sow," for 3,885 lbs. of "good muscovadoe sugar," 8^th^ October 1652, "in the foureteenth yeare of the Reigne of our most "gracious Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second," etc., etc.

1663. Sale by Thomas Goddard, of St. Philip's, Barbados, planter, to Edward Nightingale, merchant, of "one negro boy by name Mingo," for 2,000 lbs. of good muscovadoe sugar.

1661. Commission from George [Monk], Duke of Albermarle, to John Flavell, chief commander of the Dartmouth trained bands. *Autograph* of the Duke. 13 March 1660–1.

1663, 14 July. "The Cockpitt nere Whitehall." Agreement between the Duke of Albemarle, as Lord Lieutenant of Devon, and the Earl of Bath, as Lord Warden of the Stannaries, to avoid evasion of liability to the militia by landowners in Devon claiming to be Tinners, and yet not contributing to the Stannaries militia. The respective liabilities in 1640 are to be ascertained and enforced.

Appended is an order "agreed upon the 27^th^ day of July 1666 att the "Fort of Plymouth," by Lord Bath, acting Lord Lieutenant in the Duke's absence, "with the advice and consent of the Deputy Lewe-"tenants of the same county."

The troops of Lord Bath (commanded by Sir Edward Wyse), Sir John Northcote, "Coll[onel] of the Horse," Sir John Rolle, and Capt. Richard Prideaux, are to be forthwith raised and completed out of their respective divisions. Signed, "J. BATHE."

ROUND MSS.

1666. View of frankpledge, held at Lawford for the Hundred of Tendring, 3 January 1665–6.

1672. Commission to John Bramston, Esq., as captain in Lord Le Power and Curraghmore's Regiment, 1 Oct. 1672.

[1673]. Statement by John Webster of his services to Charles II. in exile, and complaint of his having had no remuneration.

"Memoriall of severall services performed for his Ma^ties^ the late King and Queen of Great Brittaine by John Webster of Amsterdam."

[These two documents have been edited by me in "The Antiquary," Vol. IV., pp. 259–262.]

1676, 20 December. Appointment by the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Lieutenant of Devon, as his Deputy Lieutenants, of Robert, Earl of Londonderry; Sir William Morice, knight; Edward Seymour, esq., Speaker; Sir Peter Prideaux, Sir Courtney Poole, Sir Copleston Bampfield, Sir Arthur Northcot, Sir Wm. Courtney, Sir Hugh Ackland, Sir John Fowell, Sir Thomas Putt, Barts.; Sir John Rolls, Sir Richard Edgcombe, K.Bs.; Sir Thomas Carew, Sir Amias Pollard (*sic*), Sir John Berry, Sir Wm. Waldron, Sir Drury Ford, knights; Peter Prideaux, John Basset, John Giffard, Edward Yard, Samuel Rolls, Henry Nortleigh, and John Poole, esqs.

1676–7. Five affidavits in the case of Sir John Shaw *v.* the Mayor and Corporation of Colchester. Complaints having been made against Sir John as Recorder, a poll was taken 4th September 1676, as to whether he should be removed from that office. [He recovered 500*l.* damages from the town for his dismissal in 1677.] He revenged himself by bringing an action against the town in 1677 for his "Parliament wages" as member, claiming 238*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* "pro feodo sive stipendio Burgens'." [He was member for the borough 1660–1678.]

1679, 19 July. Maldon. Petition from free-burgesses of Maldon to the Duke of Albemarle against their Bailiff and "18 men" for making freemen without right; thirty have been admitted and "hundreds" more are about to be.

1680. Probate of will of Aquila Thurston [of Colchester] 17 June 1680, John Eldred, sole executor.

1685, 2nd June. Warrant to stop process against recusants. . . . "These are to pray and Require you to cause all Process whatsoever against the Persons mentioned in the Schedules annexed, and against their Lands, Goods, and Chattels, and also against all Leases [Lessees] of the two-third partes of the Estates of them or any of them to be wholly superseded and stayed untill his Ma^ties^ Pleasure therein shall be further knowne and that all Moneys Levied or to be Levied not answered to the King be restored. And for so doing this shall be yo^r^ warrant. Whitehall, Treasury Chamber, the Second of June 1685.

ROCHESTER."

"To the Treasurers Remembrancer Clerke of the Pipe and to their Respective Deputys, And to all other persons concerned."

Copy appended of Royal Warrant, 11 May 1685, addressed to the Earl of Rochester and countersigned by him [this differs from that of 18 April 1685, which is printed in Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, and which alone was known to Macaulay. The latter was addressed to ecclesiastical authorities only. The present one contains such additions as "or had been prosecuted upon *the Prerogative Writt called the*

*Long Writt of the Exchequer for the penalty of twenty pound per Mensem or upon Outlawrys or other process.*"] ROUND MSS.

[Schedule.]

RUTLAND.

'Eliz. Digby, John Digby, esq., Joseph Herenden of Morcott, gent.

SUSSEX.

Sir John Gage of Firle, Barr[t] and Dame Mary his wife, Joseph Gage Esq. and Eliz. his wife, Henry Gage of Bently gent., M[r] Bently and his wife, Mrs. Anne Fitzherbert, Mr. Thomas Lockyer, M[r] W[m] Copage, M[rs] Mary Holler, Mrs. Katherine Lusher, M[rs] Agnes Eaton and Eliz. Eaton, Henry Turner and his wife, Anthony Morris and his wife, John Prince and his wife, Goodman Busby, John Vine, John Venn, Mary Weller, Eliz. Beaumont, Anne Peirce, John Wakeman and his wife, Honor Mash, W[m] Maskall, Anne Callaway, Agnes Smith, John Taylor, George Taylor, W[m] Eaton and his wife, Anne Jourdane and her daughter, Isabell Zenoe, Barbara Vincent widd., W[m] Darrell esq., John Caryll of Harting esq.,[1] Richard Caryll of West Grimsted esq. and Frances his wife, Peter Caryll of the same, gent., Phillip Caryll of Shipley, gent., and Mary his wife, Richard Freeman of the same and Anne his wife, George Charlett of the same, Thomas Luckin of the same and Frances his wife, Richard Balke of the same, John Davies of the same and Katherine his wife, Thomas Bish of the same and Joane his wife, Richard Crips of the same and Mary his wife, Richard Pearle of the same and Mary his wife, Mary Norris of the same, widd., Richard Pelham of West Grimsted and Anne his wife, John Whitington of the same and Frances his wife, Will Norton of the same and Lyddy his wife, Thomas Stephens of the same and Katherine his wife, W[m] Peirce and Frances his wife of the same, Thomas Spur of the same, Frances (*sic*) Bruning of Up Marden, gent., Gilbert Bruning of the same, gent., Arthur Phillips of Harting, Thomas Ashton of the same, John Langridge of the same, Thom. Abnet of the same, W[m] Osburne of the same, John Cary of the same, John Farndell of the same, Peter Meer and Mary his wife of the same, Eliz. Forster of the same, Anne Hart of the same, Francis Elridge of Rogat [Roegate] and Frances his wife, Richard Smithson of Horsham and Ann his wife, Edward Hart and Jane his wife of the same, Eliz. Luckin of the same, Jane Goodyer Widdow of the same, —— Pratt of Roffy in the parish aforesaid, Thomas Middlemore of Worth and his wife, Thomas Gibbons and Mary his wife, Francis Pavy of Shiply, Robert Randall of West Grimsted and Frances his wife, Margaret Weston widd., Mr. Henry Garway James Terry, John Spurr and his wife, Nich. Golding and his wife."

1686. Conviction of John Furly, jun[r], merchant, Henry Havens, baymaker, Jacob Pole, baymaker, William Havens, baymaker, George Witherby, maltster, Solomon Fromanteel, baymaker, Peter Langly, merchant, Thomas Bayles, gent., Richard Allen, ship carpenter, and William Jolly, labourer, all of Colchester, before William Flanner and Nathaniel Lawrence, borough magistrates, for assembling in the quakers' meeting-house, in St. Martin's parish, 12 July 1686. Fined five shillings each.

Conviction of John Furly for preaching on that occasion. Fined 20*l*.

*Autographs* of William Flanner and Nathaniel Lawrence.

[1] Envoy to the Pope this year, and created, in exile, "Lord Durford," in 1701.

ROUND MSS.

1702, 6 May. Warrant from the Earl of Pembroke, Lord High Admiral, to Sir Isaac Rebow, Vice-Admiral of Essex, to take off the embargo from the Pacquet boats for Ireland and Holland and all ships conveying troops or stores on Her Majesty's service.

1705–6, 11 March. Warrant from the Admiralty Commissioners to Earl Rivers, Vice-Admiral of Essex, to take off all embargo. Signed by Paget, Mitchell, and Shovell.

1705–6, 15 Feb. Warrant from Earl Rivers to Thomas Faskes to impress seamen in Essex between the ages of 18 and 50.

1706. Paper relating to petition against return of Sir Thomas Webster, Bart., as member for Colchester in the place of Edward Bullock, decd.

The Mayor, Raynham, is accused of making freemen "in alehouses, taverns, and private places," on the eve of the election, in order to secure a majority for Webster, admitting over a hundred, who had no right to the franchise, and refusing it to some who were duly qualified. A hundred and eighteen persons are alleged to have been made freemen on the morning of the day of election.

[This relates to a contest of great bitterness, extending to 1728, when a counter-creation of freemen took place. The above document corrects a strange error in Morant, who, though writing in 1747, ignored this bye-election, and assigned the creation so bitterly complained of to the general election of 1705.]

1708, 22 July. Prince George, Lord High Admiral to Earl Rivers, Vice-Admiral of Essex.

Impressment of seamen to be stopped.

1734. Will of John Davis, of Wivenhoe, shipwright. Will dated Feb. 1733–4. Probate 8 March 1745–6.

II. PAPERS and DEEDS relating to the Veres, Earls of Oxford.

1236. Lease from Hugh, Earl of Oxford to William de Stanford of his meadow of Sturmad in Stanford for five years from All Saints. 21 Hen. III.

*Armorial Seal* of William. Damaged.

1490, 17 Feb. Official Copy of pardon under the great seal, to John Earl of Oxford for all alienations from the manor of Chesham, Bucks.

*Seal.*

1527. Grant by William, Abbot of Coggeshall to John [Vere], Earl of Oxford, of the stewardship of Coggeshall Abbey as held by Henry [Bourchier], Earl of Essex, by grant from John Sampford, late abbot. 23 Oct. 19 Hen. III.

1572. Assignment from Thomas Wyseman of Shipley, co. Sussex, Esq. to George Golding of London, gent. of the office of auditor to the Earls of Oxford, as granted to his father John Wyseman Esq. by John, Earl of Oxford, for two lives, 10th Dec. 1540. Dated 10 Jan. 14 Eliz.

1575, Jan. 30. Settlement by Edward Earl of Oxford, "Viscount Bulbecke, and Lorde of Badlesmere and Scales," on Thomas Earl of Sussex, Robert Earl of Leicester, Thomas Cecill, esq., Sir William Cordell Knight, and Thomas Bromley, esq., Solicitor General, as trustees, of divers manors and estates. Recites that the Earl intends, by the Queen's license, to travel beyond the seas, that he has, as yet, no

issue, and that should he die, his whole possession would pass to his sister, Lady Mary "Veer," saving the life interest of his Countess, and those estates specially entailed on his grandfather's heirs-male. To avert this impoverishment of "That auncient Erldome house and famylie of Oxenforde," the Earl "remembrynge and considerynge the longe contynaunce of his saide house and famylie in the name of the Veers, whereof he is lyneallye discended, in the grace and favour of the kings and princes in whose tymes they have lived, and in alliance and kindred with moste of the ancient nobilitie of this realme, and in the good will and good lykinge of the Cominaltie of the same realme; and having therefore a speciall desire and rare to preserve contynue and leave all or the most parte of his possessions" to such person as in his opinion is most likely to continue the line "most like to his noble auncestors" he entails, subject to the payment of his debts, of a marriage portion of 3,000*l.* to each daughter he may have (failing male issue), and of his sister's portion under his father's will, the whole of his estates specified on his cousins in tail male, viz. Hugh son and heir apparent of Aubrey Vere, John of Robert Vere, John, Francis, Robert, and Horatius, sons of Geoffrey Vere.

Annexed is a long schedule of the Earl's debts, headed by 3,457*l.* "to the Quene's maiestie." Among the creditors of this spendthrift courtier are goldsmiths, jewellers, mercers, upholsters, embroiderers, haberdashers, armourers, drapers, tailors, and shoemakers. "— Hastnett, Baker" was possibly the father of the well-known Archbishop of York. Burghley, the Earl's father-in-law is authorised to pay any debts omitted from the list.

1580, Sept. 17. Appointment of agents for his estates by Edward Earl of Oxford.

*Autograph and armorial seal.*

1594. Note on tenth of (Earls) Colne Priory due to the Crown from the Earl of Oxford.

1609. Copy of private Act for selling certain manors of the Earl in aid of the re-purchase of Hedingham Castle, sold by Earl Edward (d. 1604).

1612. Copy of Commission from Christian IV. to Robert, Lord Willoughby (afterwards Earl of Lindsey),[1] to raise 1,500 men for his service, "men of spirit, honestie, and of the Englishe nation," in five companies, of which one, 500 strong, was "for his peculiar commaunde." Full details of composition and pay for the force are given. The copy is certified by the autograph signature of Lord Willoughby[2] (6 pp.).

Commission from the States General and Prince Maurice to S[r] John Vere for a company of foot.

1626. Papers relating to the claim of Robert, Earl of Oxford, to that dignity against Lord Willoughby.

Commission from the States General to Robert, Earl of Oxford [1626–1632], for a company of foot.

[1627 ?] 30 September. "From ye Bosch" [Bois-le-duc]. Robert, Earl of Oxford, to his wife.

"Sweet Hart,

"If Leiftenant Smyth come to you for five or ten pounds I pray lett him have it I desire to see you soe soone as may be: and am sory tis soe late in the yeare: When you come over and well understand the

[1] This is, apparently, unknown. See *Dictionary of National Biography.*
[2] He claimed the Earldom of Oxford 1626.

ROUND MSS.

reasons of my stayinge here, you will like them well. It is not wisedome to doe things that are only pleasant for the present and to neglect the future: I pray you defer noe longer the christeninge of the childe: If the great ones make any difficulty of it gitt Sir John Borough[1] my uncle York and M^rs^ Vere: Desire my sollicitor to rite to me at Large concerninge my busines: tell [him] if he will take paynes in my absence I shall not forgitt him: and lett him adresse himselfe to Sir John Borough: accordinge to the former letter I wrote unto you: for the silver plates, I thincke you shall doe well to buy them: though unles I were better furnished with moneys and my revenew greater, methinck it is somewhat of the hyest: for we ought not to doe accordinge to our wylls but to our abillities: I would have you to take leave of y^e^ Countesse[s] of Arundel and Kent: Soe praye to God to send you a happie passage over I rest your loving husband.

"ROBERT OXENFORD.

"I have sent two gent. of my company beinge maryed men to wayt upon you over, because I know they will make what haste they can back to theyr wives; I pray you kysse my sonne Aubrey from mee and my other little sonne; and Lappe them soe warme as you can; bringe over with you a good cooke mayd if you can and as few other servants as may be; for of 2,000*l.* within this 3 years the remaynder is in your hand: save one hundreth pounds my Lo: of Lindsey still is indetted to me."

"A Breife of the Accomptes of Mr. Kirby touchinge the state of the Lord Bayninge at the tyme of his decease in July 1629: with the increase thereof from that tyme to the tyme of the death of Mr. Kirby in December 1632 and the paiements made forth of the same within that tyme."

The total sum accounted for is 181,981*l.* 6*s.* 6½*d.* and the disbursements are 87,375*l.* 6*s.* 11¾*d.*, including 18,000*l.* to the King "for the fyne of the wardshipp."

"A Breiff Declaracion touching the state of the Accompts of the Right Honourable Paule Lo: Bayning, Viscount Sudbury, kept by George Pike touching such parcells of his Lordship's Estate as were committed to the care and Government of the Right Hono^ble^ the Ladie Viscountess Dorchester his Lordship's Mother by order of the Court of Wardes."

The total sum accounted for is 146,174*l.* 14*s.* 5¾*d.*, and the disbursements are 38,397*l.* 3*s.* 1¾*d.*, the accounts extending from February 1632-3 to 25 March 1637. 6,148*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* were spent "in my Lorde's Travills," and 1,029*l.* on "Pearls and a Chayne of diamonds" for his bride.

Among the entries illustrative of prices and household expenses are the following:—

Bedding and Furnitures.

| | *li.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Three bedds with Ruggs and Blanketts and pillowes for servants, at Mark lane April 1633 - - - | 21 | 5 | 2 |
| A bedd for Mr. Pike, 1633 with furniture - - - | 17 | 12 | 0 |
| For six peeces of White Chinay to be died and made up for a Bedd at Bentley - - - - - | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| For a paire of Vallence to send to Bentley in April 1634 - - - - - - - | 2 | 18 | 0 |
| For the furniture of Bedds then to send to Bentley - | 85 | 11 | 0 |
| For Greene cloth bought then for Bedds for Bentley - | 34 | 16 | 0 |
| Gould and Silver lace for a Purple bedd then - - | 20 | 8 | 4 |

[1] Serjeant Major General of the Palatinate Regiment, 1620, slain at Isle of Rhe, 11th September, 1627.

| | *li.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| To the Uphoulster the 14th of June for bedding and Uphoulsters worke sent to Bentley - - - | 292 | 10 | 0 |
| For a Rich Orring [Orange] Tawney damask bed with Vallence Counterpoint Carpet Stooles and Chayres in Oct. 1634 - - - - - | 97 | 1 | 0 |
| For a Flock bed for Mark lane - - - | 1 | 14 | 0 |
| For yellowe Taffetie and Satten for Curtins and Vallence for Bentley - - - - - | 15 | 4 | 3 |
| For 4 yards and ½ of damask and 4 yards ⅛ of Taffetie for Vallence - - - - - | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| For Feathers for Bedds - - - - | 6 | 13 | 0 |
| Fring for Vallence Ap. 1634 - - - - | 1 | 2 | 11 |
| For 26 yards and ½ of greene and yellow damask for lowe Seats Cushions and stooles in May 1634 - | 14 | 11 | 4 |
| The Uphoulster for household stuff - - - | 37 | 1 | 6 |
| For Feathers to fill 5 bedds at Bentley in April 1635 - | 22 | 17 | 0 |
| | 704 | 8 | 6 |

| | *li.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pewter bought for the house at Marke Lane - - | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| Tappistry hangings for the kitchen chamber at Bentley in April 1634 - - - - - | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| For 10 peeces of hangings sent to Bentley - - | 99 | 10 | 0 |
| For 2 Globes - - - - - - | 33 | 6 | 8 |
| For Andirons - - - - - - | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| For divers pictures in Oct. 1634 - - - | 420 | 0 | 0 |
| For Armor in March 1633 212*l.* and for cleaneing thereof 5*l.* 19*s.* 0*d.* and 6*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* - - - | 225 | 11 | 0 |
| For Marble Porch - - - - - | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| Money paid for the extraordinary expenditure of his Lopps sisters. | | | |
| Phisick for Mrs Ann in April 1634 - - - | 37 | 5 | 0 |
| A Guift for her at a Christening then - - | 19 | 10 | 6 |
| Mrs Anne's horse July 1634 - - - - | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| And meate for Mrs Elizabeth's horse then - - | 2 | 16 | 0 |
| Extraordinary Expences by bill in Dec. 1634, for the Gentlewomen - - - - - | 16 | 14 | 0 |
| For Examining and keeping booke of Accompts - | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Meate for their horses Jan. 1634 - - - | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| Wages of one Gentleman tending 5 yeares 210li and another one yeare 30li and for Maid servante 62li 7s 6d besides 15li and 17li after mencioned - - | 302 | 7 | 6 |
| For 7 weeks diett in March and in April 1635, being removed for feare of the smale pox - - - | 36 | 4 | 10½ |
| A Frencheman teaching Mrs Anne french Sept. 1635 - | 1 | 6 | 6 |
| To Mrs Anne then for Guifts and necessaries - - | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| For Saddles for Mrs Elizabeth and Mrs Mary in Oct. | 22 | 1 | 7 |
| Lace 16li 0s 4d Washing at the Lord Newark 36s 4d Guifts there 12li 16s 6d Apparrell 12li 14s Lace 9li 12s 8d and 7s setting on, in Jan. and Feb. 1635 - | 53 | 6 | 10 |
| Boord for 2 daughters at the La : Glemhams Apr. 1636 | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Servants attending upon the daughters, viz. Russell Dec. 1636 15li and Moll the Maide 17li 5s - | 32 | 5 | 0 |
| | 632 | 7 | 9½ |

ROUND MSS.

1658. Copy of the Countess of Oxford's post-nuptial deed of settlement 12th May 1658 (she was Anne, elder dau. and coh. of the above Paul, 2nd Viscount Bayning).

1656, 8 April. [Dr.] Scarborough to [E. of Oxford].

"My Lord,

I most humbly thank your Honor for my noble entertainment at Bentley. A more reall testimony of my thankfulnesse shall be a second visite this sommer with Mr. Cowley:[1] whose book I make bold to present your Honor with, as a specimen of that gentlemans incomparable worth, and some recreation for your Lordship, and your most noble Lady, to whom I beseech, my most humble service may be recommended by your Honor. The poweder my Lord is as yet not perefectly prepared and must be tried before I dare send it. About some ten dayes hence I shall send it with further directions. In the meane I beseech your Honor to conceive me labouring in your service, who am, My Lord, your Honors most humble & faithful servant,

CH. SCARBURGH."

1656–7, 6th March. J. Rutherford to E. of Oxford.

Describes efforts to trace a valuable Neapolitan mare.

"Most Noble Lord, I must renew my humble request in order to my daughters obedientiall relations to the Excellent Heroine my Lady Oxford. The report of whose most Honorable Vertues hath already Captivated my daughter to Her Service. Now what is thus patheticallye and not ungroundedly Implored, Vouchsafe Ryt Excellent Lord to consummate by yor speedye favor . . . . ."

1661. Dep. Lieuts. of Essex to E. of Oxford.

"In accordance with letters from the Council to your Lordship, 19th August last we instructed Sir Martin Lumley to take some of his Troop and go to the house of Mr. Thomas Cooke, 'sometime called Collonell Cooke,'[2] to see what strangers were there and to search for arms. He took security of Mr. Cooke to appear, which he did before us at Coggeshall Wednesday last. Considering the great quantity of powder and bullett found in his house (though he had denied its existence, and then said he knew not how it came there) we have taken recognizances of him to appear at the Assizes and to keep the peace.

We have summond some that made default at the Musters to appear before us, but have sent the names of others to your Lordship, to consult with the Council about them as they live out of the county. If we cannot compel them, we shall lose half our numbers in some parts. Of the rest your Lordship may make 2 or 3 examples.

BENJ. AYLOFFE, WM. WYSEMAN, T. ABDY, JO. BRAMSTON."

1662. Form of deputation for Deputy Lieutenants, superscribed by Charles II. [to Earl of Oxford as Lord-Lieutenant].

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[1] The poet. Dr. Scarborough went bail for him this year, and one of Cowley's odes is addressed to him.

[2] He commanded a regiment of Essex Trainbands at the siege of Colchester.

1662–3. Returns by Peers holding lands in Essex to the Earl of Oxford, as Lord Lieutenant, of the rental of their estates in the county:— ROUND MSS.

| | £ | s. | d. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| D. of Buckingham - - - | 500 | | | ["and od."] |
| E. of Essex - - - | 1,123 | | | |
| E. of Salisbury - - - | 539 | 0 | 0 | |
| E. of Anglesey - - - | 200 | 0 | 0 | |
| E. of Warwick - - - | 5,323 | 13 | 4 | |
| E. Rivers - - - - | 1,200 | 0 | 0 | [1] |
| L[d] Crewe - - - - | 800 | 0 | 0 | |
| L[d] Lucas - - - - | 1,300 | 0 | 0 | |
| L[d] Campden - - - | 250 | 0 | 0 | |
| L[d] Petre - - - - | 2,000 | 0 | 0 | |

[All these returns, except the Earl of Warwick's, are signed by the Peers themselves].

1662–3, 10th Jan. E. of Suffolk to E. of Oxford.

Requesting return of rental of his estates in Suffolk.

1665–6, 6th Feb. Secretary Morice to the E. of Oxford, Whitehall. . . . As to the Beacons, I know no better way than that which was anciently used, that they be repaired by certain Tithings or Towns which are found to do it still, and the commands for it sent to the Chief Constable. . . .

1675, 12th May. Musters of Lord Oxford's Regiment of Militia at Harlow and Epping, and of Sir Will. Wiseman's at divers places (Sept.–Oct. 1675).

1680, 26th August. Acknowledgement from the Earl of Oxford that he has received 750*l.*, from Henry Coape, Mercer, to be repaid on Feb. 26th, for which he pledges "one Jewell sett with Dyamonds with the King of "France his picture in it being sett round with eight great diamonds and "twentie fower lesser diamonds with eight sparks of diamonds round "about the picture; there being a Crowne adjoining thereunto sett with "five greate diamonds and three and twentie lesser."

Receipt endorsed for repayment of the 750*l.*, with 27*l.*, interest, 1 April 1681.

## III. Siege of Colchester.

"Diary or Account of the Siege and Blockade of Colchester, Anno 1648.

"On the 4 of June we were alarm'd in the Town of Colchester that the L[d] Goring, the L[d] Capel, and a Body of 2,000 of the Loyal Party who had been in arms in Kent, having left a great body of an Army in Possession of Rochester Bridge, where they resolv'd to fight the L[d] Fairfax, and the Parliament Army; had given the said General Fairfax the slip, and having passed the Thames at Greenwich, were come to Stratford, and were advancing this way. Upon which news, S[r] Ch[s] Lucas, S[r] G. Lisle, Col. Cook, and several Gentlemen of the Loyal Army, and all that had commissions from the King, with a gallant appearance of Gentlemen Voluntiers drew together from all parts of the Country to joyn with them.

"The 8[th] we were further inform'd that they were advanced to Chelmsford, New Hall house, and to Witham; and on the 9[th] some of the Horse arrived in the Town taking possession of the Gates, and having

[1] And 1,153*l.* in reversion.

ROUND MSS.

Ingeneers with them, told us that General Goring had resolved to make this town his head Quarters and would cause it to be well fortified; they also caused the Drums to beat for Voluntiers, and a good number of the poor Bay Weavers, and such like People wanting employment, listed; so that they compleated S^r^ Charles Lucas Reg^t^. which was but thin, to near 800 men.

"On the 10^th^ we had news that the L^d^ Fairfax having beaten the Royalists at Maidstone, and retaken Rochester had pass'd the Thames at Gravesend tho' with great difficulty, and with some loss, and was come to Horndon on the Hill, in order to gain Colchester before the Royalists; but that hearing S^r^ Charles had prevented him had order'd his Rendezvous at Billeracay and intended to possess the Pass at Maldon on the 11^th^ wher Sir Thos: Honnywood with the country Train'd Band was to be the same day.

"The same evening the L^d^ Goring with all his forces, making about 5,600 men Horse and foot, came to Colchester and encamping without the suburbs under the command of the Cannon of St. Mary's Fort, made disposition to fight the Parliament forces if they came up.

"The 12^th^ the L^d^ Goring came into Colchester, view'd the Fort in St. Marys Church Yard, ordered more Cannon to be planted upon it; posted two Regiments in the Suburbs without Head-gate; let the Town know he would take them into his Majesties Protection; and that he would fight the Enemy in that situation. The same evening the Ld. Fairfax with a strong party of 1,000 Horse came to Lexden, two small miles distant, expecting the rest of his Army there the same Night.

"The Ld. Goring brought in Prisoners the same day, S^r^ W^m^ Masham and several other Gentlemen of the County, who were secured under a Strong Guard; which the Parliament hearing, order'd twenty Prisoners of the Royal party to be singl'd out declaring that they shou'd be used in the same manner as the L^d^ Goring used S^r^ W^m^ Masham and the Gentlemen Prisoners with him.

"On the 13^th^, early in the morning, our Spies brought intelligence that the Ld. Fairfax, all his Forces being come up to him, was making dispositions for a March, resolving to attack the Royalists in their camp: upon which the L^d^ Goring drew all his Forces together resolving to fight. The Ingeneers had offer'd the night before to Entrench his Camp, and to draw a Line round it in one nights time; but his Lordship declined it, and now there was no time for it: Whereupon the General L^d^ Goring, drew up his army in order of Battle on both sides the Road, the Horse in the Open Fields on the Wings; the Foot were drawn up one Reg^t^ in the Road; one Reg^t^ on each side, and two Reg^ts^ for reserve in the suburb, just at the entrance of the Town, with a Reg^t^ of Voluntiers advanced as a Forlorn Hope and a Reg^t^ of Horse at the Head-Gate ready to support the Reserve as occasion should require.

"About Nine in the Morning wee heard the Enemys Drums beat a March, and in half an hour more their first Troops appear'd on the higher grounds towards Lexden; immediately the Cannon from St. Marys fired upon them, and put some Troops of Horse into confusion, doing great Execution: which, they not being able to shun it, made them quicken their Pace and fall on, when our Cannon were obliged to cease firing, least we should hurt our own Troops, as well as the Enemys; soon after their Foot appear'd, and our Cannon saluted them in like manner and killed them a great many men.

"Their first line of foot was led up by Coll. Barkstead and consisted of three Regiments of foot, making about 1,700 men, and these charged our Regiment of foot in the Lane [Maldon Road] commanded by S^r^ Geo.

Lisle and Sr William Campion. They fell on with great fury, and were received with as much Gallantry, and three times repulsed; nor could they break in here, tho' the Ld Fairfax sent fresh men to support them, till the Royalists Horse oppress'd with numbers, on the left, were obliged to retire and at last to come full Gallop into the street and so on into the town: Nay still the foot stood firm, and the voluntiers being all gentlemen, kept their Ground with the greatest Resolution; But the left wing being routed as above, Sr William Campion was obliged to make a Front to the left, and lining the Hedge with his Musqueteers, made a stand with a Body of Pikes against the Enemys Horse and prevented them from entering the Lane. Here that gallant Gentleman was killed with a Carabine shot; and after a very gallant Resistance, the Horse on the right being also overpowered, the word was given to retreat; which, however, was done in such order, the Regiments of Reserve standing drawn up at the end of the Street ready to receive the Enemys Horse upon the points of their Pikes, that the Royal troops came on in the Openings between the Regiments, and entered the Town with very little loss and in very good order.

"By this, however, those Regiments of reserve were brought at last to sustain the Efforts of the Enemys whole Army, till, being overpowered by Numbers, they were put into Disorder and forced to get into the Town in the best manner they could; by which means near 2,000 men were killed or made Prisoners.

"Encouraged by this success the Enemy pushed on, supposing they should enter the Town Pel-mel with the rest; nor did the Royalists hinder them, but let good part of Barkstead's own Regiment [the Tower Guards] to enter the Head Gate; but then sallying from St. Mary's with a choice Body of foot on their left, and the Horse rallying in the High Street and Charging them again in the Front, they were driven back quite into the street of the suburb and most of them that had so rashly entered were cut in Peices.

"Thus they were repulsed at the South entrance of the Town, and tho' they attempted to storm three times after that with great Resolution, yet were they as often beaten back and that with great havock of their Men; and the Cannon from the Fort all the while did Execution upon those who stood drawn up to support them; so that at last seeing no good to be done, they retreated, having small Joy of their pretended Victory.

"They lost in this Action Colonel Needham, who commanded a Regiment called the Tower Guards and who fought very desperately; Captain Cox an old experienced Horse officer, and several other officers of Note, with a great number of Private men, tho' as they had the field, they concealed their number; giving out that they lost but 100, when we were assured that they lost near 1,000 men besides the Wounded.

"They took some of our men Prisoners, occasioned by the Reg. of Colonel Farr, and two more, sustaining the shock of their whole Army to secure the retreat of the main Body as above.

The 14, the Ld Fairfax finding he was not able to carry the town by Storm, without the formality of a Siege, took his Head Quarters at Lexden, and sent to London and Suffolk for more Forces; also he ordered the Train'd Bands to be raised, and posted on the Roads to prevent Succours; notwithstanding which divers Gentlemen, with some assistance of men and arms, found means to get into the Town.

"The very same night they began to break Ground; and particularly, to raise a Fort between Colchester and Lexden to cover the Generals Quarters from the Salleys from the Town; for the Royalists

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having a good body of Horse, gave them no rest but scour'd the Fields every Day, and fell on all they found stragling from their posts, and by this means kill'd a great many.

"The 17, S^r Ch^s Lucas having been out with 1,200 Horse, and detaching parties toward the Sea side and toward Harwich, they brought in a very great Quantity of Provisions, and abundance of sheep and Black-cattle, sufficient for the supply of the Town, for a considerable time; and had not the Suffolk Forces advanced over Cataway bridge to prevent it, a larger supply had been brought in that way; for now it appear'd plainly that the L^d Fairfax finding the Garrison strong and resolute, and that he was not in a Condition to reduce them by Force, at least not without the loss of much Blood, had resolv'd to turn his Siege into a Blockade, and reduce them by Hunger, their Troops being also wanted to oppose several other Parties, who had in several parts of the Kingdom taken arms for the King's cause.

"This same day General Fairfax sent in a Trumpet to propose exchanging Prisoners, which the L^d Goring refused expecting a reinforcement of Troops, which were actually coming to him, and were to be at Linton in Cambridgeshire as the next Day.

"The same Day two ships brought in a quantity of Corn and Provisions and 56 men from the shore of Kent with several Gentlemen, who all landed and came up to the Town, and the greatest part of the Corn was with the utmost Application unloaded the same night into some Hoys, which brought it up to the Hithe, being apprehensive of the Parliaments ships which lay at Harwich, who having intelligence of the same ships, came the next Day into the Mouth of the River, and took the said two ships, and what Corn was left in them. The Besieged sent out a party to help the ships, but having no boats they could not assist them.

"18. S^r Ch^s Lucas sent an Answer about exchange of Prisoners, accepting the conditions offered, but the Parliaments General return'd that he wou'd not treat with S^r Charles, for that he, S^r Charles, being his prisoner upon his Parole of Honour, and having appear'd in Arms Contrary to the Rules of War, had forfeited his Honour and faith, and was not capable of command or trust in Martial affairs: To this S^r Ch^s sent back an answer and his excuse for his breech [*sic*] of his Parole, but it was not accepted nor would the L^d Fairfax enter upon any treaty with him.

"Upon this second Message, S^r W^m Masham and the Parliament Committee and other Gentlemen, who were Prisoners in the Town, sent a Message in writing under their hand to the Ld. Fairfax intreating him to enter into a Treaty for Peace; but the Lord Fairfax return'd he could take no Notice of their Request, as supposed it forced from them under restraint: but that if the L^d Goring desired Peace, he might write to the Parliament, and he wou'd cause his Messenger to have a safe Conduct to carry his Letter: There was a Paper sent enclosed in this, sign'd Capel, Norwich, Charles Lucas, but to that the General would return no answer, because it was sign'd by S^r Charles, for the reasons above.

"All this while the Ld. Goring finding the Enemy strengthening themselves, gave order for fortifying the Town, and drawing Lines in several Places to secure the Entrance, as perticularly [*sic*] without the East Bridge and without the North Gate and Bridge, and to plant more Cannon upon the works: to which end, some great Guns were brought in from some ships at Wivenhoe.

"The same Day our men sallied out in three Places and attack'd the Besiegers, first at their Fort call'd Essex; then at their new Works on

the south side of the Town; a third Party sallying out at the East Bridge brought in some Booty from the Suffolk Troops, having kill'd several of their stragglers on the Harwick Road: They also took a Lieu[t] of Horse Prisoner and Brought him into the Town.

"19. This day we had the unwelcome news that our friends at Linton were defeated by the Enemy and Major Muschamp, a Loyal Gentleman, killed. The same night our men gave the Enemy an alarum at their new Essex Fort and thereby drew them out as if they would fight, till they brought them within reach of the Cannon of St. Maries, and our men retiring, the great Guns let fly amongst them and made them run; our men shouted after them; several of them were killed on this occasion, one shot having killed three Horsemen in our sight.

"20. We now found the Enemy in order to a perfect Blockade, resolv'd to draw a Line of Circumvallation round the Town, having received a train of forty pieces of heavy Cannon from the Tower. This day the Parliament sent a Messenger to their Prisoners to know how they fared, and how they were used; who return'd word that they fared indifferent well and were civilly used, but Provisions were scarce and therefore dear.

"This Day a party of Horse with 300 Foot sallyed out and march'd as far as the Fort on the Isle of Mearsy which they made a shew of attacking, to keep in the Garrison; meanwhile the rest took a good number of Cattle from the Country which they brought safe into the town with five Waggon laden with Corn. This was the last they could bring in that way, the lines being soon finished on that side.

"This Day the Ld. Fairfax sent in a Trumpet to the [erasure] L[d] Goring offering Hon[ble] Conditions to them all; allowing all the Gentlemen their lives and arms, exemption from Plunder, and passes if they desired to go beyond sea; and all private men Pardon and leave to go peaceably to their own dwellings; but the L[d] Goring and the rest of the gentlemen rejected it and laugh'd at them, upon which the L[d] Fairfax made Proclamation that his men shou'd give the private soldiers in Colchester free leave to pass through their Camp and go where they pleas'd without Molestation, only leaving their arms, but that the Gentlemen should have no quarter. This was a great loss to the Royalists, for now the men, foreseeing the great Hardships they were like to suffer, began to slip away, and the L[d] Goring was obliged to forbid any to desert on pain of present Death, and to keep Parties of Horse continually Patrolling to prevent them; notwithstanding w[ch] many of them got away.

"21. The Town desired the L[d] Goring to give them leave to send a message to L[d] Fairfax, to desire they might have liberty to carry on their Trade and sell their Bays and says, which the L[d] Goring granted; but the Enemys General return'd that they shou'd [have] considered that before they let the Royalists into the town; that to desire a free trade from a town besieged was never heard of, or at least never yet granted; that however he would give the Baymakers leave to bring their Bays and says and other goods once a week, or oftner if they desire it, to Lexden Heath where they shou'd have a free market and might sell them or carry them back again if not sold, as they found occasion.

"22. The besieged sallied out in the night with a strong party, and disturbed the enemy in their works, and partly ruined one of their forts called Ewers fort where the Besiegers were laying a Bridge across the River Colne: also they sallied again at East Bridge and faced the Suffolk Troops who were now declared Enemies, these brought in six and fifty good Bullocks and some Cows, and they took and killed several of the Enemy.

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"23. The Besiegers began a fire with their Cannon from Essex fort and from Barksteads fort, which was built upon the Maldon Road, and finding the Besieged had a party in Grimston's house call'd the Friery [at angle of Maldon and Lexden Roads], they fired at it with their Cannon and batter'd it almost down, and then the souldiers set it on fire. This Day, upon the Townsmen's treaty for freedom of the Bay trade, the L^d^ Fairfax sent a second offer of Conditions to the besieged being the same as before, excepting only the L^d^ Goring, Ld. Capel, S^r^ Geo. Lisle, and S^r^ Charles Lucas.

"This Day we had news in the Town that the Suffolk forces were advanc'd to assist the Besiegers and that they began a Fort call'd Fort Suffolk on the N. side of the Town to shut up the Suffolk Road towards Stratford. [On] this the besieged sallied out at North bridge, attack'd the out guards of the Suffolk men on Mile end Heath and drove them in to their fort in the Woods.

"This Day the L^d^ Fairfax sent a Trumpet complaining of Chewed and poisoned Bullets being shot from the Town, and threatning to give no Quarter if that practice was allow'd, but the L^d^ Goring return'd answer with a protestation that no such thing was done by his order or Consent.

"24. They fired hard from their Cannon against St. Mary's steeple on which was planted a large Culverine which annoyed them even in the Generals Head Quarters at Lexden. One of the Best Gunners the Garrison had was kill'd with a Cannon Bullet. This night the Besieged sallied towards audley (Ardleigh] on the Suffolk Road and brought in some Cattle.

"25. L^d^ Capel sent a Trumpet to the parliament General, but the Rogue ran away, and came not back nor sent any answer; whether they receiv'd his Message or not was not known.

"26. This day having finished their new bridge a party of their Troops pass'd that bridge and took post on the Hill over against Mile End where they built a fort call'd Fothergills fort and another on the East side of the Road called Rainsbro's fort, so that the Town was entirely shut in on that side and the Royalists had no place but East bridge, which was afterwards cut off by the Enemy drawing a line from the Hithe within the River to the stone Causeway leading to East bridge.

"July 1. From the 26^th^ to the 1^st^ the Besiegers continued finishing their works, and by the 2^nd^ the whole Town was shut in, at which the Besiegers gave a general salvo from their Cannon at all their forts; but the Besieged gave them a return, for they sallyed out in the night, attack'd Barksted's fort, scarce finish'd, with such fury that they twice entered the work sword in hand, killed most part of the Defendants, and spoil'd part of the Forts cast up; but fresh forces coming up they retired, with little loss, bringing eight Prisoners, and having slain as they reported above 100. On the 2^nd^ L^d^ Fairfax offer'd exchange for S^r^ W^m^ Masham in particular, and afterwards for other prisoners, but L^d^ Goring refused.

"5. The Besieged sallied with two Reg^ts^ supported by some Horse at Midnight: they were commanded by Sr. G. Lisle. They fell on with such fury that the Enemy were put into Confusion, and their works at East bridge ruin'd and 2 pieces of Cannon taken. Lieut.-Col. Sambrook and several other officers were kill'd and our men retired into the Town, bringing the Capt., 2 Lieu^ts^ and about 50 men with them prisoners into the Town, but having no horse we cou'd not bring of[f] the Cannon, but spiked them and made them unfit for service. From this day to the 11^th^ the Besieged sallied almost every night, being encourag'd by their successes; and they constantly cut off some of the

Enemy, but not without loss also on their own side. About this time we receiv'd by a spy the bad news of the defeating of the King's friends almost in all parts of England and particularly several Parties which wish'd well to our gentlemen and intended to relieve them. Our batteries from St. Maries fort and steeple and from the N. bridge greatly annoyed them and kill'd most of their Gunners and fire-men. One of the Messengers who brought News to L^d^ Fairfax of the defeat of the parties in Kent and the taking of Weymers [Walmer] Castle, slipped into the town and brought a letter to L^d^ Goring and listed in the Reg^t^ of the L^d^ Capels Horse.

"July 14. The Besiegers attacked and took the Hith Church, with the small work the Besieg'd had there, but the Defenders retired in time; some were taken Prisoners in the Church but not in the Fort. S^r^ Ch^s^ Lucas's House [St. John's] was attack'd by a great body of the Besiegers: the Besieged defended themselves with good Resolution for some time but a hand grenade thrown in by the assailants having fired the Magazine, the House was blown up and most of the gallant Defenders buried in the Ruins. This was a great blow to the Royalists, for it was a very strong pass and always well guard'd.

"15. The L^d^ Fairfax sent offers of Hon^ble^ Conditions to the Souldiers of the Garrison, if they wou'd surrender or quit the service, upon which the L^ds^ Goring and Capel and S^r^ Ch^s^ Lucas return'd an answer sign'd by their Hands that it was not Hon^ble^ or agreeable to the usage of war to offer Conditions separately to the soldiers, exclusive of their Officers, and therefore civilly desired his L^d^ship to send no more such messages or proposals; or if he did, that he wou'd not take it ill if they Hang'd the Messenger.

"This Evening all the Gent. Voluntiers with all the Horse of the Garrison with S^r^ Ch^s^ Lucas, S^r^ G. Lisle and S^r^ Bernard Gascoign, resolv^d^ to break through the Enemy, and forcing a Pass, to advance into Suffolk by Nayland Bridge, for this purpose they pass'd the River by Middle Mill; but their Guides having misled them, the Enemy took the Alarm; upon which their Guides and some Pioneers which they had with them to open the Hedges and level the Banks for their passing to Boxted, ran away: so the Horse were obliged to retreat. The Enemy pretended to pursue, but thinking they had retreated by the North bridge they missed them; upon which, being enrag'd, they fired the suburbs without the Bridge and burn'd them quite down.

"18. Some of the Horse attempted to escape the same way and had the whole Body been there as before they had effected it; but there being but two troops they were obliged to retire. Now the Town began to be greatly distressed, provisions failing and the Towns People which were numerous being very uneasy; and no way of breaking through being found practicable, the Gentlemen would have joyned in any attempt wherein they might die gallantly with their swords in their Hands, but nothing presented; they often sallied and cut off many of the Enemy, but their numbers were continually supplied, and the Besieged diminish'd: their Horses also sunk and became unfit for service, having very little Hay and no Corn, and at length they were forced to kill them for Food, so that they began to be in a miserable condition and the Souldiers deserted every Day in great numbers not being able to bear the want of Food, as being almost starved with Hunger.

"22. The L^d^ Fairfax offer'd again an exchange of Prisoners but the L^d^ Goring rejected it because they refused Conditions to the chief Gentlemen of the Garrison.

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"During this time two Troops of the Royal Horse sallied out in the night, resolving to break through or die: they first rode up full Gallop to the Enemies Horse-guards on the side of Maldon Road, and exchanged their Pistols with the advanced Troops wheeling as if they would retire to the town; but finding they were not pursued, they wheel'd about to the right, and passing another Guard at a distance, without being perfectly discover'd, they went clean off and passing towards Tiptree Heath and having good Guides they made their escape towards Cambridgeshire. In which length of way they found means to disperse, without being attacked, and went every man his own way as fate directed, nor did we hear that many of them were taken: They were led, as we are inform'd, by S^r^ Bernard Gascoin.

"Upon these attempts of the Horse to break out, the Enemy built a small fort in the meadow, right against the Ford in the River at Middle Mill and once set that Mill on Fire, but it was extinguished without much damage; however the fort prevented any more attempts that way.

"22. The Parliament General sent in a Trumpet to propose agthe exchange of Prisoners offering the L^d^ Capels son for one and Mr. the Ashburnham for S^r^ W^m^ Masham; But the L^d^ Capel, L^d^ Goring, and rest of the Loyal Gentlemen refused it; and L^d^ Capel in particular sent the L^d^ Fairfax word it was inhumane to surprise his son, who was not in Arms and offer him to insult a Fathers Affection, but that he might Murder his son if he pleased, he would leave his blood to be revenged as Heaven should give opportunity; and the L^d^ Goring sent word that as they had reduced the Kings serv^ts^ to eat Horse flesh the Prisoners should feed as they fed.

"The Enemy sent again to complain of the Royalists shooting poisoned Bullets and sent two affidavits made by two Deserters, swearing it was done by the L^d^ Norw^chs^ direction:

"The Generals in the town return'd under all their Hands that they never gave any such Command or Direction, that they disown'd the Practice, and that the Fellows who swore it were perjured before in running from their Colours and the service of their King, and not to be credited again. But they added that for shooting rough cast slugs they must excuse them, and [*i.e.*, as] things stood with them at that time.

"About this time a Porter in a souldiers Habit got through the Enemies Leaguer, and passing their out Guards in the Dark got into the Town, and brought letters from London assuring the Royalists that there were so many strong Parties up in Arms for the King and in so many Places that they would be very suddenly relieved: This they caused to be read to the souldiers to encourage them; and particularly it related to the Rising of the Earl of Holland and the Duke of Buckingham who with 500 horse were got together in Arms about Kingston, in Surry; but we had notice in a few Days after that they were Defeated and the Earl of Holland taken, who was afterwards beheaded.

"26. The Enemy now began to batter the walls and especially on the west side from St. Mary's toward the N. Gate; and we were assured they intended a storm; on which the Ingeniers were directed to make Trenches behind the Walls w[h]ere the Breaches shou'd be made; that in case of a storm they might meet with a warm reception. Upon this they gave over the design of storming. The L^d^ Goring finding that the Enemy had set the suburbs on Fire right against the Hith, order'd the Inhabitants' Houses which were empty of Inhabitants, from whence their Musketeers fired against the town, to be burnt also.

"31. A Body of foot sallied out at Midnight to discover what the Enemy were doing at a place w[h]ere they thought a new fort raising; they fell in amongst the Workmen, and put them to flight, cut in pieces several of the Guard, and brought in the officer who commanded them.

"Aug. 2. The town was now in a miserable Condition; the souldiers search'd and rifled the Houses of the Inhabitants for victuals; they had lived on Horse Flesh several weeks, and most of that also as lean as carrion, which not being well salted bred wens [*sic*]; and this want of Diet made the soldiers sickley, and many Died of Fluxes [;] yet they boldly rejected all offers of surrender unless with safety of their Officers: However several Hundreds got out, and either passed the Enemies Guards or surrendered to them and took passes.

"Aug. 7. The townspeople became very uneasy to the Soldiers, and the Mayor of the Town, with the Aldermen, waited upon the General desiring leave to send to the L[d] Fairfax for leave to all the Inhabitants to come out of the Town, that they might not perish; to which the L[d] Goring consented; but L[d] Fairfax refused them.

"12. The Rabble got together in a vast Crowd about the L[d] Gorings Quarters clamouring for a surrender; and they did this every evening; bringing women and Children, who lay howling and Crying on the ground for Bread; the Souldiers beat off the men, but the Women and Children would not stir, bidding the Soldiers kill them, saying they had rather be shot than be starved.

"16. The General, moved by the Cries and distress of the poor inhabitants, sent out a Trumpet to the Parliament General demanding leave to send to the Prince who was with a fleet of 19 men of War in the Mouth of the Thames, offering to surrender if they were not relieved in 20 Days. The L[d] Fairfax refused it, and sent them word he wou'd be in the Town in person and visit them in less than 20 Days, intimating that they were preparing for a storm. Some tart Messages and Answers were exchanged on this Occasion. The L[d] Goring sent word they were willing in Compassion to the poor Townspeople, and to save that effusion of Blood, to surrender upon Hon[ble] Terms but as for the storming them as they threatened they might come on when they fought fit, for they (the Royalists) were ready for them. This held to the 19[th].

"20. The L[d] Fairfax return'd [that] what he said was his last answer, and should be the last offer of Mercy: the Conditions offered were, that upon a peaceable surrender all soldiers and officers under the Degree of a Captain in Commission should have their lives, be exempted from plunder, and have passes to go to their respective Dwellings: all the Captains and superior officers, with all the L[ds] and Gentlemen as well in Commission as Voluntiers to surrender Prisoners at Discretion, only that they should not be plundered by the Soldiers.

"21. The Generals rejected these offers, and when the People came about them again for Bread, set open one of the Gates, and bid them go out to the Enemy, which a great many did willingly; upon which the L[d] Goring order'd all the rest that came about his Door to be turn'd out after them. But when the People came to the L[d] Fairfaxs Camp, the outguards were order'd to fire at them, and drive them all Back again to the Gate; which the Lord Goring seeing, he order'd them to be receiv'd in again. And now, altho' the Generals and Soldiers also were resolved to die with their swords in their hands rather than yield, and had maturely resolv'd to abide a storm; yet the Mayor and Aldermen having petitioned them, as well as the Inhabitants, being wearied with the importunities of the distressed People, and pitying the deplorable Condition they were reduced to, they agreed to enter upon a Treaty, and

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accordingly sent out some officers to the L[d] Fairfax, the Parliament General to treat, and with them were sent two Gentlemen of the Prisoners upon their Parole to return.

"Upon the return of the said messengers with the L[d] Fairfax[s] Terms, the L[d] Goring etc. sent out a letter, declaring they would die with their swords in their hands rather than yeld [*sic*] without Quarter for Life; and sent a paper of Articles on which they were willing to surrender: but in the very interim of this Treaty, news came that the Scotch Army, under Duke Hamilton, which was enter'd Lancashire, and was joined by the Royalists in that County, making 21,000 men, were entirely defeated. After this the L[d] Fairfax would not grant any abatement of Articles, viz. To have all above Lieutenants surrender at mercy.

"Upon this the L[d] Goring and the General refused to submit again, and proposed a general sally, and to break through or die, but found upon preparing for it, that the Soldiers, who had their lives offer'd them, declined it, fearing the Gentlemen should escape and they should be left to the Mercy of the Parliament soldiers; and that upon this they began to mutiny and talk of surrendering the Town and their officers too. Things being brought to this pass, the L[ds] and Gen[l] laid aside that design and found themselves obliged to submit: and so the Town was surrendered the 28 of Aug[st] 1648 upon Conditions as follows:—

The L[ds] and Gent. all Prisoners at Mercy.

The common soldier had passes to go home to their several Dwellings, but without Arms, and an Oath not to serve against the Parliament.

The Town to be preserv'd from Pillage paying [£]14,000 ready Money.

The same day a Councel of War being call'd about the Prisoners of War, it was resolv'd that the L[ds] shou'd be left to the disposal of the Parliament. That S[r] Ch[s] Lucas, S[r] G. Lisle, and S[r] Marmaduke [*sic*] Gascoin should be shot to death, and the other officers Prisoners to remain in Custody till further orders.

The 2 first of the 3 Gent. were shot to Death, and the 3[rd] respited.

Thus ended the Siege of Colchester.

N.B.—Notwithstanding the Number killed in the Siege and dead of the Flux and other Distempers occasioned by bad diet, which were very many, and notwithstanding the number which deserted and escaped in the time of their Hardships, yet these remained at the time of the surrender:—

Earl of Norwich (Goring).
L[d] Capel.
L[d] Loug[h]bro.
11 Knights.
9 Colonels.
8 Lieut.-Colonels.
9 Majors.
30 Captains.
72 Lieutenants.
69 Ensigns.
183 Serjeants and Corporals.
3,067 Private Soldiers.
65 Serv[ts] to the L[ds] and General Officers and Gentlemen.

3,526 in all.

1728. 'Æquinox.' [21 March]. Grove Str. Hackney.—Robert Ainsworth to C.G.

On numismatics. Speaks of Gray's collection of coins as "being for the number not inferiour either to the D. of Devonshires or my Lord Pembrokes." Suggests purchases and exchanges.

28 May.—Same to Same.

On numismatics.

1729, 21 May. Mile-end.—Same to Same.

Congratulates C. G. on his proof of the identity of Colchester with Camulodunum. "Leland's opinion had never been questioned had not the great name of Mr. Camden . . . . . found reasons to a precarious and odd etymology."

1747, 19th Nov. [Colchester].—George Wegg to C. G. . . . . . The conversation of this place runs at present, I am told much upon witchcraft and fortune-telling occasioned by the discovery of an impudent hag upon St. John's Green, who under pretence of helping folks to lost goods has defrauded numbers of people of their money, and for the helping young damsels to sweethearts has drawn in many to give her more than was their own to part with . . . . . Tis said she has been honour'd with the correspondence of most of the ladies of fashion in Colchester; who not careing to be seen at her house, used to consult her at a neighbours hard by." . . . . . .

1747, 20th Nov. Colchester.—[Rev] P. Morant to C.G.

Encloses Jekyll genealogy. W. Mayhew bought Jekyll's collection of genealogies from W. Holman's son.

1747, 2nd Dec. Colchester.—[Rev.] P. Morant to C.G.

Gives terms on which Bowyer offers to print his *History of Colchester*.

"I. That the history of Colchester shall be printed in folio on a paper and letter the same size with Dr. Salmon's Essex at the expense of W. Bowyer the Printer.

II. That it shall not exceed 45 sheets at the letter-press.

III. That the expence of the cuts shall not amount to above

IV. That copies shall be delivered to the author for his subscribers, on his paying 2*s*. 6*d*. for each. The rest of the copies to be the property of the printer.

V. That 30$^{li}$ shall be paid by the author to W. Bowyer, half when the History is half printed, the rest when the whole is finished.

VI. That if the sale of the book does not defray the expence, the Printers shall be reimbursed by the Author, in three years after the publication."

Complains of the hardness of Article IV., as he has but 43 subscribers as yet. Will have to omit some illustrations. "However, I should be glad to get it Out at any tolerable rate."

1748, 5th Feb. Colchester.—Same to Same.

Thanks C. G. for pushing his book and seeing Mr. York[e] about "the Leidger book of St. John's" [now Lord Cowper's]. Mr. Tindal has procured him subscribers from Chelmsford.

ROUND MSS.

"Yesterday a carpenter digging a hold in Mr. Peter Creffeild's garden[1] . . . . . hit upon a mosaic pavement. It is near three foot under the surface of the ground" . . . . . .

1748, Nov. 14th. Governor Belcher to ———. Dated at Perth Amboy (N.J.).

. . . . . "I am now glad to tell you that from my arrival in this Province to this time there has subsisted between the Governor and the People an agreeable Harmony, and which looks likely to hold. In a Session of the General Assembly (this last winter) there were more Laws and Orders past than had been past for many years before; and such as, I believe, will much promote the welfare and happiness of this People; and this I shall at all times endeavour to do to the utmost of my Power.

"We are creeping along with our young College,[2] and the 9th instant was held the first commencement, when some students received their degrees as Batchelors of Arts; and the next year there is likely to be a greater number. The Province is small and the People not able to do much for the support of this Society. I am therefore indeavouring to get them help from my friends abroad and have some incouragement of Books for their Library and of materials for the Building. And I shall be studious night and day to bring this infant forward into youth and manhood; being intirely with you, that not Learning or Knowledge ever hurt a Kingdom, State, or People, but Riches and their concomitant Luxury, (the destruction of Greece and Rome). And as to Religion and Morality, how could they be advanced without knowledge and learning? Let the Pytyable Ignorant that are stupid enough to entertain such wild opinions but look into the dreadful deserts of America and Africa, among the miserable Indians and Negroes who almost from the General Deluge to this time have been worshiping the host of Hell, and passing their lives in all manner of barbarism; and let them consider what was, some ages ago, the sad state of the Picts and of all Great Britain; methinks these considerations should make wise thinking men esteem good literature a pearl of great price.

"I see the Managers (where Mr. Gray has the honour of a seat) have no reason to complain, with the children in the market place, 'We have piped unto you, but ye have not danced.' No, the musick produced Ten Millions, and it was a prudent foresight to prevent the necessity of touching the strings again.

"Well, we are, in our obscure part of the Ball, earnestly expecting the blessings of Peace. For we have here an implicit faith that all is well done that gains the plaudit of your August House, a British House of Commons; so that in all your councils and debates you ought to have the English America near your hearts.

"This respite will give *our dear friends* a fine opportunity of filling up and inlargeing their naval force, the neglect of which has been their great foible, but if they wisely correct that mistake, and overpower you at sea, as well as by land, what then? Deus avertat *hostem*. But I keep you too long from the service of your King and Country, which you'll forgive while I breathe out the spirit of a true Briton.

"I am now here, 50 miles from my stated residence [Burlington] in obedience to the King's commands, which are to hold the sittings of the General Assembly alternately at Burlington and Perth Amboy; and this is the time, in course, for the latter: but letters directed to me at Burlington will best find me . . . . . .

[1] To the east of Trinity Church.—J. H. R.

[2] Princeton.

"P.S. New Jersey lies nearest in 40° N° latitude, is a fine climate and a good soil, when cultivated makes good orcharding, fill'd with many sorts of choice apples, cherries, plums, and *peaches;* in great plenty. I believe *equal* to those of their *mother country* from whence, you know, the Latins called the Peach *Persicus.* ROUND MSS.

"The arable lands give wheat, rye, barley, oats, and a grain called Indian corn, all in great abundance.

"The gardens, roots of all kinds, cabbages, colliflowers, sweet herbs, pease, and beans, of all sorts, and these thinks, I think, far better than I ever eat in England.

"The face of the uncultivated or wild lands is covered with oaks of many sorts, black walnut trees, elms, maples, birch, white cedars, pines, hickorys, sassifras, &c.; with shrubs, grape vines and wild flowers of numberless kinds.

"We have poultry in plenty, better than with you, as turkeys, dunghill fowls, pidgeons, geese, and ducks.

"Beef, veal, and mutton enough, and very good, venison, rabbits, and wild fowl, partridge, grouse, and quails.

"Fish hardly any; but take this Province in the lump, it is the best country I have seen for men of middling fortunes, and for poor people who have to live by the sweat of their brows."

1749, 4th April. London.—Dr. W. Stukeley to C. G.[1]

"Honoured and good S^r^.—I shall be happy if I can entertain you a quarter of an hour with Richard of Westminster. He gives me a good deal of entertainment, and I enjoy compleat tranquillity amid the feuds between the ld. mayor and alderman: between the courtiers: which are of more importance: and I hear not a little impetuous. A great D. declares he will not be bullyed as his f—— was. Where wickedness reigns triumphant, there, I hold, can no wisdom dwell." . . . .

[N.D.] Same to Same.

. . . . "I have got our friend Richard of Westminster handsomely bound, that we may at least preserve the copy of so considerable an author. I find he lived 400 years agoe, was a traveller to all the librarys of note; which we must attribute to his eager love of learning and curiosity. And happy it is for us that he turn'd his mind toward this part of learning, when, 'tis plain, there were maps and manuscripts relating to Roman Brittain left, which are since lost. For, tis very certain, his book contains a much better account of that knowledg than all others put together: and this in very little compass. I see likewise that he was a person of genius, by the manner he treats the subject in: and the plan and heads he goes upon. Tis a book of entertainment as well as instruction.

"Our author flourished in 1340, so that tis just 400 years that he has lain in obscurity, and in utmost danger of absolute oblivion. His name was Richard of Chichester [*sic*], monk of Westminster. He wrote 5 books of anglo-saxonic chronicles, called *speculum historiale,* beginning at the entrance of Hengist into our isle A.D. 448 continuing the work to his own time 1348, 22 E. III.

"This book was in the public library Cambridg: but now not to be found. Tis fear'd some foreigners take 'em away: as probably was the case of our part, and the most valuable of his works.

"An epitome of the work is in Bennet (my college) library of manuscripts.

[1] For Gray's letters to Stukeley, see *Stukeley's Diaries and Letters* (Surtees Soc.), II., 158–162; III., 46.

ROUND MSS.

"Bishop Nicholson in his historical library, says that, it seems, Richard wrote of much higher than Saxon times."

[This letter refers to Bertram's now celebrated forgery, the Itinerary of "Richard of Cirencester" (as it was eventually termed), which obtained, through Stukeley, credence with the learned world, and was so long accepted as genuine.]

1750, 20th September. London.—Same to Same. On numismatics . . . . . .

"Yesterday we ended our Crownian lecture on the nerves at our amphitheater in Warwick lane; and after that a good dinner. The company was some of them diverted, while some were chagrin'd, at a satyr publishd the same day, called the Battiad; about the college refusing to admit Dr. Schomberg a fellow. It is said to be wrote by Mendez the merchant."

1752, 28th May. George Wegg to C. G.

"We were highly entertained at Southwold with the net manufactory, in a building ab$^{t}$ 60 feet long, the ground floor whereof is used for the laying of stores, we saw between 20 and 30 women weaving and mending of nets under the direction of an elderly dame whom they call Mistress; over these on another floor which runs the whole length several men are employed in putting the nets together and fastening them to the cord. Every net is wove to the length of 40 or 45 feet but when they get out to sea they are joined together to a length of a mile or a mile and a half. A monstrous copper is fixing up for the drawing a strong infusion of bark in which the netts are to be tann'd. Eight new busses are now lying in a creek ab$^{t}$ a mile below the towne and we saw another under full sail coming in to Join them. I c$^{d}$ not content myself without going on board one of them. Very clever things they are of ab$^{t}$ 50 tons burthen, they carry ab$^{t}$ 15 hands, two men and a boy of the Danish nation compose part of the crew, the whole towne seems quite alive and all hands at work. The Admiral was to be there last night or this morn$^{g}$ Friday being what they call Commission Day" . . . . . .

1752, 6th Dec. Ball: Coll. [Rev.] C. Godwyn [B.D.] to C. G.

. . . . . The Bishop of Cloyne, who has come to settle here, has written a very good-natured letter to Ld. Hartington, in which he talks much of the regularity and decent behaviour of the young people of this place. Perhaps the compliment may in some measure be ascribed to the behaviour of the Irish youth at Dublin. But really I think we never more deserved such a compliment than we do at present.

"An attempt has been made to remove the Bishop of Norwich from his attendance upon the Prince of Wales. It was intended in favour of the Bishop of Glouster, but it has not suceeded. . . . . .

1753, 5th July. London. Stukeley to C.G.

. . . . . "Mr. Morant has composed a very just and well digested history of your antient city of Camulodunum as it ought to be called. I agree with Mr. Morant in that, and likewise in Constantine Mag. being a Briton born, and had I seen what he has wrote thereon, I sh$^{d}$ have sav'd myself the trouble of considering that affair. But as it is, I have somewhat strengthen'd the argumentation. Mr. Gale and I had very freq$^{t}$ disputes, both of Constantine and Camulodunum. I was angry he should take any pains to rob us of a fine lady and great emp$^{r}$. If Lipsius or any foreigner does it, they are not to blame. The excuse of finding out truth when it does not belong to us I disregard.

. . . . . But in one thing I must differ from Mr. Morant, *i.e.* in the foundation of the castle. I am fully persuaded tis a Roman building, as much as your walls, or London walls, or the tower of London. They are all Roman works, of the same time and manner and probably the same hand. . . . . I am convinced yours was ar *Armentarium*, or granary, to lay up corn in many such in Brittain and throughout the Roman empire. Camulodunum had a full navigation up to the castle. Innumerable corn-boats lay in the large morass under the castle; as formerly at York, and other like places. You, have them oft on coins; and, if I mistake not, in Banduri is such a one in the reverse of your townswoman: which may perhaps regard your very building . . . Carausius goes on well." ROUND MSS.

[1757], 5th April. London.—Thomas Falconer to C. G.

. . . . . "The News here is chiefly concerning the Treaty which the K[g] of P[russia] is thought to have concluded with England by the means of Mr. Mitchell; so that Col: York will have little to say and less to act when he arrives at Berlin. The League if we credit report is offensive and defensive. A Fleet is to be sent into the Baltick, and a Regiment is to garrison Embden. The commotions are said to run high in Prussia, so far as to lead even to a Revolution. If so the P. of Holstein has had bad fortune indeed; to resign his pretensions to Sweden, and to be imprisoned in the Muscovite Court, only to give up his court to an exile. However I wish it true for the sake of justice and our grand Ally. The City of London is again terrified with that bugbear of a French invasion; but where or when they can't tell and L[d] Anson knows nothing of the matter. This however is certain, that the ships at Spithead have received counter-orders to what they had at first in consequence of some intelligence from Brest. But I believe it is not an invasion. Our ships have had great success against the French marine, and our hopes in America are great, from Commodore Moore and Boscawen. L[d] Loudon is gone upon an expedition of some consequence, either against Ticonderago or some other fort w[ch] opens the way to Crown Point. Some have great hopes that he will succeed. Others fear he will be rash. How little apprehensions of his sort had we lately. My young brave friend Cocks, who chose a maritime life, from steady resolution, and not from hasty choice or compulsion, is now on board the Dorsetshire, a 70 gun ship . . . . . ."

1757, 22nd Oct. Same to Same.

. . . . . "While I was at Stockport I took a jaunt to Manchester . . . . . You would have been pleased with the sight of a Linnen Manufactory, for stamping and painting, which I was carried to near Stockport. The composition for fixing the colours is pretended to be a great secret, but I am satisfied that small knowledge in Chymistry would discover the whole. The stamps are cut in some close-grained wood with great neatness. The process is very simple. When the linnens are stamped they are thrown into large boilers, wherein this secret is dissolved (which is thought to be cow dung mixed with some coarse earth). This changes the shades of the cloth into purple or red, which appeared before as only various shades of browns. They are afterwards beat by large hammers moved by water, and then laid on the grass for the sun to exhale the moisture. The boilers give the whole of the cloth a reddish cast which the heat draws off in a short time. The blue, yellow, and green are drawn with a pencil, with great labour and many hands. Nothing can shew the advantage of our manufactures over those abroad better than this article; for the demand from

ROUND MSS. Germany is prodigious, notwithstanding the duty is 3d per yard at the place of making, besides another duty on the exportation. If our trade can flourish with all these incumbrances, what would it, if more at liberty. Our publick affairs are much worse than when you last wrote. This secret expedition has greatly dispirited the nation" . . . . . .

1758, 2nd May. Lincoln's Inn.—Same to Same.

. . . . . "I was on last Friday at the House of Commons . . . . . Mr. Legge pleased me very well, not only with his perspicuity, but his style and sentiment. You possibly have heard of the mock dispute between the Speaker and Ld. Strange, whether he should be exempted from the tax on places . . . . . My Prussian friends are in high spirits, the Baron Brandt was half in raptures to hear the news of the commotions in Poland . . . . . I could scarcely avoid smiling indeed when he endeavoured to prove our safety nay had we let him proceed, he would have added, our Liberties depended on a Fleet being sent into the Baltick" . . . . . .

[N.D.] [1758. London.]—Same to Same.

. . . . . "Your charge the British Museum makes a glorious appearance; Knipshausen the Prussian Envoy assures me it excells any collection in Europe, and will probably be much encreased. It will be opened, I suppose, by the time you will come to London. The Town, as usual, is very thin of people; we are eager enough after news . . . . . Our good Ally has treated Saxony as a conquered Province; the woods are now cutting down for arrears of contributions . . . . . We have repulsed the French in America, and shall attack them as soon as possible. They were eating horses in Quebec some time past. I wish the bloody Governor Vaudreuil may now repent of his cruelties to the English. Sr Ch. Hardy told P. Andrews that he had destroy'd at Glashy fish to the value of £60,000 if sold in America; besides the town and settlement which were so beautifully built and planted, that he lamented his orders, which he was tied down precisely to obey . . . . . I had a letter yesterday from Oxford. I find they are yet unsettled as to the choice of a chancellor. My uncles opinion has been asked with regard to Ld Litchfield's qualification; he has expressed it rather in the negative, but doubtfully, for the sense of the Statute depends upon usage. This has displeased the roaring partizans of Oxford, who would have a Tory right or wrong. If they were not divided they might undoubtedly keep out the Bp of Durham; but if they are, he will as certainly come in."

1760, 28th Nov. Ball: Coll: [Rev.] Charles Godwyn [B.D.] to C. G.

. . . . . "The most remarkable occurrence which has lately happened here is the compromise, which is very much approved of. After a long debate it was agreed to join Ld Charles Spencer with Sr James Dashwood . . . . . Ld Litchfield, Sr James Dashwood, and almost all the gentlemen on that side of the country were very strenuous for the compromise. This was the worst event that could befall the New Interest. It has destroyed their expectations entirely. Mr. Kennicott has received a very complaisent letter from the Cardinal and another from Mr. Wilcocks, who is indefatigable in searching after all the Hebrew MSS. that are in Italy . . . . . Some pieces of intelligence which we have from the Court have a very good appearance. Among others we have this, that the King will lessen £200,000 a year in the Civil list.

1760, 27th Sept. Chester.—T. Falconer to C. G.

Comments on current politics and literature.

1761, 31st Aug. Chester.—Same to Same.

. . . . . "I cannot but applaud our King's choice of a Queen in a political light. Strelitz can no more draw us into expensive connections than Saxe Gotha did before. If she is amiable in her temper and manners we may expect an age of less dissoluteness at Court: for the example of the Prince will at last direct his followers, and a sober-minded young man agreeably married is the least likely of any person to be extremely vicious . . . . . The other day I had a pamphlet sent me down which was really curious: it was an exact copy of the private instruct[ns] of Hen. 7 to his embassadors in relation to the Queen of Naples. I know them to be genuine having seen the original: but I am forbid to mention more" . . . . . .

1765, 10th Oct. Ball: Coll: [Rev.] C. Godwyn [B. D] to C.G.

. . . . . We are printing here a very smart pamphlet written by Dr. Lowth in defence of himself against the Bishop of Gloucester. The public, I believe will be highly entertained with it, and with some letters added by way of appendix, which have passed between the B[p] and the Dr. The President of Corpus, who acted V. Ch[r] has given his imprimatur to all this. A most daring affront to that uncommon genius [Warburton], who, I make no doubt, will make us all smart for it. I am told by very good authority that if Mr. Greenville had continued in the ministry, Dr. Lowth was to have been the next B[p].[1] I very much approve of the design, and am sorry that Mr. Greenville has it not in his power to carry it into execution. I was lately complimenting a gentleman of Cambridge upon the disposal which the D. of N[ewcastle] has of the ecclesiastical preferments, and was told a piece of news, which I am greatly pleased with, that the master of St. John's is in great favour with the D. and likely to be promoted soon" . . . . . .

1765, 30th Nov. Chester.—T. Falconer to C.G.

. . . . . You state our American connections very truly and I am in no present fears of their immediate revolt, but I am in dread of other changes equally destructive to our commerce. It is well known that that our Colonies were chiefly planted by exiles, and not by the encouragement of the State; that our Ministry for many years rather discouraged the Colonies, without weakening them however, and irritated without humbling; that since the reduction of Louisburg by the New Englanders, when their real strength was apparent, we ran into the contrary extreme, magnified their danger above truth, and were not satisfied till we had placed them above controul; that during all this time we took no care to obviate the ill impressions to our prejudice caused by former neglects and avaricious Governors, and lastly that the Americans, being long forgotton by their mother country might not unreasonably imagine they had but little connection with it. If these several positions are true we must not wonder if our Colonists, provoked and neglected, supported and then taxed, should grow restive. Mild but vigorous measures will, I hope, be pursued, but I despair of proper steps being taken under the present admin[n]. As to the propagation of Christianity by our conquests, it affords a most pleasing prospect . . . . . but our N[th] Americans are not enough conversant

[1] Nominated Bishop of St. David's 14 May 1766. Translated to Oxford Sept. 1766, London, April 1777.

ROUND MSS.

with the Indians, nor have they sufficient humanity to undertake so desirable a work. The East Indies are still a less likely field, as to all appearance the natives, tho' varying in opinions above measure, yet conform to the practice of morality much better than our own people. They are humane, refined, timorous, effeminate and superstitious, and while they are attached to their own opinions, they see our people disregard the practice of their faith, negligent in acts of devotion, cruel through avarice, and trampling on the sacred persons of the Indian Sovereigns. Besides we have not driven the French from the E^t^ Indies: Pondicherry is theirs again and tho' dismantled, it may afford refuge to priests, who will be uncommonly active in their adversity. We have nothing to oppose to their craft. The wise and humane letter of the great Dr. Prideaux to the B^p^ of London had no effect that I ever heard of . . . . . our clergy in those parts are yet too few; and as most of them are married, they have domestick connections, and are little disposed, and indeed little able, to plant Christianity in remote parts . . . . . The N^th^ Americans are so prejudiced against our Church that I question if they would on any terms admit an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which they hate still more than our civil . . . . . .

. . . . . From the several positions I mentd. before (added to what you justly observed th^r^ love of independence) may we not justly dread their setting up manufactures, and the consequences of such a step would be as ruinous as a revolt . . . . . Suppose however that by mild measures we induce them to be our friends for the present, that mildness will encrease their power, and only put off the evil day" . . . . . .

1766, 18th March. Chester.—Same to same.

. . . . . "I am heartily sorry to find so much ill blood in America about the stamp act, and the flame is too permanent to be accounted for from the fury of a mob, which is transient tho' violent. The last accounts from New York are more outrageous than ever, had they proceeded a little further the consequence must have been bloody on both sides." Discusses the problem of delegated power. "The conduct of the Ministry bears evident marks of unsettled pusillanimity; that of Mr. Pitt of violence tinctured with his foible, a passion for popular applause. Great talents and a warm fancy blended with human weakness, a genius ill-adapted for peace, a spirit uncontrollable, and daring entrepidity, a heart always aspiring which scorns to owe its elevation to any other person; over fond of executing splendid projects without reflecting on the minutiæ of his own schemes: all these form a singular character more striking than amiable."

1766. 19th April. Same to Same.

. . . . . How will the Americans repay those Patriots who have for their temporary interests betrayed their own country in so base a manner? As for Pitt (whose speech I have seen very well abstracted) I can readily believe he was actuated by an enthusiasm for liberty and a passion for applause till he thought he acted on upright and free principles. Never was a character more mixed than his, but 'tis our peculiar misfortune at present that his virtues are prejudicial while he acquires influence only through his foibles. His love of freedom encreases American insolence; his vanity induces him to make use of means to gain applause which are far from justifiable and hardly excusable. Gen^l^ Conway and the rest would have compromised matters had not that unfortunate speech (like Montrose's fatal letter at the treaty of Uxbridge) elated the Americans and put a stop to the convention. The prospect

is but gloomy. The Liverpool merchants agree in deeming the repeal impolitic, unconstitutional and merely a temporary expedient which will embroil us more and more in process of time. These were however the very men who clamoured as loud for that measure as the North Americans themselves . . . . . My uncles fr[d] Gov[r] Bernard has behaved with great prudence of spirit. He has been so ill-used by the negligence of our Ministry that I fear future Officers of the Crown will be more complaisant to the Colonies from a motive of self-preservation." . .

1766, 11th May. Chester.—Same to Same.

Describes Watson, an artizan genius, of Ashbourn in Derbyshire, the son of a stone-cutter, who collects and works in the local marbles. "His taste is exquisite, but his knowledge in Mechanicks still raises him higher in the opinion of every judicious observer."

. . . . . "What will be the consequence of our East Ind[n] settlement? L[d] Clive has done more wonders with his pen than with his sword. I prophecy not much good from the overgrown fortunes of a monopolizing Company. A Kingdom more extensive than our own is a tempting bait, and may encourage oppression in underwriters, who have generally little religion and no education. I am heartily glad my uncle Wilbraham has attended these late important questions in the House without prejudice to his health . . . . . .

[N.D.] Same to Same.

. . . . . "The gross treason of the Whisperer seemed to indicate some hopes of a rising in the nation, or at least in the mob of London." I am glad that Lord Granby has joined the administration. At this critical time it will be a matter of great importance to gain him over, for his popularity in the army is very extensive. We have been now for 8 years gradually enflaming one another about nothing; and the next generation will probably read the annals of G. 3[rd] with wonder.

. . . . . If the times were a little calmer, some reformation might be offered of our Parliaments but any concessions at this time would only give new vigour to the party. I much fear the concessions to the Americans will have little effect. They did not complain of the weight of the taxes, but of the power of taxing claimed by us; and the retaining the duty on tea will be considered in as bad a light as the stamp act, especially as the chief part of the revenue was to arise from that one article." . . . . . .

1766, 17th May. Chester—Same to Same.

. . . . . "Pitt behaved nobly in the Militia business, but his speech on the American affairs was paradoxical, declamatory, and impertinent; I own it abounded in fine sounding periods and was not unlike the celebrated letter of Brutus to Cicero, which however is thought by the best judges a forgery." Proceeds to a comparison of Pitt with Pericles. "The times call for a strict economy, for great and comprehensive schemes of commerce, for enlarged ideas of the Constitution, on the basis of well-regulated freedom, and the most resolute firmness in the execution of such measures." Blames Pitt for all. He will be sternly judged in future times, "when our own country sinks for want of trade, and a new Empire in America controuls all Europe." . . . . . .

1766, 30[th] Aug. Chester.—Same to Same.

Has made excursion into Herefordshire and Bucks.

"The foundling hospital [at Shrewsbury] only yields to that at London and the decorations of the Council room are absurdly expensive. However, the neatness of the wards and the healthy looks of 500 children

Rouse MSS. just sitting down to dinner in the open air, on the finest natural terrace in England formed a most picturesque scenery. . . . . The schoolmaster shewed me in the library an original picture of S^r Ph. Sidney by Otho Venius. I wonder it escaped Vertue's searching eye, who was so passionately desirous of finding any original portrait of so refined a genius. . . . . In the Archives I saw a most exquisite MS. of the Alcoram (*sic*) bought at Grand Cairo, the clearest and smallest hand I ever saw; not above 2 inches and ½ sq.

Describes pictures at Longnor, and visits to Ludlow, Hereford and Ledbury.

"The great improvements made in the Worcester manufactory of china would have afforded you great pleasure as it did me. It is hardly surpassed by the Vincennes, and much cheaper, they have not yet debased it by making vile attempts at human figures, but stick to the usefull." Visits Oxford, and describes Wren's designs and the drawings at Ch : Ch : "The only additional ornament to Oxford since my time [1754–9] was the fitting up of Ch : Ch : Library which is very well executed in a magnificent taste. A botanical society is just instituted, and some of its members do honour to the institution. As for other particulars, the young men are more refined, elegant, philosophical, expensive and deistical than they were seven years ago. However upon the whole Oxford does not improve, and the growing expenses of eating have at last obliged the seniors to enforce some new ordinances with vigour against Cook-shops. . . . .

I cannot abuse Ld. Chatham, but hope that he will act with as much spirit as when Mr. Pitt. My principal fear is that he will hurry us into troubles by some violent measures to regain the esteem of London stockjobbers and secure his popularity with the country gentlemen.

. . . . . Ld. Camden's promotion will give but little satisfaction to the publick. His sentiments are republican in politicks, deistical in religion, and if he inherits one half of his father's pride such principles, with his abilities, may do mischief in so high a station. Who would change so desirable a place as he left for so precarious a Dignity?" . . . . . .

1766, 21^st^ Dec. Chester.—Same to Same.

. . . . . "We live in perpetual jars when national distresses call aloud for a union. Our debt enormous, our colonies insolent, manufactures oppressed with taxes, the populace riotous, and provisions uncommonly dear. This last is indeed very hard to correct." Proceeds to set forth the case against bounties on the exportation of corn, arguing that the landed interest is dependent on the manufacturing, which is dependent on foreign markets in which it must "sell cheap." This it cannot do if provisions are dear. Rents have been raised of late years "to nearly double," as corn goes up. This must be stopped by lowering the bounty. . . . . .

1767, 25th, May. Chester.—Same to Same.

. . . "As for the negroes, I think Dr. Campbell argues more forcibly when he proves that a little more humanity would enable the Island of Barbadoes to save 2 3rds of the purchase-money for slaves. All arguments drawn from motives of humanity are lost upon men whose souls are deadened to every feeling, but commercial deductions could not properly be inserted in a sermon. . . . . We shall hardly persuade any of our back settlers about Niagara to coalesce with the Indians and teach them the arts of agriculture. There was indeed a small remnant of an Indian tribe who once took refuge

amongst us, and learnt civility much faster than could have been expected. But just when their example might have begun to operate our christian planters surprized and murdered them all. Gov$^{r}$ Franklyn (an American born), described their massacre in terms of horror that did him great credit with every humane breast. For this reason, I would advise a mission first to the Europeans, who seem to have indianized themselves, and become as dextrous at slaughter and unfeeling as the barbarians themselves. These only differences remain; that the former wear coats and breeches, and cheat and murder all mankind alike; the latter go naked, never cheat, and only murder their enemies; the former call themselves christians, the latter are idolaters. This is no argument for relaxing our care of the mission, but it is a strong one for chusing the ablest missionaries. The Jesuits have one piece of policy which the Bishop does not mention, viz. that of lay brothers of the order, who are appointed to teach the Indians those arts which are usually out of the sphere of the clergy. This Society of ours might possibly adopt this measure in some respect, and by proper presents of tools of husbandry or other helps assist in the previous step of civilising. . . . . It is very clear to me that it is for the publick advantage to have small farms, for the sake of population and industry; but whether the legislature can interfere I do not know. What are you doing in the house about America? Are you taxing or collecting duties or both? You will raise a revolt, and then we may send the L$^{d}$ Privy Seal with L$^{d}$ Camden to teach them the dispensing power vested in our royal prerogative." . . . . . .

1767, 3rd July. Victualling Office.—Jonas Hanway to C. G. Receipt for biscuit.

"Our infant Bill promises to restore the reign of humanity towards the infant poor."

1767, 14th October. Blithfield.—Thomas Falconer to C. G.

. . . . . "Since I have been here I have taken a cursory view of the finest antiques in this part of England. It is at Mr. Anson's, who has just brought the L'Effroy collection, as I think it is called, the gold medals are above 400, in the finest preservation. The whole is near 7,000. The masterpiece, however, is a statue of Adonis, or rather of Apollo. Never did I see equal grace with such an air of grandeur. . . . . Its companion is a Thalia of exquisite beauty. . . . . Besides these in the greenhouse there is a Bacchus and Faun of finished elegance, and the trunk of a Muse, in the best Grecian style, with many others. It grieved me to see an incomparable bas-relief in alabaster of Paris carrying off Helen (wherein the half consenting reluctance of the latter and the gentle compulsion of the former were admirably expressed) exposed in the open air, which had already injured the delicater parts of the sculpture. The master had no feeling, so my remonstrances were ineffectual. He shewed us the finest cameo of a single head I ever saw; it seemed to be an Alexander weeping for new worlds to conquer. . . . . I fear the encreasing factions of the nobility more than the family compact, the nation now begins to be embroiled about elections. I hope your seat is in no danger." . . . . . .

1767, 29th December. Chester.—Same to Same.

. . . . . "I hope the peace of your City is not disturbed by any opposition, as by all accounts S$^{r}$ W$^{m}$ Mayne will give you no

further trouble. This place is at present in tranquillity; how long it will continue I know not: there are busy spirits in the place who love to fish in troubled waters, who only want a man to head them; but it will be difficult to find one that will stem the torrent against so united a body as the Corporation and Gentlemen.

I thank you for your paper about Downing College which I now return you. It is a judicious design, but it would never do either in Oxford or Cambridge. These bodies are now grown luxurious and expensive and bear very little resemblance to convents in the restraint of the students. Even the poorer colleges are despised, & consequently such an assembly as this would meet with contempt immediately." Such a scheme should be tried in the north or west away from wealthy society.

. . . . . .

1768, 24 Feb. Chester.—Same to Same.

. . . . . "I am concerned to think our worthy fr[d] Mr. Wilbraham has so bad a heart of his bribery bill. Indeed I thought it would not be the right time for such an attempt. Some few Patriots (if they would consider of a good plan) should push it strongly at the beginning of the next Parl[nt], when the hopes and fears of the present competitors would be determined or subsided . . . . . The freedom of electers and the independance of the elected are the bulwarks of our liberties." They should be respectively preserved by raising the franchise to £10 freehold in counties, and £10 income in boroughs, and by allowing no member to be elected till 30 years of age, when they are less likely to be in difficulties, from extravagance, and therefore amenable to corruption. "And this alone would discourage young adventurers."

"The Speaker's reprimand is a noble piece of eloquence. I would call it Roman, in compliance with common prejudice, tho' I think it better than any Roman speech I ever yet saw. The firmness and humanity of the whole are really worthy of the highest praises."

1768, 2[nd] April. Haberdashers Hall.—J. Knapp to C. G.

. . . . . "have made enquiry touching the transportation of the young woman (though not a convict) but with her consent, and do find that such persons are often transported by merchants on their entering into indentures with them for a service of four years, and then to have their liberty, and that they most commonly do well and succeed in life (if not their own faults) and that Mess[rs] Day & Son, merchants, near the Royal Exchange have a ship now ready for that purpose and will sail in about a fortnight or three weeks, so that if the young woman hath any thoughts of going, she, or somebody for her, must treat with Mess[rs] Day, and understand proper care will be taken of her, and not mixed with any criminals, but only bonded servants as they stile them, the ship not taking any other."

1768, 26[th] April. Colchester.—C. G. to Day and Son.

"The bearer, Susannah Bartle, a poor young girl . . . . . is determined to go into service in America, and cannot be persuaded from it . . . . . .

"I beg your compassion to this young creature" . . . . . .

1768, 19th Sept. Stockport.—T. Falconer to C. G.

. . . . . "You see the American affairs are coming to a crisis, or rather may be said to have come, for the circular letters of the Bostonians, their absolute refusal to rescind their resolutions are a sign

for war. Our commercial interests when they see their debts lie on their books will at last be convinced that their clamours for America were only sharpening the sword that was to destroy them. However, I still hope we shall be able to subdue that refractory colony." But if so, we ruin their prosperity and demand for our manufactures. Blockade will have the same effect. "As the other assemblies have shown a disposition to revolt, it may induce them to accede and form a confederacy. What will L[d] Botetourt do at Virginia? I fear he wants the necessary knowledge, and takes the government to restore his disordered finances. What[ever] comes of this nomination, I am glad Sir Jeff A[mherst] is removed. His excuse was beneath a soldier, and whatever were the conditions of acceptance, no man of honour would have insisted on non-residence when his country was at stake . . . . . I hope your busy opponent will not be able to trouble you much more, for the parliament will soon be considering the petitions, and whichever way it turns, you will at least be relieved . . . . . The Cumberland and Abingdon returns seem so scandalous to me that I am half alarmed for the constitution." . . . . . .

1768, 12th Dec. Chester.—Same to Same.

A long argument on the leather trade and the exportation of corn. "It is my firm opinion at present that all trade should be left free."

1769, 5th March. [Colchester].—George Wegg to C. G.

Discusses local politics. "They who know his Majesty's immense good nature and humanity can never wonder at the vast deficiency of the Civil List. In the very first year of his reign everybody about him began the plunder and would have stript him naked before this time had it not been for Lord Talbot and some few other good economists. I am glad to hear he is set clear at last, and shall be well contented to pay my share towards it, let it be raised in what shape it may."

1770, 14th Jan. Same to Same.

"I cant help applauding honest Jemmy Round for his spirit and goodwill to his Country in not suffering our Quarter Session to be adjourned for want of a lawyer to preside, but took the chair himself and got thro' the business very well." . . . . . .

1770, 20th Jan. Chester.—T. Falconer to C. G.

Renewed argument against the corn bounties. "I allow we might export great quantities without prejudice in the war of 41; but from 41 to 51 there was the finest succession of harvests ever known in the memory of man. Those extraordinary years are no precedent. . . . As for inclosures may we not carry them too far? I know that the Staffordshire sheep (which are within inclosures) produce more wool, but if we lose our forest fleeces we must lay aside our manufacture of fine cloths, for the coarse Staffordshire wool is only fit for coarse cloths. I know they are now going to inclose 2,000 acres on the forest of Delamere, which will not hurt the produce of wool, but I cannot wish the whole to be enclosed. That grand material is now very greatly inhanced in value, whilst the workmens wages are still rising. We are undersold in almost every market, and we cannot purchase Irish wool, for the French can work it up so much cheaper, they can always outbid us for the gross commodity . . . . . .

"No partizan of either side can be a judge of the state of the nation. Your cool judgment will determine rationally. Between America, Ireland, and our own dissensions I see no end to our troubles.

ROUND MSS. "If you ever attend the Museum I should be glad if the reader's place is vacant or to be vacated." Recommends Mr. Forster, "of great merit as a scholar, and a religious good man," who is translating books of travels.

1770, 10th Feb. Chester.—Same to Same.

Complains of disregard for religious considerations in public affairs and public men. "If our prelates were more attentive to their duty and less at Court, it would influence the clergy, and they would regard the flock at least as much as the fleece. The Scotch clergy, I am informed, are models to ours for residence and watchfulness. Not because they are better men naturally, but because their stipends are nearly equal; they are all above want, but cannot have pluralities, and cannot expect to be translated. If our Bishopricks were nearly of equal value, it would answer the purpose here. But this reformation, which Hen. 8th might have effected when he changed our religion, is impracticable in these times."

Discusses arguments of the Bostonians and their friends. "Are we to admit all N^th America, with all its sects to an equal participation of our government? The thing itself is impracticable, and would be ruinous to both, if it could be effected." . . . . .

"Our party divisions are more violent than Whigs and Tories, as being more personal and on less principle." . . . . .

1770, 4th April. Chester.—Same to Same.

Is grieved to hear that health of C. G. is suffering from strain of the session. "As you regard all parties with an equal eye, you are not liable to be fluttered at those changes which shake the frame of a warmer temper, . . . . . that philanthropy which you so largely possess must be deemed as wholesome to our bodies as our souls." . . . . .

"What think you of the Russians and Turks? Christian as I am, I wish for the latter, on Montesquieu's maxim that they are the only people who could possess such extensive and fertile territories and be insignificant to the rest of Europe. The Russians have too much already, and are advancing apace to have more. Their land forces are to be 60,000 men, about 300 vessels. . . . . France and Spain will not see without pain a new power in the mediterranean." . . . . .

1771. 1st June. Same to Same.

Describes country seats near Bath.

"Since my return, on looking into Dr. Stukeley's account of Rich^d of Cicester's MS., I find it so usefull I should be glad to know if the whole of that work was ever published as it should be purchased by every Antiquarian, and indeed those who deserve but half the name as myself for instance."[1] . . . .

"By the publick accounts I hope that Wilkes and Horne will abuse each other till they are both rendered contemptible even to the Mob."

1773, 1st July. Berlin.—[Sir] Robert Smith [Bart.] to C. G.

Denounces the feebleness of the Grafton ministry. May be going on to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Has come from Vienna amidst signs of an abundant harvest, particularly in Bohemia and Saxony. The late two years' scarcity there was partly artificial, the King of Prussia

[1] Vide *supra*, p. 293.

having bought up all the corn for his magazines, and re-sold it, as a great favour, to the Saxons, a year later, when it began to grow musty at six times the price he gave for it. He shines no less as a corn-factor than as a hero. He is at present a little out of order and is retired to Potsdam to drink the waters.

Places everything at Berechurch at C. G.'s disposal.

1774, 20th May. St. James's Sq.—Lord Hardwicke to C. G.

. . . . . We shall (I doubt) be troublesome to Parliament again next session ab[ou]t the Museum, as they have refused to let us raise money by a tax on the tickets for seeing it."

1774, 3rd Sept. Chester.—T. Falconer to C. G.

. . . . . "In the spring I visited Oxford for about 3 weeks. I was glad to find Dr. Kennicott proceding so fast with his great work." Describes his own labours [on Strabo]. "My observations swell to a bulk I little expected or desired." . . . . . "Warton's account of English poetry is entertaining in many parts; but his extracts before the time of Chaucer were so uncouth that I would as soon attempt the Chinese . . . . . .

"I have lately been a fortnight at L$^{d}$ Clives to see my friend Mr. Strachey . . . . . His L$^{p}$ has a very sound and clear head with an intrepid resolution, which he proved in many remarkable instances in his last expedition to India. He gave me a map of our possessions on 4 sheets of paper. They are but imperfect charts, though probably very exact. Gov$^{r}$ Verelst took a much better, which has not yet been published. It surprized me to find the coast close to the mouth of Hughly river totally unknown." . . . . .

"You have been very unjustly abused (you, I mean, who voted with the Minister) about the Quebec bill. To force a French government upon the Canadians would have been tyranny; but to suspend the introduction of English laws till they are prepared to wish for them is certainly the greatest lenity. The Marq. of Montcalm predicted that if ever we got Canada (which he did not live to see) we should lose it again by forcing our own laws and government on the French inhabitants. This appears by an intercepted letter. He judged rightly of the bulk of the nation, as we find by the popular clamour . . . . . These [American] disputes exasperate our ill humours at home, and as there is peace in Europe at present, the Kg. of Spain may be worked upon to resent our bickerings in the West Indies, which Rodney does all in his power to promote. Had we a quiet and moderate Commander on that station, all would be well" . . . . . .

[N. D.] George Wegg to C. G.

"We took a peep en passant at Admiral Rowley's Chinese Temple. A very pretty elegant room it is, and if the two statues which are placed in nitches on one side and the bustes which adorn the other side of the room had been in the same stile with the building in figure and drapery, they would have pleased me more." The late Lord Bristol's house at Bury has now "the dining room fitted up in the modern tast with carving running up the sides of a bow window, from the foliage a great number of small brackets are projected to receive many curious pieces of china ware, the room is ab$^{t}$ 40 by 20 and has a fret work arched ceiling which strikes the eye very agreably." . . . .

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1775, 6th May. Bath.—T. Falconer to C. G.

. . . . . "The late accounts of America have been so partially given that one cannot depend much on either side. The true state of the case is seldome to be found in a newspaper, tho' of late they have condescended to admit papers against the rebellious Bostonians. . . . . You have kept in Ld. North longer than I expected. His abilities must be very great to manage so large a body as the corrupt part of the House of Commons, and yet merit the regard and assistance of you independent Members. Your Bill for issuing writs and Mr. Grenville's have done great service in these times, but I should be glad to know what was the purport of young Mr. Grenville's motion. It seemed to be an extension of your Act to all cases. You forbore extending it for fear of the ministers taking advantage of it during the recess of Parl[t] by inducing Members to vacate their seats. Mr. Gr[enville's] motion in this case would seem to favour the Ministry, yet L[d] North opposed it; at least it was not carried . . . . . The town of Colchester had the best reasons to persist in its former choice, and your declining the first offer was a happy circumstance to make their selection of you more honourable than any preceding one. . . . . .

"The D. and D[ss] of Cumberland are here. The D[ss] of Grafton sate near her at a ball, but took no notice of her. This I suppose is the etiquette of the Court, but it seems hard that a Peers daughter married to a Kings brother should be unnoticed by a Baronets daughter married to a Duke. They behave very well here, and I hope in time that his Majesty will be reconciled.

"I lately came from Oxford where I stayed 5 weeks, fully engaged most of the time in examining authors and collecting materials for a future publication [Strabo]. The B[p] of Chester and D[r] Bagot have now so completely hampered me with writing notes on Strabo, that I cannot for a long time to come release myself. However, my confinement is made more easy (contrary to other imprisonments) by not being limited in time. The Escurial and the Royal Library at Paris have been consulted, and I fancy those at Milan and Venice must be ransacked." Further details as to his scheme.

1775, 3rd June. Bath.—Same to Same.

Comments on affair at [Lexington]. It is bad enough to suppose there has been an action, before the additional troops could arrive. I hope the commanding officer did not exceed his orders. Their intention seems to have been to attack Genl. Gage before the rest could come up . . . . . The patriotick party must, I think, divide on this point, the Rockingham faction cannot be so depraved as the Wilkeites, who seem to rejoice in the idea of our losing half the British Empire. They will probably join with the Ministry in part, tho' they cannot repair the mischief they have done. The promotion of my old friend Beaumont Hotham has surprized many, but none more than himself. . . . . Administration has thus lost one member of the opposition, and gained a friend in Morton. . . . . L[d] North has much on his hands and his praise or blame will depend on the success of our arms. . . . . and if the land tax must be raised, you will have all the country gentlemen warm advocates for peace on any terms . . . . . I read Burgoyne's speech with great pleasure, but should be afraid to send a desperate gamester to play so difficult a game. It is well he is not Commander-in-chief. Men of broken fortunes generally lose every

good principle, and notwithstanding his abilities, he was never much respected as a man, tho' esteemed as an officer. . . . . Mr. Mason of Cambridge has invited me to his house to look over Mr. Gray's papers [on Strabo] but my health is too precarious." . . . .

1775, 9th August. Chester.—Same to Same.

Is at work on Strabo so far as his health permits. . . . . The last action [Bunker Hill] was a compleat but a bloody Victory, on our side. The best account I have seen of it was written by a lady at Boston to another lady at this place. How far the Bostonians can justify taking aim at Officers with rifled muskets, I am not a military jurisprudent enough to determine. It seems to be contrary to justice, and will not intimidate us I hope. The Bostonians have all the barbarity which false zeal can inspire, mixed with the low cunning of a poor commercial people. Their love of Liberty, their aversion to our Government, their population and internal strength, are all described and almost prophetically in Ulloas voyages. Whoever doubts their views may consult that chapter. I had few acquaintance in the engagement: one of them is wounded but not dangerously. This was Major Butler, the most intimate acquaintance of that heterogeneous substance called G[l] Lee who has been fomenting disturbances on the other side. This man would be dangerous could he agree with any one party, but he cannot submit long to any superiour, and consequently is at present rejected. They might act as they pleased in America if we were united at home, but the American party with Arthur Lee as a writer, have got possession of the newspapers. This Lee was bred up to Physick, then turned Lawyer, and now finishes as a rebel. He is probably the chief Incendiary of Virginia, and he on this side the Atlantick. Busy spirits will ever have play in troublesome times . . . . . the times assist the Americans. Had we patience but a little, the Congress would quarrel, and every separate Province come to moderate terms. They are united by our divisions, for I cannot see any marks of determined courage in any of their exertions. L[d] Fred Cavendish is going to this service. If he acts consistently he should turn to their side; for that family has been the best friends to Faction of every kind, and the most furious enemies to civil order." . . . . . Discusses Dr. Chandler's travels in Asia Minor. . . . . "I have heard nothing this long time of Dr. Gower. I fear his health is an obstacle to his progress in the Antiquities of Cheshire. The reception he met here was not the most flattering, as few value County Antiquities very highly, and many feared he would not live to compleat it. The rage of a few Antiquarians in London deceived him, who being rich enough to indulge an innocent folly, and finding a guide in Horace Walpole, to mislead them from true knowledge, have run wild after anecdotes which illustrate no one branch of usefull History." . . . . .

1775, 15th Nov. Chester.—Same to Same.

. . . . . "The D. of Richmond has been doing all the mischief he can, but his powers are small. The examination of Pen was of little consequence, but it proves that the Pensylvanians reject their charter whenever they like and admit it where it is advantagious . . . . . Our difficulties are not to be surmounted by an appeal to Charters. The sword must decide." Discusses aims and difficulties of the rebels. "The Irish may possibly assist the Americans clandestinely, having many vain fears about taxation, which their readiness to give renders unnecessary. The Quebec act too has raised an alarm in a people who

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dread Popery. The Papists in England are not so considerable a body as to raise apprehensions, but in the County of Meath next to Dublin, they were found on a late enquiry to be nearly 30 to one. Their fears I believe are groundless, but one cannot much wonder at their remembring the Irish massacre. The Scotch are all for us, tho' the Glasgow trade must suffer very considerably during the suspension of Virginian commerce; which in its consequences affects greatly the town of Kendal. The D[uke] of G[rafton] I see has influenced the Univ: of Cambridge. Thus even the learned bodies turn with their Chancellor, just as versatile as a borough town . . . . . .

1775, 27th Dec. Chester.—Same to Same.

. . . . . "The capture of St. Johns is an ugly stroke, as it shews a defection in the Canadians. I was in great hopes the difference of Religion, together with our late indulgence would have retained them in their duty. Have not the higher ranks insulted tyranically over their inferiors, as they do in old France? If they have, I am not surprised at the revolt, for I am satisfied the lower people in France would revolt against their Masters if they durst. This success too may lead to the conquest of Montreal, and so supply them with cloaths and ammunition, and by these means keep a Congress united which is ready to fall to pieces. We are now fighting not for glory, but security, yet as we are tolerably united at home, and the majority is so great in the House, I doubt very little of our success. Gen[l] Howe will surely take more care of the Artillery, for we owe our misfortunes in the two engagements of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, to remissness, if not to treachery, in that department" . . . . . Describes his work on Strabo. "Forster who sailed round the world with Capt[n] Cooke will assist me in respect to Ægypt; for as he is well versed in the antient Coptic, he has formed many ingenious conjectures on the Geography of these parts." Is in treaty with Mr. Mason for a Mr. Gray's MSS. [on Strabo]. They are of little or no value. The Bishop of Chester is to advise him. "The Bishop of Lichfield and Mr. Mason may be formidable enemies should I neglect them" . . . . . .

"I hope the influenza has not been bad at Colchester."

1776, 13th April. Chester.—Same to Same.

. . . . . "I have just been reading a collection of papers printed at Boston. The first part contains remonstrances to the people by Massachusettensis. These are a manly series of addresses to their reason . . . . . They begin in Dec[r] 1774 and end in April 1775. The latter part consists of Sagittarius letters, which are very severe invectives against the Boston faction with a history of their Government persecutions and falsehood which makes one shudder at their tyranny and hypocrisy." Fears for Virginia, but has hopes of New York . . . . "We are very unfortunate, but the mischief was prepared by ourselves when Wolfe climbed the heights of Quebeck. The Dutch politicians were very sensible of our mistake and expressed their wonder to a friend of mine that our leaders could seriously rejoice at such an event. Had Canada been still a French Colony, our Patriots in old England could not have stirred up the flame in the new" . . . . . .

"What are you to do with your D[ss] of Kingston at Westm[r] Hall. I wish the young ladies at Bloomsbury may get seats, for the raree show will entertain them, and it is no more. She will be viewed without pity by a numerous assembly, which is not the case in general with such trials . . . . . .

1776, 22nd May. Ch : Ch :—Same to Same.

. . . . . "My most intimate friend Mr. Strachey is by L[d] Howe's own choice made Secretary to the Commission. The employment was unsollicited and the choice does honour to both parties . . . Our friend Dr. Kennicott is now in London about to present his first Vol. to the King. It is a noble work, and I heartily wish he may live to finish it . . . . . Gibbons decline of the Roman Empire is a very ingenious work . . . . . His two last chapters against Christianity are I dare say little more than compilations from various authors, for he can hardly have consulted so many as he mentions. If it was enquired into I strongly suspect he has filched a large portion from old Dodwell's whimsical dissertation *de paucitate martyrum* . . . . . Our B[p] of Chester (an excellent military historian) is very angry with him about his account of a legion, but being less versed in the minutiæ of Roman history, I do not know where the error lies." Is pursuing his work on Strabo.

1780, 10th March. Oxford.—D[aniel] Adey to ——

. . . . . "Upon looking back on our public affairs I see visible marks of Providence; Destaings Navy dissipated by storms, An Epidemical Distemper in the French Ships, which had our Admiral attacked & taken at Plymouth, might have brought a plague among us. So many sailors there were flung into the sea, as made the Inhabitants eat no Fish for a month. Add to these events, the safe arrival of our East and West India merchant ships, the captures of some rich vessels, & the late successes of Parker, Rowley, Rodney & Digby, we ought to look on them as the works of more than man. An end might soon be expected of our present distresses, could we but be united among ourselves" . . . . . .

### Mr. Gray's Parliamentary Note-book.

1747. On the petition of the Deputy Bailiff of Milburn Port 17 Nov. 1747 complaining that the capital Bayliff had returned Harvey and French, whereas he had duly returned Churchill and Medlicot; and on Harvey's petition that the Deputy "was a labourer and no proper person," and on the merits besides; "it was ordered that the petition relating to the return only should be first heard, and the Speaker said that when this was determined, the merits may be heard on a petition against the sitting members who shall be adjudged duly returned, this case differing from a double return upon the merits of 4 persons by the same officer. Wherefore when the petition on the merits comes to be heard, it shall not have precedence to be heard before others as a double return. He also cited the Journals in 1695 where 'tis ordered that when a double return is heard and Judgement given on it the parties not then sitting may petition in 14 days upon the merits."

"The affidavit made by Mr. Medlicot in an Information in the King's Bench some years ago relating to the Constitution of this Corporation was read (as a Declaration from him under his own hand) and therefore received as Evidence against him; but an Affidavit made by a 3[rd] person at the same time was not admitted, as it would not have been in any Court of Justice.

The resolution of the house was that the Subbayliffs are the returning officers."

1747. "In the double return of Sir Ed. Turner and others for Great Bedwin, a copy of the Original Poll signed by the Portreeve was authenticated tho' he had never cast it up, never declared the numbers, nor kept

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the poll in his possession. He made this return by agreement of the Candidates, contrary to the Resolution in the case of Dorsetshire in 1679.

"A motion was made pending the above petition that the Council should be called in and ordered to proceed. It was moved to add to this motion the words On the matter of the petition in the 1st place, but carried in the negative 189 to 100. Then it was moved to add these words 'upon the poll signed by the portreeve' and the Speaker said this last motion was regular. . . .

"If an Election comes on in the Comittee on the 1st of Dec. and is not determined that day, but adjourned to the next,—tho' others are appointed on the 2nd, 3rd, etc.—they must all be postponed till the 1st is gone through. If before the house at the bar, 'tis the same, tho' sometimes the 1st has begun on the 1st Decr and adjourned to the 5th. Another which was appointed on the 2nd or 3rd has intervened tho' very rarely. As Weobly was appointed on the 8th Dec. 1747, it was moved on behalf of Lord Percival that Weobly might come on that day as Mansel the sitting member had agreed to decline and give it up and it would not take up ½ an hour to determine, therefore Great Bedwin which was not finished on the 7th might be adjourned to the 8th, and Weobly being finished, then to go on. But the Speaker would not let two intervene on one day upon any account, and it was agreed to go on with Bedwin on the 8th, adjourning it to the 10th, and let Weobly come on on the 9th. . . .

1747, 9th Dec. "In the petition of Droitwich it appeared by the last resolution in 1690 that the proprietors of the salt springs (being burgesses) were the electors, 4 Gentlemen were so, but could not produce the Deeds, tho' they proved where they were and that they had demanded them. . . Upon this Mr. Foley junr. lost his place to Mr. Sandys."

1748. At Westbury Election the Mayor had admitted 18 men to poll, but an hour after the poll was closed, he ordered the Clerk to write "dissallowed" against their votes. His objection was that they had not been resident 40 days (Mr. Methuen's case 18 Jan. 1747–8).

The question of bribery was raised, and confession of receiving bribes held sufficient "to set aside those votes (but not others that they also spoke of) and yet a Voter can't be admitted to give evidence that he himself was bribed." . . . . .

"The Council for the sitting members 18 Feb. 1747 (1748) offered to produce Mrs. Hilyard the Mayor's wife, to prove that Mr. Townsend one of the petitioners had a little before the election offered her 500*l.* if she would influence her husband to be for him. The Comittee, on the division 30 agt 24, would not suffer her to be examined, though it was urged and insisted on that she was a good witness, her husbands interest not being affected by the question."

1748, 19 Jan. [1747–8]. Wareham. "A Resolution was made to establish a Custom that no freeholders should vote in the Borough but such as had been bona fine in possession for a year before the Election the resolution was framed (and the usage set up) in the very words of the act agt splitting freeholds in the 8 Ed. 3rd, and tho' it was objected that the exception of Devises and benefices (as in the Act) showed that this could not be a prescription case (Devises having begun by vertue of the Stat. of H. 8, and benefices by the agreement between Ld Clarendon and Archbp Sheldon) and altho' it was urged that an usage must be proved by facts and not bare tradition (which was the case here) yet the resolution went 204 agt 95.

H. Campbel took notice that in a Borough by prescription every Inhabitant paying scot & lot has a right to vote (as was agreed in

parlam$^{t}$ when S$^{r}$ Robert Cotton and Mr. Selden were sitting) but if freeholders have a vote there, it must be by particular usage and not of common right."

1748 [1747–8], 26 Jan. "Many rumors having been propagated in the public papers that an Embargo would be laid on corn, or a prohibition by parliam$^{t}$, Mr. Walpole said he hoped if any Gentleman intended to bring in such a bill, he would do it, that the sense of the house might be taken and the farmers freed from their state of uncertainty. L$^{d}$ Strange upon this said something ought to be done now, and that he would move to bring in such a bill in order to his own giving a negative to it. When this was done and seconded by Mr. W[alpole], the Speaker said it would be a dangerous precedent and an innovation. Upon which S$^{r}$ W. Yonge moved for the resolution that exportation of corn was beneficial and ought not at this time to be prohibited.

[An Embargo from the crown is held to be illegal, for by Magna Charta, the Merch$^{t}$ is not to be prohibited but *publice* and *publice* in the construction of Lord Coke is meant to be by Act of parliam$^{t}$ and not otherwise.]

1748. On the Insurance bill 3rd Feb. 1747 [1748]. It was moved that the French Merch$^{ts}$ residing here might be excepted because S$^{r}$ D. Ryder the Att. Gen$^{l}$ said they were Alien Enemies and could not bring Actions, but the Sol$^{r}$ Mr. Murray s$^{d}$ otherwise and Mr. Fazakerly cited a great Case in the law where the French Refugees in K. W$^{ms}$ time were adjudged capable, the King's proclamation at the breaking out of the War putting them under the public protection and entituling them to be treated as Alien friends.

1748 [1747–8], 2nd Feb. Chester Election. (History of constituency recited.) "The Council for the petitioners stated the right of election to be in the freeman by birth and service resident in the city. Those for Mr. Warburton in the freemen at large.

"A Witness who was a Freeman by service, but living in London, was objected to as being interested in rejecting honorary freemen, and the objection was strongly supported by Mr. Fazakerly and Mr. Wilbraham. S$^{r}$ R. Lloyd and Mr. Smith argued ag$^{t}$ it and were for extending the law of evidence which Mr. F. said was not a dispensible thing but a part of the common law of the land; but upon a Division it was carried to have the witness examined.

"A Resolution afterwards passed that none had a right to vote but freemen comorant within the city and liberties, tho' there was the fullest evidence that the freemen at large had voted in every Election that could be remembered. . . . . .

1748. On the Worcester petition 11th Feb. 1747 [1748] . . . . In the Year 1634 it appeared on the books that two persons were admitted to their freedom per redemptionem or purchase. In the year 1639 Lord Windsor was admitted an honorary freeman, and ever since that time honorary freeman and those by purchase had been constantly admitted, and in 1746 they made 100 free. Lord Windsor promised upon his honor not to claim the exemption of toll but to pay like a foreigner. Not the least evidence that any honorary freeman's vote had ever been objected to. Mr. Fazakerly and Mr. Wilbraham urged that a bor. by prescription of common right may make as many free as they think fit; that these honorary freemen are in possession of their franchise, and cannot legally be ousted, unless some resolution of the house, or some law, usage, or custom can be proved to restrain or take away that common right. Sir D. Bootle maintained the same to be law and that

ROUND MSS. the house, in their judicial capacity, could not alter it, but that if the power has been abused the legislature may by a bill restrain such abuses for the future. The house, notwithstanding, set aside the right of the honorary freemen 138 to 77. . . . . .

[1748]. In the Westbury petition (repeats the story of a bribe offered to the Mayor's wife) the Committee's refusal to examine her was certainly illegal, and so the Speaker said (in private). . . . . He also said that the Courts below have of late discouraged such objections; but nothing would avail, and Mr. Methuen lost his seat to Mr. Townsend.

[Notes on the practice and customs of the House.]

1749 [1748–9], 26 Jan. Of the 12 judges ordered to give their opinions (with their reasons) on a proposed Commission of appeal from the Admiral in prize matters, six (Legge, Clive, Clarke, Burnet, Parker, and Lee) argued that it was legal, and six (Birch, Foster, Denison, Abury, Wright, & Willes) that it was not (a summary of the arguments is given).

1749 [1748–9], 1 Feb. Aberdeen election petition. Summary of the case. The speaker was saying next morning that a Sheriff in England can't be chose for his own county nor any borough in it, because he can't return himself. Nor can a member be appointed a Sheriff of any County without his consent, but he may accept the office if he pleases. In K. W^ms^ time one Jennings was appointed Sheriff of Yorkshire at that time the place being worth 500*l.* a year. The other side, who did not care he should have it, complained of this as a breach of privelege.

["Upon a motion for a writ to chuse a new member the No's must go out because it is a writ of right, and therefore where a Majority is disinclined to it, as once happened with regard to a very corrupt borough, it was an artful thing to move it in a morning when a great debate was expected, because the No's would not go out for fear of losing their places in the house."]

Division of a complicated question must be insisted on beforehand. "This was insisted upon as Order by the Speaker upon Lord Egmont's offering a clause in the mutiny bill for prevention of 2^nd^ trials, and revision of sentences in Court martials.

22 Feb. 1748–9. The Speaker next morning confirmed his opinion (opposed by the Courtiers overnight) by the instance in Ashby and White's case.

"In the report of the same bill the Oath of Secrecy to be taken in a Court Martial was strongly opposed as it had been in the Committee and upon the question whether the words 'unless required by a Court of Justice having Jurisdiction or by either house of Parliam^t^' should be added to the Oath, I mentioned that a murder might happen upon a sudden quarrel in such a Court, which must be tried by a Judge, and the Oath must be to tell the whole truth, and consequently an absurdity would follow. S^r^ Francis Dashwood, Mr. Fazakerly and Mr. Nugent called for an answer to this; but received none except a very slight one from Col. Conway which was instantly refuted by Mr. Nugent. The question was carried ag^t^ us 151 to 124."

1750 [1749–50], 15 Jan. "S^r^ James Lowther moved that the house might be called over pursuant to the order of the day. It was called and above 180 absent. He then moved that the names of the Absentees might be called over that day fortnight, and then reasonable excuses might be received. Others were for having their names read now. He

replied that if so, it would take many hours to hear and debate upon the excuses and that the names of the absentees must in this case appear upon the votes. The speaker, said it might be done either way, and S^r J^n's motion was agreed to.

" 29 Jan. The house divided upon a North'tonshire turnpike bill. When the tellers had told the house within, some members said they saw two in the gallery who went into the Speaker's private chamber. Upon sending thither, 6 were there. The speaker said that if anyone was in the gallery he must be told, but as to those in the *private room* they must come out, and might then chuse whether they would go forth or stay in the house." . . .

1750. [1749–50] 2 Feb. A bill for a flesh market in Westminster decided by the Speaker not to be private "because people from all parts were concerned in it."

1751. [1750–1] Feb. The house, last session, had sent for the High Bailiff of Westminster, and commanded him not to protract elections, as he was accused of doing, and "to give an account of it, if he was obstructed. After the petition presented, he was called upon to name who had obstructed him. He named Mr. Crowle, Mr. Murray, and one Gibson. The Speaker, being applied to, said this was irregular, as we had retained the original cause: but it was carried to go on with the enquiry. Mr. Crowle was reprimanded on his knees. Gibson was sent to Newgate, and Mr. Murray ordered to be committed close prisoner there, without the use of pen ink and paper, and no body to come to him but by leave of the Speaker. He was also ordered to receive his sentence on his knees, which he refused. This was an unprecedented severity, and he being sent to Newgate a Committee was appointed to search what was to be done.

The offensive words were spoken last May, not reduced to writing, proved with some variations, and as far as negative evidence could go disproved by Lord Carpenter, Mr. Gascoigne and S^r John Tyrrel. S^r John Cotton urged ag^t the credit to be given to them the rule of the house that, in case any offensive words be spoken there, they must be taken down instantly before any one other member speaks or not at all. The 1^st division on "voting the crime was 210 ag^t 74."

1751, April. "In the case of Gen^l Austruther it was urged by Mr. W. Pitt that the house should not exercise the executive power, and that if the Act of Grace had not been a bar, he should have been against calling in the Witnesses. Mr. Fazakerly replied that the house has an undoubted right of enquiry in all cases and consequently should and ought to examine. If we cannot enquire, how can we impeach, or how, upon the result, direct a prosecution into the proper channel. In this case indeed there is no other channel nor any other remedy for K. W^ms Act goes only to Governors of Plantations, so that this was the only course if the Act of Grace had not been in the way."

1751, 5th Dec. "On the report of the Committee for the land-tax at 3^s. in the pound. Mr. Sydenham said that a part of S^r John Vanbrugh's epitaph might serve for the gravestones of the Minister, viz:

'Lie heavy on him earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.'

1752, Jany. "In the debate upon granting a subsidy of 32,000*l.* a year for 4 years to the Elector of Saxony . . . . Mr. Horace Walpole who opposed the treaty, but voted for it (that he might not leave the old corps and begin a new opposition) said among other things that Holland

was no more, the province of Holland only being at this time 60 millions sterling in debt and forced to borrow new principal to pay interest with.

"Mr. Legg took notice of the vast resources the Queen of Hungary has; but that Prussia is not so formidable as represented, because one great blow there would be irrecoverable. . . . . .

"Mr. Pelham, in opening the affair, declared his assured trust that the Election of the K. of the Romans would be before our next meeting.

"Mr. Tracy said in the debate for the Address ag$^{t}$ Subsidies that the old Corps was disbanded, and that now we consisted of national troops, mercenaries and auxiliaries.

"The division on the 1st day was 236 ag$^{t}$ 54. Hor. Walpole told W. Harvey that the division was 54 ag$^{t}$ the treaty and 36 for it, and 200 Connivers of which he was one."

1752, 25 Feb. "On a motion for reading Mrs. Pusey's bill a 2$^{nd}$ time, which came from the Lords, and had a clause in it that an Annuity settled in lieu of tithes should be paid *clear of all taxes to be charged by this or any future parliament*, the Speaker was in a very laudable wroth (*sic*) and got a negative *nem*: *con*: to the question; and then proposed a question that the bill be rejected, which also passing *nem. con.*, he ordered the bill to be thrown over the table.

"[Many like bills had passed before without this observation which does not seem entirely well founded.]"

1752, March. Note on the reduction of the number of the S. Sea Co. directors.

1753. "On the Turkey Company affair Council were heard on the part of the company, but the Merch$^{ts}$ of the Outports were heard by Mr. Hardman and another of their own body, it being a distinction paid to Merchants (but to no others) for it to be so.

"Before a Committee to state facts to the house and *not their* opinion, Council cannot be admitted.

"When the Crown would grant a reversionary interest in lands, the bill must begin in the house of Commons, because what falls short in the estate of y$^{e}$ Crown must be supplied by the Commons.

"Lord Ashburnham passed such a bill in Ap. 1753, in the house of Lords, and it being sent down the Speaker stop't it; but the privilege being acknowledged, and it being represented that the family would suffer if the bill did not pass . . . . this method was taken. The bill was ordered *to be laid aside* and a new bill to be brought in to the same purport, the former bill supplying the place of a petition. This was supported by a precedent in the year 1661.

"Where Advowsons or right of Common only are concerned, the bill may begin in the other house.

" . . . against some bills where duties are granted petitions are taken, upon a supposition that those bills are to be considered as regulations of trade. A petition was thus read in May 1753 ag$^{t}$ the bill for inforcing the laws against the fraudulent importation of Cambrics."

1753. "In the debate 14 May 1753 whether the marriage bill should be committed or not, Mr. Nugent . . . said: 'Will you confine the great people to marry merely among one another and prevent them from getting a little wholesome blood which they so much want? Will you marry disease to distemper.' . . ."

1753, 12 Dec. Note of the Speaker's decision that "when anything is ordered to be laid on the table, it is absolutely disposed of for that day; and nothing else can then be done upon it."

"By the King's express command any of his officers may lay an estimate before the house, but otherwise no estimate must be presented without a previous motion for leave to do it."

[Note of Dr. Ward's "motto" for the seal of the British Museum, of which Mr. Gray was a trustee.]

Note that double returns must be not first *heard* but "first disposed of" by the Committee.

1762, 2nd March. Bridport election petition. Resolution of 1628 had decided right of election to be in the Bailiffs and Commonalty. Haldane, the petitioner, alleged that the Commonalty "meant all householders who boiled a pot;" and on the other side that it meant "all householders who paid scott & lott," the former contention was proved by invariable usage to this day. The latter was supported by showing that in 1727, the Bayliffs admitted all the former to poll, but afterwards finding that Mr. Pelham had the majority of scott and lott, they sent for the poor rate, and seeing it was so returned him and not Mr. Pittfield who had most voices on the poll: that the Inhabitants petitioned upon this point, and afterwards withdrew the petition, which was now construed as a giving up their right, tho' they have exercised it ever since.

"The right was now voted for Scott and Lott. In Seaforth [Seaford] election a little before, the word populace was construed in like manner."

1762. Note on the D. of Bedford's Tavistock bill being "laid aside" in the Commons "as the gentlest way of rejecting it."

Note on the game laws. "A bill having been brought in to restrain any person whomsoever from killing certain species of Game at improper seasons, Mr. Gascoyne upon the report of the bill, 29 March 1762, brought in a clause that if any person should sport upon any manor after notice from the Lord not to come upon it, such person should be liable to an action of trespass with Costs to the Lord of the Manor. I opposed this clause as brought in on the report and consequently not passing through usual consideration, as inconveniences would follow frequently by great men oppressing little ones, and sometimes little ones incommoding the great, as the same offence might be punished by two several actions, one at the suit of the Lord, and the other at the suit of a land-holder within the Manor. . . . The house came into these objections and the clause was thrown out on a Division 46 ag$^{t}$ 32."

[Note on presentation of election petitions.]

1763. "In the resolution that Mr. Wilkes's libel tended to stir up traitorous insurrections, Mr. Pitt objected to the word 'traitorous;' but was answered by the Lawyer that stirring up the people to oppose the Execution of a Law (the Cyder Act for example) was Treason: and so it was lately adjudged ag$^{t}$ the people in Northumberland who rose and opposed the Execution of the Militia Act." . . . .

1766, 3 March. "On Mr. Wedderburn's proposing to bring up a clause on the 3$^{rd}$ reading of the bill for declaring the right of the British legislature over the colonies, which clause was for making it a præmunire ag$^{t}$ any one who should write or publish to the contrary, this clause was rejected. The 1$^{st}$ of Queen Mary was cited, which took away the præmunires established in the Reign of H. 8. The Act of Succession in 5 & 6 Q. Anne was cited in support of it, but to this last Mr. Calvert objected, calling it an iniquitous act, because by the original Act of Succession no place-men were to sit in the House of Commons, and the privy Council were to sign their names, and the books produceable before

Round MSS. parliament, which last provisions were left out. Lord Coke was also cited, who says an Act of parliam$^{t}$ ag$^{t}$ common justice or common right is void."

1767, 22 May. "The Acts of the American Assemblies are sent to the K$^{s}$ and Council who vacate them if they think fit; but till such avoidance they hold in force in the Colonies. Their blending a clause of general pardon in one of their late Acts was looked upon here as void *ab initio* being contrary to the Laws of this Land: for here an Act of Grace can't so much as be moved for in either house, but comes by message from the King and the Act does not go through the usual forms. . . . . It was moved that the opinion of the Judges might be taken and a negative by the Ministry 66 ag$^{t}$ 52, whereof the D. of N[ewcastle] was not one but spoke on this side."

1767, 27 Nov. "Mr. Grenvile brought a Complaint of a libel printed in N. America as a matter of privilege, it containing reflections on the parliament, and insisted that the house must receive the printed paper at the table *without* a Question. There had been but one precedent to the contrary, and that was in 1692, so not to break the Rule, the debate was adjourned for six months, and the paper was by that means not received. . . . . .

1768, Jan. Complaint of breach of privilege by Mr. Luttrell against Mr. Adderly for fishing in a river which Mr. L. claimed as his sole property. The Committee were unanimous in opinion that the complaint was groundless, but refused costs. But the matter was agreed.

1768. [Preston Election petition], 29 Nov. Sir H. Hoghton and Col. Burgoyne ag$^{t}$ Sir P. Leicester and Sir Frank Standish. Last resolution, in 1661, had declared right of voting to be in all the inhabitants, but in practice it was limited to freeburgesses entered on the court roll. The House would not accept evidence as to practice, the last Resolution alone being, by statute, valid. . . . . 183 against 113.

1769. Wilkes' case.

1770, 6 Dec. Serjeant Glyn's motion for a committee to enquire into the administration of criminal justice was seconded by Mr. Oliver a London Alderman "and by him openly declared to be pointed at Lord Mansfield in the matter of Libels." [Long dissertation on the law of libel.] . . . . . "In the present time [writes Gray] the people are irritated to the highest degree in the County of Middlesex and persuaded that all their liberties are agoing in a moment; and while they are in this persuasion, they will give verdicts in support of any who will abuse the King, the parliament, the Judges, and every one any way concerned in the Government of the State.

"It was mentioned in the Debate that as no personal misbehaviour could be charged on Lord Mansfield, therefore this motion for an enquiry was totally improper, as all the facts were already known and apparent. If the law itself by which he had acted, as well as his predecessors, was deemed by the house or any in it, to be wrong, then the proper method would be to move for a Bill to alter and amend that Law. . . . There was a question whether the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General could sit in the house; and they could not sit now were they to take out their writ from the peers as they formerly did; but [they] avoid doing it now in order to keep their seats in the House of Commons." . . .

1775, 10 April. On a motion about a Lighthouse on the Smalls rock, off the Irish coast, it was questioned how far the Crown could grant leases of Lighthouses, without consent of Parliament, as they in effect levy a tax on the national shipping. Reference was made to an opinion of the Law Officers that it might be done because "those Leases were granted at the *request* of the parties, and not levied as a tax imposed by the King; but these opinions of the Crown lawyers did not seem satisfactory to many members of the house." ROUND MSS.

"L'INDUCTION AUX NEGOCIATIONS SECRETES.

"La bataille très renommée de Hoogsted [Hochstadt] ou de Blenheim [13 August 1704] fit esperer à tous ceux qui se gouvernent par un esprit pacifique que La France, qu'on croyoit y avoir reçu un coup Mortel et dont Elle ne se relevereit point pendant toute la guerre, desireroit la paix avec empressement. J'avoue que j'êtois dans la même opinion, et que je me flattais d'y pouvoir contribuer. Ayant observé, depuis quelque tems, que les Hauts Alliés ne voulussent point de Mediateur, comme sachant par les Paix de Munster, de Nimegue, et de Resurge que ces sortes de negociations non seulement se trainent en longeur, mais les Princes Mediaturs y trouvent ordinairement leur comptent au depend des partis belligarantes,—que cependant aucune paix ne se pouvoit faire sans l'entremise de quelque personne accredité, qui pourroit faire les ouvertures, insinuer des Moyens pour s'expliquer de part et d'autre, adoucir les esprits aigris par cette longue et sanglante guerre, et applanir le chemin aux conferences. Le desir ardent que j'eu à voir la paix retablie en Europe, et d'y contribuer me fit mepriser le danger ou je m'exposois, comme Ministre d'un Prince de l'Empire, a qui il n'estoit pas permis d'entrer en correspondance avec le Ministre d'un Prince Ennemy. Je pris dont ce parti de m'addresser à Mons. le Marquis de Torcy qui je n'avois point l'honneur de connoître, mais dont feu Mons$^{r}$ de Palmquist, Envoyé Extraordinaire de Suêde à la Haye m'avoit depeint le carectére et m'avoit fait connoître pour un homme d'honneur et d'integrite. Mais comme il y avoit trop de danger d'aller moy même à Paris, pour me faire connoitre au dit Marquis et de Luy communiquer en personne mon dessein pour travailler a procurer la paix et la tranquillité de l'Europe; je me determinois d'ecrire à Son Excell$^{ce}$ et de Luy envoyer une personne qui m'etoit affidé pour Luy porter cette lettre et de Luy informer plus amplément de bouche de mes intentions. Cette personne, qui s'appelloit de Chimière, à qui je procurois un passeport, partit à mes depends au commencement de Sep$^{t}$ l'an 1706 de la Haye, et il arriva fort heureusement à Paris Il eut l'honneur de rendre, à Versailles, ma lettre à Mons$^{r}$ Le Marquis de Torcy, qui peu de jours après luy charga d'une reponse. Mais comme il tomba malade à Paris, ou il mourut, il m'envoya la lettre par la poste à l'addresse que je luy avois donné. Dans cette reponse Mons. Le Marquis me rendit grace de mon zele pour l'interet de la France à Luy procurer la paix. Mais comme il ne luy paroissoit pas que l'heure de ce bien êtoit venu, Elle me prioit de conserver ces bons sentîments jusqu'à un Meilleur tems Je me suis toujours persuadé que son Excellence ne me fit cette reponse que pour avoir le tems de s'informer sur mon sujet, parceque je luy êtoit entierement incomnue, et de voir le fin de la Campagné. Car sur une seconde lettre que je luy ecrivois après par laquelle je prîs la libérté de Luy insinuer la necessité pour la France à faire la paix, et à luy demander un pasport sur le nom de Riviére

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pour aller moy même en France Luy exposer mes raisons, son Excell[ce] m'envoya au milieu de novembre de ladite année un pasport. Mais ayant à regler les comptes avec les trouppes du duc mon sereniss. Maître, dont j'avois le payement, je ne puis partir de la haye que le 20 de decembre. Je m'arretois trois jours à Bruxelles et j'arrivois le 26 à Paris; n'y trouvant pas Mons. le Marquis de Torcy—son Excell[ce] étant à Versailles—j'y allois le jour après, et y étant arrivé je Luy en advertis par peu de Lignes, et son Excell[ce] m'envoya sur le champ un de ses commis, pour me faire le bienvenu, et de me prier de l'aller trouver à 9 heures du soir, ce que je fis. Quand j'entrois dans sa chambre d'audience je l'y trouvois devant le feu avec Mons. le Comte d'Avaux, qui se retira pourtant sur le champ et nous laissa seuls. Après les premiers compliments de civilitée, nous nous mimes à discourir. Je fis connoître à son Excell[ce] ce qui m'avoit porté a faire ce voyage ce qui nous enga [*sic*] dans une conversation qui dura près de deux heures. Je ne laissois pas d'y insinuer a son Excell[ce] la necessité de la paix, de Luy faire connoître la fermeté des Hauts Alliés, et des mesure[s] qu'ils prenoint pour soutenir vigourousement la guerre jusques à ce qu'ils avoient obtenu leur but, de ne point souffrir un Prince de Bourbon sur le trône d'Espagne, Monsieur le Marquis de son cote se plaignoit de cette fermeté des Hauts Alliés, et me vouloit faire comprendre qu'ils avoient tort, que La Maison d'Autriche qui trouvoit dans cette guerre le plus son compte avoit interêt de souhaiter ce but, et d'y encourager les autres Alliés, mais il s'étonnoit que les deux Puissances Maritimes qui faisoient presque toute la depence de cette guerre voulussent s'y opiniatrer, qu'il croyoit que leur grand interêt étoit la seureté de leur Commerce, qu'elles pourroient se conserver entiérement nonobstant que le Roy Philippe se trouvoit placé sur le trône d'Espagne, car ni Luy ni le Roy de France n'avoient aucun dessein de les y en oter la moindre chose, ni de les y troubler, mais ils etoient pret de leur accorder toutes les seuretés du monde et plus d'avantages qu'Elles avoient jamais eu. Je pris la liberté de repliquer que je n'en doutois aucunement que la France et l'Espagne consentiroient à tout ce que l'on desireroit à cet egard—aussy n'en étoit il point la question, mais de la conservation de ce qui seroit accordé par les traittés, qui n'étoit point assuré tant que l'Espagne et la France resteront unis si etroitément de sang et d'interêt. Son Excell[ce] voyant que je demeurois ferme à defendre les raisons que les Alliés ont [à] demander la detronization du Roy Philippe, me demanda si je pourrois Luy faire avoir le lendemain à dix heures du matin mes pensées sur un projet de paix, et ayant repondu que ouy, Elle me pria de les Luy envoyer à l'heure mentionée, et que le jour après à la même heure du soir il m'en parlera dans Sa maison à Versailles.

" M'étant retire chez moy, je me mis y penser. J'y travallois presque toute la nuit à former un plan de paix, que je luy envoyay le matin à l'heure desiré.

" Le soir je me trouvois au rendezvous. Mais Mon. le Marquis de Torcy [était] fort mal satisfait du plan en question. Il s'ecria qu'il étoit inouy, et que la France aimera mieux faire la guerre vint ans que de consentir à des conditions si dures. Je Luy dis que j'étois faché que mon projet ne Luy plaisoit pas, mais j'étois bien seur que Les Hautes Alliés ies demanderont un jour, et qu'ils n'en demorderont pas. Nous raisonnames encore pendant deux heures sur ce projet, mais Son Excell[ce] étant tousjours du sentiment qu'il étoit inpracticable, et moy croyant qu'il étoit tel que les Hauts Alliés le voudront, nous nous separames sans rien concerter. Son Excell[ce] me dit en me retirant que comme la fete de Nouvel an nous empechat à continuer nos conferences,

je pourrois pendant quelques jours aller à Paris, et retourner à Versailles le 3me de Janr prochain. Qu'il me recommandeit de songer pendant ce terms la s'il n'y avoit point d'adoucissement à esperer au plan que j'avois dresse, que de son cote il sondera les esprits sur mon plan, nonobstant qu'il le croyoit inacceptable. Je me rendis à Versailles au jour marqué, ou j'eu l'honneur d'avoir encore une longue conversation nocturne avec Mons. le Marquis, dans laquelle il me fit entendre que le plan en question avoit fait horreur à ceux à qui il l'avoit communiqué, ainsy s'il n'y en avoit point d'autre plus raisonnable à esperer, il falloit s'en remettre au sort des armes ou attendre un tems plus favorable pour traitter. Ayant assuré son Excellce que pour le present il n'y avoit point de meilleures conditions à attendre, et que je doutois que par la continuation de la guerre il y en auroit à esperer, Elle me dit qu'il falloit s'en remettre à la providences que cependant il me prioit de Luy ecrire quelquefois et qu'il repondrait, qu'il se pouvoit que quelqu' evenement ameneroit l'heureux moment de se rapprocher d'avantage. Je promis à Mons. le Marquis que dans la vue de paix j'acceptois l'honneur de sa correspondance quoy que je m'y exposasse beaucoup, [il] ne m'étant pas permis comme sujet de l'Empire, qui outre cela ait l'honneur de servir Le Duc regnant de Sleswig Holstein, d'être en correspondance avec les Ennemis de sa Majte Imperiale. Nous primes ensemble nos mesures pour cacher cette correspondance, et son Excellce m'ayant promis de m'envoyer à Paris le passeport necessaire pour mon retour, je pris mon congé et je retournois dans ladite ville, ou ayant reçu le 6me au soir le passeport que j'attendis avec impatience je partit, et je fus de retour à la haye le 12 de Jan. 1707.

"A mon retour J'ay observé ma promesse d'ecrire à Son Excellce lors qu'il y eut quelque chose qui eu meritoit la péine ; Mais, étant obligé peu apres à faire un voyage à Hambourg, ma correspondance ne fut point reguliere jusques au 5 de Sept. de l'année susdite et suivie jusques à la fin de l'armée 1711."

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"Articles préliminaires proposés a Monsieur de Marquis de Torcy de mon propre chef le 28 de Décembre A° 1706.

"La demande des Hauts Alliés.—(1.) Le traitté des Pirenées pour fondement. En conformité de ce traitté il faut restituer toute la Monarchie d'Espagne telle que le Roy Charles Second la possedée. De plus, le pais conquis et la Bourgoyne.

"La Grande Bretagne.—(2.) La France reconnoitra la Reyne Anne et promettra de ne troubler ni directé ni indirecté le Regne de la dite Reyne et l'ordre de la Succession telle qu'elle est etablie par l'acte du Parlement.

"(3.) La Commerce des Anglois en France sera regle sur le même pied qu'ils en ont jouis avant la derniere revolution.

"Provinces Unies.—(4.) La Barriere des Pais bas, et le traitte de Commerce comme il a ête reglé l'annee 1664.

"L'Empereur et l'Empire.—(5.) Le Traitté de Westphalie et par consequent la restitution de Strasbourgh et les dix villes Imperials.

"Le Duc de Savoye.—(6.) La restitution entiére dans ses etats.

"Le Roy de Portugal.—(7.) Aura ce qui Luy a êté promis par le traitté des Alliés."

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1706, Sept. The Hague.—P. to Torcy.

Offers his services for restoration of peace, and bases the offer on a residence of twenty years in Holland. Recommends the bearer, le S^r^ de Chimiere.

1707, 6th Jan. Versailles.—Torcy to P.

I send you a passport [for your return] but cannot exempt your luggage from examination at the frontier. It would only rouse suspicion.

I also send you a cipher and an address for corresponding with me. Those who contribute with you to attain the end will not be without reward when peace is made; but I must know whom you think fit to employ, and what one should promise them.

1707, 17th March. Same to same.

Your letters of 25th Feb., 1st, 3rd, and 10th March, with their enclosures. Pray continue to write.

I hope the Allies will agree to less hard conditions than they have done. Their interests are so conflicting that their views on continuing the war and on the terms of peace will be difficult, I think, to reconcile.

There are complaints in the North of the pretensions of the Court of Gottorp, relying on the King of Sweden. But now is its time for obtaining its rights. The King of Sweden is said to be pressing the Emperor about the Bishoprick of Lubeck. We do not expect that any arrangements will be made for the campaign till Marlborough arrives in Holland.

1707, 7th April. Same to same.

Beware of the general rumours of a peace. Allies grow weary of the war, they will quarrel in their anxiety to secure good terms for themselves.

[1707],[1] 5th Sept. P. to Torcy.—The Hague.

Absence on the business of my Master has prevented me from writing to you as I promised. The failure of the attempt on Toulon, which is assigned to the Duke of Savoy, seems to me favourable to peace. It has made a deep impression here, and given rise to suspicions of the Duke, which his Envoy's endeavours will not, I think, dispel. Speaking to Heinsius about this failure, the day before yesterday, I took the opportunity of impressing on him that the two maritime powers are the dupes of their Allies, who, at their expense, keep on foot armies which are to serve their own ends. He replied that, as to peace, there was no hope of it so long as France clung to Spain and the Indies, which is fatal to the safety of trade. I find that everyone says the same, even those who are in favour of peace.

1707, 15th Sept. Torcy to P.

The Duke of Savoy is suspected not only in Holland but even by his own general officers, who loudly accuse him of treason for his retreat [from Toulon] yet they ought to praise him for his care of the allied forces even in opposition to Prince Eugene, who was for immediate action.

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[1] Misdated on draft.

M. Heinsius is too wise and enlightened not to wish for peace, but he makes it impossible when he urges that English and Dutch commerce will never be safe while Spain is ruled by a French prince. You must see that the birth of an heir to the Spanish crown increases the difficulty. We must find solid but reasonable guarantees for the security of English and Dutch commerce, I cannot see why a French prince should not keep his word in this matter as well as an Austrian one, nor do I think the allies can be quite satisfied with the policy of the Emperor.

1707, 22nd Sept. P. to Torcy.

Your letter of the 15th. The Allies' suspicions of the Duke increase daily. There is a longing here [the Hague] for peace, and it could be brought about if freedom of commerce were secured. I agree with all you say, but fear the only guarantees acceptable to England and Holland would be Cadiz and Gibraltar, for a mere treaty would be insufficient. But I fear France and Spain would not give this.

The Emperor's representative has been for two days discussing with the Deputies the reinforcements for King Charles, and it is agreed that 5,000 Palatinate troops, now in Italy, and three of the Emperor's Regiments, about 4,000 men, shall be sent to Spain forthwith. The Emperor's minister leaves to-morrow for the allied army to concert with Marlborough other means of improving matters in Spain, and relieving the King of Portugal. I find that the allies are absorbed in this, and will strain every nerve to succeed.

H[einsius] told me yesterday that he hears the French are to increase their forces by 25,000 men, and that the Allies must therefore increase theirs even more. I impressed upon him that the Provinces would hardly all agree to this, and he admitted it. I find that the Landgrave of Hesse objects to leaving his troops any longer in Italy, which makes me think that the offensive will be abandoned there, and that the troops left there will only be a corps of observation, and a check on the Duke of Savoy. You see from all I tell you how determined the Allies are to attain their end and enforce a stable peace.

1707, 29th Sept. Torcy to P.

Your letter of the 22nd. I doubt if the Duke of Savoy would or could deceive the Allies. I can see no way of safeguarding English and Dutch commerce but by treaty. Your suggestion as to Cadiz and Gibraltar would provide an apple of discord fatal to the continuance of peace. Cadiz is the key of Spain; the Spaniards will never allow it to pass into the hands of strangers. I defy you to make your suggestion even practicable.

Would to God that conferences, with authorised representatives could be arranged. Without them there is no chance of peace.

1707, 29th Sept. P. to Torcy.

Your letter of 22nd. I am glad to hear that France continues to wish for peace in spite of her success this year. I agree with you that, at this juncture, the overtures should not come from her; but neither should they come from England or Holland. A third party should approach the Dutch, with safeguards for their trade, and thus avoid exposing France to any rebuff. All is uncertainty here. The affairs of the Allies remind me of a house on fire. No one knows, or is agreed, where to play on the flames; each of the neighbours is thinking of his own safety; and meanwhile the house will be burnt.

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Marlborough is expected here; he is to leave the army on the 5th to concert with the States-General the next campaign. The conduct of the Duc of Savoy is much discussed here, and Prince Eugene blamed for the Toulon failure. The Genoese envoy has taken his leave and goes to England in a few days.

1707, 6th Oct. Torcy to P.

The parallel in yours of 29th is happy, but pray add that among the neighbours are some who would only carry off some of the furniture for themselves.

Who knows but what the next Parliament, in England, and the parties opposed to Marlborough, will bring about a great change this winter? A third party is useful as a go-between, but he must know how much is asked and how much will be given. Everyone must be longing for a stable peace.

1707, 20th Oct. P. to Torcy.

Yours of 29th and 6th awaited me on my return from Brussels yesterday. Frankly the treaties you suggest would be deemed no safeguard, so long as France is so formidable; while the rupture of the Partition Treaty [1700] makes the Allies distrustful. I believe that England and Holland will risk all sooner than agree to a peace with no real security for that commerce on which their greatness rests. France need not trouble herself as to the views of the Spaniards, for it is she that bears the strain of the war. My suggestion is practicable, if you agree to it in principle. There can be no conference till Holland feels safe as to her trade. Now is your time to treat with the Dutch, who are angry with the English for wishing to secure all the trade of the Low Countries (which they are anxious on that account to restore to King Charles).

Do not take it amiss if I differ from you as to the next Parliament. The English are well enough satisfied with their Queen and government to grant blindly whatever is asked, especially where the liberty of the nation or of its trade is concerned: and Queen Anne is clever enough to persuade Parliament that such is the case. You will see that her wishes will be more than gratified, especially if Holland wishes to prolong the war.

I agree with you about the need of an intermediary; but he must know what he can offer. You must give me a definite reply as to safeguards for trade, and then I will draw up preliminaries, and—if you approve of them—submit them here as from myself.

1707, 30th Oct. Torcy to P., 6 pp.

Your letter of the 20th. It seems that I must question nothing from a person so well informed as yourself, but I hope you will allow me even to contradict you from the slight knowledge I derive from friends.

[1]As to there being no need to consider the views of Spain, I differ. So long as the war was carried on in Italy, France had a determining voice in the matter. But now the King of Spain is defending his kingdom by his own troops paid by himself, and I was speaking two days ago to a well-informed man, who comes from Madrid, and who answered me that the King would rather die than give up Spain and the Indies. He can now defend Spain himself, and he need not fear for the Indies, on account of the jealousy between the English and the Dutch. So even if we accepted your suggestion, he could refuse to do so.

[1] Cipher begins.

Cadiz is the key to the Indies, without which Spain would lose her wealth; Gibraltar in the hands of the English would destroy our trade with the Levant; but, confining myself to Spain, I cannot see how I could submit your suggestion to its King.

Suppose these places were given, for a term, to the English and the Dutch, how would the King relish these two powerful nations, at present his enemies, established in the heart of his kingdom, how could he be sure that the trade of his subjects with the New World would be safe, that the Indies would not be seized, their trade monopolised, indeed, that Cadiz and Gibraltar would ever be restored?

What compensation would be offered him? Would his Italian possessions be restored? Or the Low Countries? It would be better, I think, in the interest of everyone, to leave to Spain her former monopoly of trade with the West Indies.

However anxious we may be for peace, the King of Spain is in a position to refuse bad terms. How then can I give you a definite answer, or promise sacrifices by Spain?

In my opinion, as I have said, Spain ought to have the West Indian trade; but you may send me, in privacy, your own scheme, merely to satisfy my curiosity and to enlighten me on politics, to the astonishment of my friends.[1]

They esteem you already, and I should be glad if they would give you the employment you deserve.

1707, 8th Nov. P. to Torcy.

I am flattered by yours of the 30th, and am glad your friends approve of my zeal. Forgive my not replying to it by this post, but during Marlborough's stay here I am much occupied by difficulties between (Holstein) Gottorp and Denmark. . . . .

Marlborough has had several meetings with the States, but as yet nothing is settled. There will be another this evening to arrange everything for the next campaign in Germany, Italy, and Flanders. I find that Holland will not consent to two armies in the Empire unless the Emperor will make peace with the Hungarians, which seems impossible. The D. of Savoy urges that, with a sufficient army, he can extort from France the peace required; but the Toulon affair is too recent.

1707, 11 Nov. Same to Same.

I now reply to yours of 30th. I cannot admit that King Philip is as strong as you maintain, or that the King of France, if acting with the Allies, could not constrain him. Nor do I see why King Philip should be unable to accede as to Cadiz and Gibraltar.

1707, 24 Nov. Torcy to P.

I have studied yours of 15th, and out of curiosity, will ask you this: If the Kings of France and Spain are prepared to leave Anglo-Dutch garrisons, for two or three years, in Cadiz and Gibraltar, how shall we avoid such a proposition being construed as a sign of weakness, and encouraging the Allies to persevere? And, given this concession, and the recognition of the Austrian claims in Italy, what will the Dutch do about the Catholic Low Countries?

A French Prince would be safer for them there than an Austrian one who would always be exposed to attack from France.

If you should be in a position to speak on this subject, I shall be very pleased to see you here.

[1] Cipher closes.

ROUND MSS.

1707, 22nd Nov. P. to Torcy.

Your letter of the 9th. I deplore with you the blood and treasure that must be wasted in the next campaign, but while the commerce of the Dutch is in danger, they will spare no efforts. If assured on this point, they would speedily agree to a general peace.

1707, 24th Nov. Same to Same.

You are right in your letter of the 17th about the Holstein business, and the Gottorp claims are good, but will not, I think, succeed, especially as Marlborough, before his departure, assured the Danish Minister that his Queen will not support them, and that Holland will follow her example. If the King of Sweden attacks Denmark, I believe the latter will be victorious. But should Gottorp succeed with the King of Sweden's help, the latter will be master of the northern trade: and sooner than suffer this, England and Holland would come to terms with France. France also, I imagine, would object to see Sweden too strong and the balance of power in the north disturbed.

The trouble in Guelders, also, may make for peace.

1707, 1st Dec. Same to Same.

Your letter of 24th. I am glad you are not offended at my presumption. Certainly, we should meet, and meanwhile I will suggest how the offer should be made. I am convinced that the conduct of those who were employed last year hindered, instead of helping to, peace by giving the Allies a lower idea of France's strength. The proposal should come to the Pensionary [Heinsius] as the suggestion of a third party. If he replied that he wished France would make such an offer, one could undertake to secure the adhesion of France, and thus avoid a rebuff to that country and a consequent gain to the Allies. I could, if we met, tell you things one cannot entrust to paper, which tend to favour the plan.

As to leaving the Catholic Low Countries to King Philip, I can tell you, from my own knowledge, that Holland's jealousy of France would certainly make her refuse, and insist on their belonging to the House of Austria, who could give them securities against aggressions by King Philip.

I cannot possibly undertake to come with a commission from the Dutch, but I will gladly discuss with you the terms of peace, and will endeavour to sound their views on the subject.

1707, 8th Dec. Same to Same.

There is much dissatisfaction here as the treaty on West Indian commerce between the Kings of France and Spain. It is alienating the States; and the Pensionary has said to a friend of mine that it makes peace more distant than ever and increases distrust of France. He also said that the Elector of Bavaria was lately trying to make terms, which he thought suspicious. If true, it is most unwise for France to proceed thus. It was urged to Heinsius that the Franco-Spanish treaty was only intended to secure convoys for Spanish trade while the war lasted: he replied that one could not rely on this. Don Bernard de Quiros, who is always here, and the Ministers of the Emperor, of Portugal, and of Savoy, make use of the treaty to urge upon the Dutch that their trade will never be safe so long as King Philip is on the throne of Spain; and their arguments are telling. France has acted blindly in ignoring the susceptibilities of the maritime powers. You should at least have waited till they had finished their arrangements for the next campaign.

For I am sure Queen Anne and her Parliament will resent your treaty and increase their preparations for war. It will also ensure the addition of 30,000 men here, which had been doubtful. Quiros told me yesterday it was a godsend ("Un coup de ciel") for him, as all his exhortations had been in vain till now, when no efforts will be spared to dethrone King Philip.

1707, 9th Dec. Same to Same.

I had no time to add yesterday that the mischief here can only be repaired by revealing to us the actual terms of the Franco-Spanish treaty, as I feel sure it is misrepresented.

I think I told you that the King of Prussia wants his troops back from Italy, as the Landgrave of Hesse has his. I believe this only a pretext for obtaining his arrears and extorting Neuchâtel from the Allies as a guarantee. But the Minister of Savoy is protesting loudly.

The Guelders troubles are not settled.

I hear that France has lately offered to be satisfied with Spain and the Indies, and to secure the maritime powers in their trade, with the King of Sweden as guarantee. I can hardly believe she has been so unwise.

1707, 18th Dec. Torcy to P.

I have not replied to yours of the 8th and 9th, till I could speak positively about the alleged treaty, there is no foundation for the statement; indeed, King Philip has lately forbidden us to trade in the South Sea.

Perhaps England will want peace if the disputes in the last sittings of Parliament are renewed. I wonder how the Dutch will take Lord Faversham's complaint against the English Ministry that the Dutch are admitted too freely to the herring fishery off the coast.

The news about the Elector of Bavaria is as false as that about the treaty.

The Elector of Brandenburg is at his old tricks in asking to have his troops back before winter. He does it merely to bring pressure to bear upon the Allies.

As to the Duke of Hanover not being allowed to recall his for service in the Imperial army, a man I know saw them lately on their way home through Brunswick.

1707, 13th Dec. P. to Torcy.

. . . . . The States will meet to-morrow, and the Pensionary is urging on the deputies of the towns that the forces must be increased. We hear from Berlin that the King of Prussia's troops are likely to remain in Italy.

1707, 15th Dec. Same to Same.

I am surprised at your objecting to my scheme for opening up discussion, especially as others, whom the Pensionary dislikes are daily bringing him proposals for peace. I can only suppose that you wish me to mix no further in the matter. I have now served France for a year with a devotion that deserves more confidence; yet I have run the risk of ruin with no result.

1707, 29th Dec.

Your letter of the 8th. I am delighted to hear there is no such treaty and have disabused Heinsius, at least, of the idea.

ROUND MSS.

But the Elector of Bavaria has certainly made overtures, for it is the Pensionary who says so. And overtures, authorised or not, have also been made to him from France. The return of Helvetius has increased the rumours of peace, and even the Gazette announces that he comes to negotiate it. I see my services are no longer in request; but I shall be charmed to meet you, when I can convince you of their value.

Lord Faversham's speech is looked on here as merely an expression of personal opinion.

Your information about the Hanover troops is incorrect.

1708, 4th May. Same to Same.

Unimportant.

1708, 5th May. Same to Same.

The sudden illness of the Pensionary to-day has alarmed everyone.

1708, 17th May. Torcy to P.

The Princes have left for the army. Perhaps this campaign may bring about that peace which seems so distant.

1708, 24th May. P. to Torcy.

Your letter of 17th. The States-General are quarrelling in the absence of the Pensionary, who alone can control them. Thank God, he is out of danger. If we meet, I can tell you how I discovered the Anglo-Dutch ultimatum for peace.

Marlborough has sent an express here urging the States to hasten Prince Eugene's departure. They have pressed the Emperor's Minister to do so. The Duke is anxious to carry out the agreement made at Hanover, that the three armies should act simultaneously. The Imperial troops are on the march. The frontier towns are to spare all the troops they can for Marlborough's army. The Deputies who reviewed the troops have reported that they found them in perfect condition and 70,000 strong.

1703, 31st May. Torcy to P.

As to a peace ruining Holland, I consider war will ruin her more surely, as she cannot long bear this expense. France is not so exhausted as you think. I did not encourage you to come till our armies took the field, but can do so now without implying anxiety for peace. Still, you had better keep it a secret. We might hit upon terms of peace, if the Allies would no longer insist on Spain and the Indies being ceded to the Archduke.

1708, 7th June. P. to Torcy.

The war is exhausting for Holland, but peace may cause the United Provinces to fall asunder, unless they entrust the government to one Captain-General. France, no doubt, is still powerful, but so are the Maritime Powers, and, since your Scottish failure, both England and Holland are confident, and resolved on nothing less than the deposition of King Philip. I have to go to Hamburg, so cannot visit you for a month or six weeks.

1708, 17th June. Torcy to P.

It is most kind of you not to leave me in entire ignorance of the news of the day. I am sorry your visit is postponed.

1708, 26th June. P. to Torcy.

My friend M. Riviére is going to France. Pray send me a passport for him. He will tell you all about the business.

[Note by Petkum that this passport, of course, was for himself.]

1708, 28th June. P. to Torcy.

Of no consequence.

1708, 1st July. Torcy to P.

I send you the passport for your friend, and, on his arrival, will discuss our matters with him.

1708, 1st July. Fontainebleau.

Passport for "Riviére" and valet, for six weeks. Signed LOUIS. Countersigned COLBERT.

LE RAPORT DE MON SECOND VOYAGE EN FRANCE AU MOIS DE JUILLET, 1708.

Detained at Brussels till the 21st July, on business of the Duke my master, I reached Paris on the 23rd; the M. of Torcy was at Fontainebleau with the King; but he received me there on the 28th. I had several conversations with him about a peace, in which he impressed on me the sincerity of France, and complained of the obduracy of the Allies. I told him it was due to the shifting propositions of France, through different channels, and insisted that France and Holland would only accept as preliminary conditions—

(1.) Spain and the Indies, all conquests in Brabant and Flanders, and Alsace.

(2.) Recognition of Queen Anne and an undertaking not to interfere with her or with the order of succession established by Parliament. English trade in France to be restored to its former footing.

(3.) For the United Provinces, the tariff of 1664 and a satisfactory Barrier.

M. de Torcy found these demands excessive, and said France would hazard everything sooner than submit to them. I reminded him that the whole course of the war involved these preliminaries, and that the maritime powers would never agree to a conference without them, adding that France had better agree to them before the Allies broke into France and raised their terms. He replied, that even in case of invasion, France was strong enough to drive them out again. I pointed to the last battle [Oudenarde] won by the Allies under great disadvantages, as proof that France had no time to lose if she really wished for peace, the Marquis urged that the Dutch could treat more confidently with King Philip, established and beloved on the throne, than with King Charles disliked by the nation. I replied that, whether they liked him or not, the Spaniards could not object to the Dutch claiming the old footing for their trade; and I insisted that the Allied Generals if victorious, would dictate the terms of peace. The Marquis retorted that no terms could be worse than those now offered.

Coming to details, he asked me how the King of France could be asked to dethrone his grandson, who was now strong and popular; and he showed me a recent letter from King Philip saying he would rather die than desert his faithful Spaniards. To my rejoinder that if the King of France withdrew his troops, King Philip's strength would soon be exhausted he hotly retorted that his master would risk all sooner than

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act so basely, and that the Dutch could not even expect it. The maritime powers should receive every security for their trade, and the Low Countries their Barrier, but it was impossible to restore all the conquered country. On my pointing out that the Allies, if victorious, could claim what they liked, he asked why Holland should side against France with the once tyrannous Empire. France, I replied, within her old borders, would still be strong enough to check tyranny by the Empire. But the Dutch, he urged, have also to fear England, ever jealous of their trade. They fear nothing, I replied, but the restrictions of their commerce by King Philip.

To the second article he raised practically no objection. As to the third. He agreed to the tariff of 1664, or even a better one, and to a satisfactory Barrier.

He protested his sincerity and begged me to urge the Pensionary to give no credence to self-styled emissaries of France. Having remained at Fontainebleau five or six days during which I discussed nightly with the Marquis the scheme of peace, I took leave of his Excellency, who begged me to exert myself in the matter on the evening of the 3rd, and leaving Paris on the 3rd reached the Hague on the 14th [Aug.]. But, business calling me to Amsterdam, I only saw the Pensionary on my return, when I gave him an exact account of my journey. He deemed well satisfied, and agreed to my corresponding regularly with the Marquis about a peace.

1708, 26th July. Fontainebleau.—Torcy to P.

I am eager to see you. Come to me here on the evening of the 28th. "De Torcy."

1708, 4th Aug. Passport for "Riviére."

Signed "Louis." Countersigned "Colbert."

1708, 16th Aug. P. to Torcy.—Amsterdam.

I regret to hear that the secret of my journey is known, and fear France is responsible. A certain Du Puis [Puy] is here, employed by M. de Chamillart and making overtures. I suspect him in the matter. But I shall deny the fact of my journey to everyone but Heinsius, as you desire. On my return to the Hague I will tell you what he says.

1708, 23rd Aug. Torcy to P.

I cannot think your secret has leaked out through that channel. I knew of Dupuy's journey, and saw him on his way to Holland. He is a clever man, but has no commission. He left before you arrived, so can scarcely have known of your journey.

1708, 25th Aug. P. to Torcy.—The Hague.

I have seen the Pensionary and urged on him the sincerity of your intentions. He said that you might mean well, but that he always doubted the King's Council, so long as conferences were asked for before preliminaries were settled. I cannot conceal from you that he will not agree to a conference till France returns to her original offer.

Now that the Allies are victorious, they will make it a point of honour not to accept less than was offered them. France should hasten to offer Spain and the Indies, or the capture of Lille may enable the Allies to dictate their own terms.

As everyone asks me if I have been to France, I now say that I was captured, while going to the army, by a party from Mons, but released

by its governor on parole. This is swallowed ["avalé"] by all the foreign envoys, so there is an end of rumours.

1708, 30th Aug. Same to Same.

Yours of 23rd. It is Du Puis who is responsible. He told the Secretary of the English [Embassy] that he had met me on the road. However, my explanation is accepted, but I am assured he brings overtures.

Prince Eugene received here lately a letter by the post, but, not liking the look of it, threw it into the fire. Gen. Top took it out to look at it, but the Prince had it thrown back into the fire. The General was taken ill shortly after, and poison is suspected, France being accused.

1708, 2nd Sept. Torcy to P.

I hope from what you say of Heinsius, that your journey may bear good fruit. Some great event may lead suddenly to peace. Dupuy has no commission, and I cannot understand his pretending one.

1708, 6th Sept. Same to Same.

Yours of 30th. Dupuy is not employed by us, but is sensible and realises that exiles for religion will gain nothing from a peace. He will not be joined with you in any way, except with your approval. We are on the eve of events which may hasten peace. The difficulties of Holland in raising money prove the strain on the Allies.

The attempt on Prince Eugene must be due to an enemy of France.

1708, 6th Sept. P. to Torcy.

Heinsius is really desirous of peace, but fears that France will hold out too long to cedir g Spain and the Indies, without which there can be no peace. He gave me, in secrecy, his reasons for this. Now France will act wisely in sacrificing Spain and the Indies, for a time, to break up a league which is bent on her ruin; since, once broken, it will never be restored, and France, after some years of rest, could find a pretext for renewing the strife. Besides, if France intends to prevent the English Crown passing to the house of Hanover, she should seek peace at any cost, to prepare for that event, which will give her the opportunity of a bargain. Besides, if made in the King's lifetime, it will leave his successor free. I can arrange the matter, if you will leave it to me.

1708, 11th Sept. Same to Same.

I have promised Heinsius to treat with him alone, and let him communicate to Marlborough no more than he thinks fit. Everyone here is resolved on the preliminaries I told you. England and the Empire, they say, would, independently, insist on them.

1708, 13th Sept. Torcy to P.

Your letters of the 4th and 6th.[1] My own idea is to settle the terms of peace secretly, and only to meet for signing. We are agreed that a peace dictated by the Allied Generals would prejudice Holland, and should be avoided by her.

I am glad to hear of Heinsius' good intentions, and feel sure we could persuade him that peace would be more lasting if Spain and the Indies were left to King Philip. However, everything will be in suspense till the siege of Lille is decided. . . . .[2]

[1] Cipher begins. [2] Cipher ends.

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1708, 13th Sept. P. to Torcy.

I shall have no objection to act with Dupuy if he is loyal to me. But make sure of your man, for he is dealing to my knowledge with friends of Marlborough and of England. Weariness here at the slow progress of the siege of Lille has enabled me to point out that Holland will ruin herself while England grows strong. But the Province of Holland declares it will spend its last penny sooner than give way about Spain and the Indies.

France would do well to make peace before arrangements are made for next year's war, that is, November 1. The States meet in eight days.

1708, 20th Sept. Torcy to P.

Your letters of 11th and 13th. Your condition, I repeat, is fatal to peace. As to Du Puy, I can wish for no better channel of communication than yourself.

I do not think it is in the interest of Holland to let the Emperor crush the Elector of Bavaria, and thus raise fresh obstacles to peace. Nor is it that of the King of Sweden.

1708, 20th Sept. P. to Torcy.—The Hague.

I am astonished that you still reject the indispensable preliminary, with the taking of Lille in prospect. A crowning effort is to be made in the next campaign, and the States are now discussing how to provide the means. My frankness must displease you, but should convince you of my sincerity.

1708, 25th Sept. Same to Same.

Your letter of the 20th. Nothing but raising the siege of Lille can lower the demands here, while those of the Allied Generals will exceed them. Marlborough suspects some secret negociations, and will do what he can to thwart it. I fancy he has sent Quiros here for that purpose . . . . . I have not touched hitherto on the Elector of Bavaria's interests, but as his jewels are to be sold here next month, I will then sound the Pensionary as to his destiny. The King of Sweden's help is no longer thought needful here.

As France is bringing troops from Germany, the States wrote yesterday to the Elector of Hanover, begging him to dispatch at once 13 batallions and 30 squadrons. Quiros and the Emperor's minister declare they are already on the road. The States promised these ministers yesterday not to close the campaign till Bruges and Ghent were retaken. They have been notified to-day that King Charles is master of Sardinia, and I have seen a letter from General S., saying that he only awaited the arrival of the English admiral to sail for Minorca, with 1,500 men, and seize Port Mahon. The Dutch fleet leaves at the beginning of next month to relieve the English one in the Mediterranean. The news from Lille is not satisfactory.

1708, 4th Oct. Torcy to P.

Yours letters of the 20th and 25th. I wish I heard less of new taxes being raised. It seems to me that the warlike spirit is spreading. The Emperor's troops are fighting the subjects of the Pope, and if England intervenes, the navies will be busy. I cannot understand the policy of England. I should like to see the secret conferences take place. Difficulties can sometimes be smoothed over by verbal intercourse. If you could arrange for them with Heinsius, you would render

valuable service. I agree with you as to the pressing need for these conferences. I shall be very glad to learn from you how it is proposed to raise the money for next year's campaign.

We hope to detain your Generals a long while before Lille, and their talk of a winter campaign is impracticable in such a country.

1708, 4th Oct. P. to Torcy.

I find that the Elector of Bavaria is still esteemed here, although it is considered that his conduct has greatly prolonged the war, and that he is a dangerous enemy. So, providing that France is honestly willing to treat, Holland and England will endeavour to secure his restoration, except to the Upper Palatinate.

It is feared that the capture of Sardinia may hinder peace. Yet Quiros complains of the English Admiral refusing to attack Sicily. He has obtained here a subsidy for the Emperor on condition of re-inforcements being promptly sent to Catalonia.

The Lorraine envoy returned from England three days ago. He has been promised that a peace shall secure the complete restitution of Lorraine, but not the Duke's claims on Montferrat.

You will hear many things discussed in the next Parliament, for I learn that many complaints are preparing, the nation being much discontented at the loss of Bruges and Ghent, and still more at the wretched descent on the French coast, which has cost millions without doing any damage. The last action at Weinendahl is considered here more important in its consequences than the battle of Oudenarde, and as the Allies were a third weaker than the French, it increased the courage of the former, and the States now blame their deputies for preventing the Generals from attacking the French army before Lille. Their confidence is now so great that they have ordered their deputies to forbid no battles when the Generals are agreed on them. Prince Eugene has been removed to Menin till the wound has quite healed. Another convoy has already reached Brussels from Antwerp. But it is considered that the former one is sufficient to finish the siege.

1708, 16th Oct. Same to Same.—The Hague.

To forward the secret meetings which you speak of in your letter of the 4th, I have been to see the Pensionary, but he is so ambiguous in his replies that I think he awaits the surrender of Lille before speaking definitely, believing that France will not, till then, treat seriously for the cession of Spain and the Indies, or for the Barrier. Perhaps he wishes to consult some deputies, or is contriving to keep this negociation secret from the other allies. For I see some difficulty about it. It would be very natural for you to send someone from the Court familiar with the King's wishes; but this would be hard to conceal from the watchful jealousy of the Allies. I would gladly undertake another journey to France, if I were more likely now to be listened to about the preliminaries. I have another and a better idea, namely, if Marlborough honestly wishes for peace, to arrange a meeting on the frontier between you, him, and a deputy from the States. Such a meeting could not be fruitless, and anything that remained to settle could be arranged through me.

Some jealousy is caused here by the rumour that France is trying to arrange a new alliance with Sweden.

1708, 21st Oct. Torcy to P.

We are waiting, like you, for the fate of Lille, and, even should it fall, I imagine the allied troops will require rest. Better think of

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It is true that a treaty with Sweden is on foot, as that country has now an opportunity of securing the advantages which the Dutch might have secured for themselves.

1708, 25th Oct. P. to Torcy.

There is general joy at the news to-night of the taking of Lille. If you wait to offer terms till the citadel surrenders, the success of the Allies will spur them on to a campaign fatal to the prospects of peace. Refuse no longer the indispensable concession. I hear, on good authority, that Marlborough's annoyance at their success being attributed, here and in England, to Prince Eugene makes him incline to a peace. You may regain Lille by offering terms now.

As the Queen of England has consented to leave a squadron in the Mediterranean, and has ordered Admiral Bing [Byng] to command it in person, the government here agreed with the Emperor's minister yesterday to leave some ships there, but urged a compromise with the Pope.

1708, 25th Oct. Torcy to P.

Your letter of the 8th. That of the 16th requires a separate reply, that you may make what use of it you see fit. In spite of the fall of Lille, the indispensable preliminary, as you term it, can only be discussed at a conference, private or public. I should prefer the former, in which difficulties should be smoothed over. The suggestion in your letter of the 16th, whether your own or dictated to you, is well worth considering . . . . . .

1708, 25th Oct. Same to Same.

I have postponed replying to yours of the 16th that I might have time for reflection. I am alarmed at the prospect of undertaking such a task, especially in view of your tenacity about the preliminary concession. But as one must sacrifice one's own feelings to the public good, I shall be ready to carry out whatever my superiors may deem helpful to a peace. The difficulty is to arrange a meeting. Once met, we might find that difficulties could be overcome by discussing them. At the most, it could but leave us as we are. It is only in this way that we can come to terms about Spain and the Indies. France should make her concessions voluntarily and not have them extorted beforehand. I leave you to think this over. You know the high opinion I have of your talents, and my belief in your power to arrange this.[1]

1708, 1st Nov. Same to Same.

Your letters of 22nd and 25th. . . . . Marlborough has reason to be annoyed at another reaping the glory of his deeds. He is not at an end of his troubles; the speeches in Parliament this session will probably be livelier yet.

At least half Holland dreads that the friends of the House of Nassau will seize the present opportunity of placing the Prince on the throne. The death of M. d'Overkerque opens a road to him to reach the position of the late King of England. Probably he will do so should the war continue. Those then who love the Republic may see it die, in spite of conquests, should the war continue. A conference is impossible if on your side, you persist that France, as a preliminary step, must offer dishonouring terms.

[1] Both these letters are wholly in cipher.

Pray consider, in the general interest, if the other Allies need be consulted. As the maritime powers are the most interested, and bear the chief cost of this sanguinary war, we consider here that it is they who should decide the terms of peace. You see how much confidence we place in you. I have long wished that you may succeed in your career as a diplomatist.

1708, 4th Nov. Same to Same.

You know my interest in the Chevalier de Croissy, who has been taken prisoner at Effingham. He has to surrender himself at Utrecht on the 13th, and is now at Paris on parole. Pray ask the Pensionary, from me, to extend his leave till he is exchanged, or at least for the winter. I shall be most grateful to him if he can arrange this. . . . . .

1708, 6th Nov. P. to Torcy.—The Hague.

Your two letters of the 25th. Owing to the meeting of the States-General I was not able to use your second letter till yesterday, when I showed it to him who is the soul of this Republic. He could not, of course, give me an answer till he had consulted others, but he promised it for next post. As I may have to see Marlborough about this conference, you had better instruct your generals to let me pass freely. I shall pretend to be going to my master's troops.

I implore you to facilitate matters as much as you can, to frustrate the great designs that Prince Eugene is pressing on the Allies. . . .

P.S. The suggested conference was my own idea, and, on suggesting it here I was allowed to sound you on the subject. . . . . Marlborough has sent Temple, one of his confidential agents, to England, to encourage his friends and assure them he will do his best to go the end of this month and to give account of Bruges and Ghent.

1708, 8th Nov. Same to Same.

. . . . . Some in Marlborough's confidence assure me that he wishes for peace. But I have my doubts.

The death of Gen. d'Overkerk is a loss to the Dutch, but those in charge of the Government need have no fear of the Prince of Nassau, so long as their cause is victorious. It is not there, but by conceding your point, that you must look for peace. Heinsius told me so again yesterday, and said he could not understand why France shuffled so now about terms which she offered two years ago, when comparatively the stronger. A conference was useless, he said, till you gave way, for to confer in vain would only increase irritation. In my urging that you would never undertake it unless you meant to give way, he said he would write to Marlborough to-day and ask his opinion so as to give me a more definite reply.

As I may have to visit Paris, you had better send me a passport.

1708, 13th Nov. Same to Same.

I hope to arrange about the Chevalier de Croissy, but complaints of French harshness in this matter make it difficult. Heinsius, however, is interesting himself in the case.

1708, 15th Nov. Torcy to P.

Your letters of the 1st and 6th. If Marlborough and Heinsius really desire peace, they are clever and influential enough to bring it about. But a personal interview is essential. I hope you may be a better prophet than one [Du Puy] who assures me that this will not be arranged, so that I may soon select a skilful person for so difficult a task.

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We leave it to the Pensionary to say, if he so desires, that the King wishes for conferences as a preliminary step to peace. This should facilitate matters.

I am now writing to the Duke of Burgundy about a pass for you.

1708, 15th Nov.[1] Same to Same.

I have received, since writing to-day, yours of the 8th.

I will try to make clearer my meaning about the preliminaries. If France is to concede the point in question beforehand, she will bind herself before knowing what the other conditions are. If they are inadmissible, she will merely have shown the Spaniards that she is willing to desert them; and peace will be no nearer. If the States-General honestly wish for peace, would it not be better to let our "preliminary" concession be dependent on the other conditions proving acceptable? What you deem the first step should, in my opinion, be the last. In that case we should endeavour to come to terms about the other articles and should not commit ourselves to no purpose. We could also then better discuss the means of enforcing a treaty that would change the fate of Spain.

I hope that you may hold, and enforce, this view, so that your proposed journey may not be in vain. In any case, I send you a passport. God bless your intentions. I can assure you that Helvetius is not going to Holland.

1708, 15th Nov. P. to Torcy.

I am sorry that we have not yet succeeded about the Chevalier de Croissy. Palmquist, the Swedish envoy, said yesterday, at a diplomatic gathering, that there was a mystery about the coming of the Chevalier, who had been closeted two hours with the King. The other ministers agreed, but I knew better. I also disbelieve the rumours from Paris as to the attempt to recall the Duke of Burgundy from the army.

We hear of a great victory that the King of Prussia has won over the Czar in person.

1708, 22nd Nov. Torcy to P.

Yours of the 15th. Pray give me the details of the war budget. I ought to be informed on this point.

We hear from Copenhagen that the K. of Denmark will be led, by his taste for foreign countries, further than Hamburg. The allies being masters of his troops, do not concern themselves about it. I should be glad to know on what condition King Augustus has given his. The clauses of his treaty that has been made public are so singular that I can hardly believe England and Holland have consented to this new impediment to peace.

If the example of Zeeland is followed by other provinces, it can hardly tend to peace. It strengthens the party of the late King of England, which has always been thought to be for war.

Palmquist does honour to the Chevalier, but wish the story might help to keep him out of the country. As I have nothing to do with prisoners of war, I cannot reply to complaints on the subject. I only know that I have done what I can to oblige the Dutch during the war.

1708, 27th Nov. P. to Torcy.

As soon as I returned from Amsterdam, I deciphered your two letters of the 15th. I was able to show them to Heinsius yesterday, and he seemed more pleased with them than the last. But he deferred replying

[1] These two letters are almost wholly in cipher.

till to-morrow, doubtless to consult some deputies who form a peace committee. Marlborough has written to him that he has no objection to the conference, if France consents to the preliminaries on which the treaty must be based.

I urged that France only sought to extricate herself honourably, and that a shameful peace could not be a lasting one; and that, without blaming England and Holland for consulting their own interests, the latter would do well to secure the gratitude of France by smoothing the path for her, and helping her to save appearances in the matter of Spain and the Indies. Heinsius agreed, but said he must think it over.

I hope to prove a better prophet than Du Puy, when he tells you that a conference is improbable. I believe he is trying to secure the office of mediator for the King of Denmark.

The siege of Brussels has caused much alarm here. Three deputies were sent yesterday to Antwerp to persuade it to receive more troops. I am assured that the Dutch consented, in case Bruges and Ghent are not abandoned when the citadel of Lille falls, to send troops to Prince Eugene for a dash into France, and to cover the frontier. 4,000 Wurtemburg troops will be employed for the purpose, unless their removal makes a gap in the present line. The Province of Holland has agreed to the usual war budget for next year.

1708, 29th Nov. Torcy to P.

Your letters of 20th and 22nd. . . . . I am obliged to you about the Chevalier.

We hear that the armies are on the march. . . . . .

1709, 29th Nov. P. to Torcy.

Heinsius gave me his reply yesterday. He still asks why France should make so much difficulty, even about her original concessions, at such a time, and insists that the Spaniards need not know about the secret preliminary. France, he says, must concede it, if she really is in earnest, and does not merely hope to divide the allies.

Marlborough could not agree to a conference without it, and Heinsius says nothing can be done without the Duke's consent, and Holland is resolved to avoid any cause of offence to the Queen of England, who is contributing so largely to the common cause. You should empower me to offer it only on condition of the conferences proving successful, your concession never to be mentioned or treated as made in the other alternative. The raising of the siege of Brussels and re-opening of the road to Braubant by Marlborough, will make the English and Dutch haughtier than ever. So there is no time to be lost.

1708, 4th Dec. Same to Same.

I saw the Pensionary yesterday, and he told me Marlborough had again written to him to the effect that France must declare without reservation that she will concede the point required. Then there will be no obstacle to a conference, and secrecy may be relied on. Without it the Duke would never be forgiven by Queen or Parliament, as France had previously conceded as much. Heinsius added that the French should have done this before their last retreat, which has encouraged the English and strengthened Marlborough's party, and that the conferences should take place before Marlborough leaves for England.

Holland, I gather from him is dissatisfied with the Emperor, which is in favour of our conferences. The States are to meet again on the 10th. Marlborough assures Heinsius he means to march on Ghent.

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1708, 10th Dec. Torcy to P.

Yours of 27th and 29th have only just reached me. As to our former concessions, we then held Italy. Now we have lost it, which has made us more tenacious of Spain for King Philip. You can assure Heinsius that we honestly wish for peace, and that if he can undertake to keep secret the conditions he requires as preliminaries in case peace is not arranged, France will agree to take as a basis the chief items in Hannequin's draft of some two years ago. You must add that we can only treat it as a general idea, requiring modification, especially as to the time and the guarantees for performance, and that we propose it chiefly in order to re-assure the States-General, and that if the secret is kept the conference ought to succeed.

I would add that if France, as you justly urge, has reason to end the war, so has Holland, while she is still in a position to over-rule the Allies. Still we have no wish to set our opponents at enmity.

I shall await your reply.

1708, 10th Dec. Same to Same.

You say that orders have been sent to the army not to allow the garrison of Lille citadel to capitulate except as prisoners of war. This order will involve much bloodshed, and produce needless irritation just when peace is so necessary for everyone.

1708, 11th Dec. P. to Torcy.

Yours of 22nd and 29th ult. only reached me on the 7th. I rejoice that the rumours of your King's death which have reached us are false.

I admit that the conditions asked of you are hard, but your army is losing heart and the Allies flushed with success can accept nothing less.

You see that I was right about Queen Anne's intentions. Her urgent demands to her Parliament are looked on coldly here. If you concede your point, you will be in time to arrest increase of their forces by the Dutch.

So far as I can hear the treaty of King Augustus with Marlborough is not an impediment to peace. He came himself to offer his troops. Heinsius told me yesterday Marlborough's reply to your two letters of the 15th ult., namely that he could never agree to a conference till France made the preliminary concession of Spain and the Indies and of the Barrier.

1708, 13th Dec. Same to Same.

Heinsius, meeting me at court this morning, asked me if I had no reply yet from France as to the preliminaries and expressed astonishment at your dangerous delay. I pointed out the gravity of the step you are asked to take, but he regrets the loss of valuable time.

1708, 13th Dec. Torcy to P.

Your letters of the 4th and 6th. Secrecy, remember, is indispensable. Failure to observe it would imperil the matter.

We heard yesterday that the citadel of Lille has surrendered. I am glad that honourable terms have been granted.

I know not if the King of Denmark, full of his pleasures, and hastening to Venice in search of them, will wish to act as mediator.

1708, 18th Dec. P. to Torcy.

I communicated to Heinsius yesterday your letters of the 10th. He says they leave him in doubt as to your meaning, for there were two

proposals brought by Hannequin. I told him it must clearly be the one most favourable to the Dutch. He said he must examine them before replying, and expressed his regret that France should not speak out more clearly.

1708, 20th Dec. Same to Same.

Heinsius gave me his reply to your letter of the 10th this morning. He complained that your offer is too general, as there should be no uncertainty in matters of this importance. He asks which of Hannequin's proposals you mean, and how secrecy is to be ensured. I hope you will give me a definite reply.

1708, 20th Dec. Same to Same.

Your letter of the 10th. You will see that there is every wish to secure the secrecy you desire.

I can assure you that the King of Denmark does wish to be mediator, and that pleasure is only a pretence for his journey.

1708, 23rd Dec. Torcy to P.

Your letters of the 11th, 13th, and 18th. I know of only one proposal entrusted to Hannequin, when he returned to Holland at the end of March 1707. In that proposal the essential point as to Spain and the Indies was settled according to the wishes of Holland. The Archduke was to have them, and the King of Spain was to receive as equivalent the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, and the coast-towns of Tuscany. France wished to add the Duchy of Milan, and this was, I believe, the cause of the negotiation being broken off.

At the present time, the Milanese is out of the question, and, given secrecy, we shall treat on the basis of giving up Spain and the Indies and go into the Barrier question in good faith. But Heinsius, on his part, must try to arrange for a conference as soon as possible, for time is passing and another campaign might destroy the present desire for peace.

I will bear carefully in mind what you tell me about the King of Denmark and his journey.

1708, 23rd Dec. Same to Same.

Let me add that some friends of mine heard a few days ago, from Holland, that an emissary from Sweden was trying to arrange peace, and promising to secure for the Allies Spain and the Indies, and asserting that one of our Ministers would come to confirm the offer, if desired, and to treat on the other points: I paid little attention to the rumour at the time, but I must ask you to enlighten me now that the same report reaches me from England. It now takes the shape that a French Minister has written direct to Heinsius about peace, and has suggested a conference with Marlborough and himself. As no such letter has been written, I will ask you to trace the rumour to its source. How can secrecy be secured if such a report is abroad already? I commend this to your consideration.

1708, 27th Dec. Same to Same.

Your letters of the 20th. My last letter told you that I knew of but one proposal sent by Hennequin, and gave you its details. When I said in mine of the 10th that they would have to be modified, I was not alluding to Spain and the Indies, but to several other details, which have never been accepted in Holland, such as the Milanese, which I only

cite to show the changes events have involved. It is impossible to discuss these by letter. The Barrier, for instance, will require much discussion.

So does trade, though France is ready to secure guarantees and advantages to the Dutch, and wishes to bind the two nations by a common interest that nothing will be able to destroy.

The allies of France, also, will have to be carefully considered. Perhaps the States-General may find it not to their advantage to abandon to the Emperor those whom the House of Austria now deems its worst foes.

This is why I have always held that the so-called preliminaries required discussion.

You tell me Heinsius asks how secrecy should be ensured, and where the conferences should be held. He himself is the best judge. I should probably make a wrong suggestion, but, as you wish it, I will say—subject to your opinion and that of Heinsius—that I have always thought it impossible to meet secretly at the Hague, because of the foreign envoys there. Aix-le-Chapelle seems more suitable, especially now that it is empty. The presence of our envoy there could be accounted there on the plea of illness, and Heinsius could doubtless despatch a deputy from the States-General, and arrange with Marlborough for the presence of a representative of England. If this device is insufficient, the exchange of prisoners or some border question might be alleged to account for the meeting. That is my own idea, but try to sound Heinsius. Urge him to suggest the best way of beginning as soon as possible conferences so necessary for all Europe.

1709, 1st Jan. Same to Same.

Your letter of 23rd ult. . . . . I communicated its contents to Heinsius yesterday. He professed himself now satisfied that France was in earnest, and added that Marlborough had promised to join him three days after Ghent fell, and would therefore be here by the end of the week, when he could give me a definite reply. Please send me a fresh passport in blank.

1709, 1st Jan. Same to Same.

P.S. Your second letter of the 23rd has greatly surprised me. I think it must refer to conjectures. Heinsius told me that, as a matter of fact, he had mentioned the matter to a few Deputies, but could trust them, as he could Marlborough, though he thought the latter's secretary (who is a great friend of the English envoy here) might have tried to discover who was the agent, but in vain, as he had warned the Duke that this was how my journey to Paris became known. Du Puy and the English envoy must have formed conjectures. As to the conditions, it is generally known what will be insisted on. In yesterday's Gazette the Paris correspondent said that M. de Chamillart was coming to Flanders to offer Spain and the Indies. . . . . Heinsius begged me to assure you that our secret is, and will be, kept here, and that these rumours must not alarm you. But he said he would write to the Duke urging secrecy. For myself, I speak on a matter so important to no one but Heinsius himself.

1709, 3rd Jan. Torcy to P.

Your letters of 25th and 27th ultimo. I am obliged to Heinsius about Croissy. But there are difficulties.

I will be careful to carry out your suggestions.

1709, 3rd Jan. P. to Torcy. ROUND MSS.

Heinsius, whom I saw to-day, is anxious for your further explanations as, he said, he had convoked the States of Holland for next week to discuss the terms of peace with some deputies of that province, so as to be ready, on Marlborough's arrival, to draw up the articles. I hope to bring you the preliminaries as soon as my passport reaches me, and to arrange with you the place of meeting.

1709, 8th Jan. Same to Same.

Yours of 27th ult. only reached me on the 5th, but it, happily, gives all the explanations required. Heinsius said that as Marlborough arrives to-morrow, he must communicate it to him and some Deputies of Holland who are in the secret, but I shall try to send you an answer by the next post. We do not think your suggestions as to the meeting practicable. Heinsius inclines to a meeting of Marlborough and yourself.

. . . . .

1709, 15th Jan. Same to Same.

Your letter of the 3rd. Heinsius cannot admit the difficulty about Croissy. The Prince Generals arrived here Sunday, at two o'clock, and after dinner, went together to see Heinsius. He told me yesterday that he had not yet had an opportunity of speaking privately to Marlborough, as Prince Eugene was always with him, but that they had arranged to meet about the business to-day, and he would let me know the result, if possible, in time for to-day's post, but he has not been able to do so. Prince Eugene is dissatisfied; he cannot get the increase of troops he asks for.

Marlborough said yesterday to the Duke of Wurtemburg's general that the Allies would require his troops, and that as only a small force would be required in Germany, this year, for defensive purposes, the Duke should despatch them to Brabant. There was a discussion this morning about the 8,000 Saxons. The King of Prussia is to supply 7,000 more men. The Elector Palatine has sent to offer his troops, but also to claim his arrears, which are very heavy.

TORCY to PETKUM [HOLOGRAPH].

"J'ay receu Monsieur par le retour du Courrier despesché a M. Rouillé la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire le 8e de ce mois. Je croy que vous n'avez pas été Surpris dé la rupture de la negociation voyant qu'on insistoit a La haye aussy fortement Sur un article que je n'ay jamais laissé esperer que Le Roy put passer. Je l'ay déclaré Si formellement avant mon depart, qu'il me Semble que personne ne peut reprocher a M. Le Cer Pensre de S'être laissé amuser, et je vous assure qui Si les intentions de S. Mte n'eussent pas été aussy droittes et aussy Sinceres qu'elles l'étoient pour le retablissement de la paix, j'aurais pu esperer de Sa bonte qu'Elle eut chargé un autre que moy de touttes les grandes offres que j'ay faittes, comme vous le Savez, avec beaucoup de regret.

"Jusqu'a ce que la Campagne Sôit finie on ne peut decider qui doit etre le plus affligé de L'inutilité de nos conferences. Mais vous pouvez conter que l'état de l'armée du Roy, est beaucoup meilleur qu'on ne le dit a La haye, et que les propositions qu'on nous a faittes ont inspiré une nouvelle ardeur aux troupes et aux Sujets du Roy.

"Je vous prie Monsieur de Vouloir bien me conserver le Souvenir qu'on me fait la grace d'avoir de moy dans votre maison. Permetter

ROUND MSS.

moy aussy de vous prier de faire mes compliments a Mrs Les Envoyes de Suede de Dannk et de Wirtemberg et Soyez S'il vous plaist persuadé du veritable desir que j'ay de vous marquer en touttes occasions que je Suis Monsieur entierement a vous.

"DE TORCY.

"A Marly Le 13e Juin 1709."

1709, 20th June. Rouillé to P.—Paris.

I have received yours of the 13th and seen yours of that date to Torcy, who is replying to you fully to-day. One cannot sufficiently praise your zeal for peace. . . . . Why is such a boon as peace delayed by asking a concession which is impossible, because it is not in the King's power, whatever the Dutch may allege. . . . . .

1709, 18th July. Torcy to P. (6 pp.)—Versailles.

Your two letters, one without date, on your return from Amsterdam, the other of 11th inst.

I fully believe the assurance of Heinsius that he wishes to renew the negotiations, and you must assure him that we wish it also. But I must confess that the more I seek a solution as to Article 37, the less able I am to find it. We need not have been troubled by it, had we arranged the partition that M. Rouillé and I demanded for the King of Spain. By insisting on leaving him without States you drive him to fight for his Crown, and deprive the King [of France] of any means of influencing him for peace.

The only way out of the difficulty was a secret stipulation, as suggested by M. Rouillé, that even if Spain were not wholly handed over to the Archduke within the time specified, the armistice should last till peace was made, provided the King [of France] had fulfilled his own undertaking during that time. But as this expedient was refused, I wish Heinsius would suggest some other. Six weeks ago our object was to forestall a campaign: now that is well advanced, we should strive to arrange peace definitely, rather than a preliminary armistice. We only proposed the latter to avoid disturbing the peaceful tendencies existing; our failure should teach us to treat direct for peace.

Urge Heinsius, therefore, to suggest guarantees. His Majesty will promise all he can; but it will be useless to ask him for those he cannot. I can think of none, but the recall of all the French troops in Spain and the strongest undertaking not to intervene directly in her affairs.

You may not believe me, but I assure you that the absurd and impertinent publication you speak of was issued without authority by the writer of the *Mercure Galand*. As soon as it appeared, the whole edition was suppressed by the King's orders, and the author had a narrow escape of being punished as he deserved . . . . . .

"DE TORCY."

1709, 18th July. Same to Same.

Your letter of the 12th. Peace would have been more to the interest of the States-General than war as it now is being waged. It is not so easy to march into the heart of France as was said in Holland last May, and Heinsius as well as Buys and Wanderdussen may remember my telling them not to trust to all they heard from France about her miseries. The people compensate themselves for their sufferings in exaggerating their distress. I only wish you may hit on the solution you speak of.

You will see quarrels among the Allies if the war last. Their mutual suspicions and grievances cannot be kept secret.

The enclosed seals will show you how your letters are treated at Brussels.

1709, 23rd July. P. to Torcy.—The Hague.

I see by your letter of the 18th that the same scoundrel who opened my letters before is repeating his rascality.

It is a disgrace to the Brussels authorities . . . . . .

[Note by Petkum; I wrote this letter to revenge myself on the rogues who opened my letters, but who gained nothing by it, as they were all in cipher.]

1709, 1st August. Torcy to P.

The insecurity of the post-office makes it advisable that you should send your letter under cover to a correspondent at Liége. . . . . When you have something important to tell me, you must send your letters to Amsterdam to be posted for Liége and let me have the impressions of several seals that you will use in succession. You should also have your letter addressed by different hands and folded different ways, and must use stout paper. The letters should be posted from Liége to these [fictitious] addresses . . . . . Letters to you should go to a correspondent at Amsterdam, and you must send me his name. They will have the following [fictitious] addresses . . . . I shall only use them on hearing that you have arranged this[1] . . . .

1709, 8th Aug. Same to Same.—Marly.

Your letter of the 30th as to exchanging my brother [Croissy]. I only await the names of the two Dutch captains whom the King is to release . . . . . "DE TORCY."

1709, 9th Aug. P. to Torcy.

Heinsius assured me this morning he is examining the latest proposition with some Deputies. I think he has told Marlborough, and is waiting for his opinion. News arrived at noon of a French defeat near Conflans, with the loss of 2,000 men. This will, I expect, puff up the Imperialists, who want greater concessions. The taking of Tournay will encourage the English and the Dutch. I hope soon to pay you my respects in person.

1709, 13th August. Same to Same.

Your letter of the 8th. . . . . Heinsius told me to-day he would discuss the great business with Count Sinzendorf and Lord Towns[h]end. The former is very reasonable and agrees to my going to France; the latter raises some difficulties, but only, I think, because he has not yet heard from Marlborough, who could not be here till to-day or to-morrow.

The behaviour of the French about the surrender of the castle [of Tournay] has given great offence here.

1709, 2 Oct. Torcy to P. [holograph fragment].

[1709. Narrative, by Petkum of his third visit to France. Imperfect, 8¼ pp.]

. . . . . Torcy replied that he wished I could suggest some compromise on the great difficulty, as he could think of none, tho' he hoped this winter would not pass without peace being made. I

[1] All in cipher.

ROUND MSS. suggested their signing the preliminaries, but allowing three months instead of two for evacuating Spain. Torcy and Rouillé exclaimed that it was out of the question, that the King would never sign an undertaking he could not carry out, and that it would wound his honour by compelling him to make war on his own [flesh and] blood, and on a Prince who has always obeyed him. The whole nation would sooner sacrifice their lives and all they had. He desired peace, but not a truce for two or three months, bought at the price of kingdoms and of his own frontier fortresses.

Seeing by this that my suggestion was useless, I proposed to omit the word 'ceded' (cédé) in Article 37, and to extend the term to three months. . . . . .

. . . . . the Ministers and that he [Torcy] hoped I might persuade them that my compromise was practicable. I reminded him that he and Rouillé had agreed to all these Articles, save the restitution of part of Alsace to the Empire, and of Exiles* and Fenestrelles to the Duke of Savoy, together with our present difficulty, Article 37; [further] that as the object is to ensure the surrender of Spain, the cause of the war, and as France had made that concession, she must grant Article 37, which was required for the purpose. The greater her objections to doing so, the more the Allies would mistrust her: without this guarantee they would never make peace; the maritime powers would sooner ruin themselves ("s'abimer") and prolong the war for ten years than lose the fruit of all the blood and treasure they had spent, namely, the safety of their trade.

Torcy replied that France honestly wished to bring about the evacuation of Spain so far as was in her power, that the King had, to this end, withdrawn all his troops, and would never send another man there, and that this should convince the Allies of his earnest wish for peace

As we reached Versailles at this moment, I had no time to reply. The Marquis made arrangements for my staying with him, and then went to the King's Council, to report our conversation. We could not renew it till after dinner, when he took me, with the Abbé de Polignac into the King's gardens, and said that the Ministers had not favoured my compromise, and preferred, for certain reasons, not to see me personally, [and] that M. Demarets would come to see me at seven that evening, and discuss the matter anew. Then, turning to the Abbé, he said that the King was being treated by the Allies in an unheard-of manner, that, in addition to the exorbitant preliminaries, he was to be forced to sign an undertaking that was not in his power to execute, and, thereupon, gave the Abbé a summary of our conversation. The Abbé tried to convince me how unreasonable these requests were, and said that, hard as the preliminaries were, his Majesty would sign them, if he could thus secure peace for France, but that, by parting with fortresses, abandoning kingdom, and dismantling Dunkirk, he was only to gain a truce for two to three months. No faithful Minister could urge him to sign till he was sure of peace. No extorted treaty could be lasting, as the King of Sweden was now experiencing. The Allies could not, in reason, ask for what was impossible to undertake. The King of Saxony had made a most shameful peace—though these Preliminaries would be worse—but had at least secured peace, which the King would not.

To this I replied that the Allies could not be blamed for taking such precautions when France had hitherto shown such small respect for treaties, and that they regretted the necessity. Ah, exclaimed the

Abbé, this is what France owes to the unbridled ambition and dangerous principles of a haughty Minister (meaning Louvois). And yet the King and his Council are truly in earnest now. I replied that, without defending Louvois, he was no longer alive when the Partition Treaty was repudiated. Disconcerted, the Abbé retorted, that one who inherited the traditions of Louvois had been in fault. Here Torcy intervened and said he should lament, all his life, that unhappy decision, which he had opposed so far as he could, but he had been overruled; it was the cause of all his country's present misfortunes.

The Abbé then returned to the difficulties caused by Article 37, and thinking, perhaps, that I was commissioned, as had been rumoured, to modify it, exclaimed: "M. Petkum, you must extricate us. You "cannot but have thought, on the road, of some modification. Tell us "frankly what it is." I replied that I had already imparted my own suggestion to Torcy and Rouille, but as they did not approve of it, it was for them to suggest another. Seeing that I had nothing more to say, Torcy took us home; but, as we separated, they entreated me to think of some compromise, which confirmed my belief that they thought the Allies had commissioned me to offer one.

1709, 26th Dec. Torcy to P.

Your letter of the 17th. I have often spoken to you of the follies of the Dutch gazeteers, and marvel that you should complain of them. I wish there were some foundation for their untrue statement. Had your zeal been crowned with success, there would have been no dishonour in accepting a testimony of the King's satisfaction.

I am sorry to see by the news from Tournay, that peace seems further off than ever. It must be to embitter relations that France is accused of repudiating preliminaries she never accepted. It is not repudiating to be willing to treat afresh.

I shall not yet tell you what a fresh rebuff from the Allies may bring about. One must still wait for the answer promised you.

1709, 27th Dec. [Rouillé] to P.

Your letters of the 17th and 20th. . . . . I have sent them on, with some comments to Torcy, not having been able to go to Versailles for a fortnight. The Dutch are wrong to mistrust us. . . . . There will be much more ground for doubting the sincerity of the Allies, if they do not admit us to a conference to be conducted on the footing of the preliminaries, as this solves all difficulties. That is our view here. But wait for Torcy's own reply.

. . . . . .

13 January 1710. In your letter of the 7th you complain of my silence; yet I wrote to you on 27th, and send you a copy of my letter above. What has become of it? I await impatiently the results of Torcy's last memorandum.[1]

1710.

1710, 2 Jan. Torcy to P.

I could not decipher yours of the 20th in time for last post. I have since seen what is said at the Hague about the reply you took back to Heinsius.

You and I foresaw that the enemies of peace would deny, as usual, the sincerity of France and accuse her of ruining the negotiation.

[1] The above letter of 27th Dec. is only found in the duplicate enclosed in that of 13th Jan.

ROUND MSS. Time presses, and I shall not waste it on arguing against that view. I send you, in a separate memorandum, the conditions on which the King is willing to treat and those which he cannot accept, as they stand, because their execution does not depend on him. . . . . Please communicate this memorandum to Heinsius, and request an answer. A matter of this consequence requires personal discussion: suggest that an envoy of the King should visit Holland to treat. . . . . .

It is rumoured there that you were authorised, on returning, to propose some partition scheme on behalf of the King. You received no such instruction. Perhaps, however, this would best smooth over the difficulty of these Articles which the King declines. But we must first arrange for conferences, secret or public. May God give men a more peaceful disposition in the year now opening. . . . . .

1710, 2nd Jan. [Memorandum to above], 10 pp.

Although the King is no longer bound by undertakings which his enemies have refused to accept, he is willing to renew them, in the interest of Europe, if his enemies also will treat on this basis, agree on a place for the conference, and appoint Ministers authorised to make peace.

Those conditions are:—

Firstly.

As to Spain, an undertaking of the King to recognise, as soon as peace is signed, the Archduke Charles as King of Spain and its dependencies, saving only those which the Allies have promised to the King of Portugal or the Duke of Savoy, and the strongholds which the Archduke has promised the Dutch in the Low Countries.

A similar undertaking not only to withdraw all assistance from the King of Spain, but never to send him any more directly or indirectly. And as surety for its performance, his Majesty will entrust to the States-General four of his fortresses in Flanders, which he will select, to be retained by them till the Spanish business is settled.

He will also undertake to forbid his subjects, under severe penalties, to take service with the King of Spain, and will enforce this prohibition.

He also consents to the Spanish monarchy being never united to that of France, and to no French Prince reigning or acquiring rights there.

The Spanish Indies are comprised in these stipulations, and no French vessel shall visit them for trade or any other purpose.

Secondly.

As to the Empire, the King will surrender the town and citade of Strasbourg in their present state. The fort of Kel, with its artillery, shall also be surrendered. The town shall regain its former privileges as an Imperial town.

He will also surrender to the Emperor the town of Brisach with its artillery; will content himself with the possession of Alsace according to the literal meaning of the Treaty of Westphalia; will leave Landau to the Emperor, with permission to dismantle it; will raze to the ground whatever he has built on the Rhine from Bâle to Philipbourg; consents to Rhinfels going to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and to the 4th Article of the Treaty of Ryswick being discussed in the conferences.

He will recognise the Elector of Brandenburg as King of Prussia, and will not disturb him in the possession of Neuchâtel, and will also recognise the Electorate created for the Duke of Hanover.

Thirdly.

As to England, the King will recognise Princess Anne as Queen of Great Britain and the order of succession to th Crown in the Protestant line as established by Acts of Parliament.

He will cede the Island of Newfoundland and will arrange for a reciprocal restitution of everything occupied in the Indies during the present war.

He will demolish all the fortifications of Dunkirk and choke the port, promising never to restore it.

He will also agree to the King of England's intention to leave France, on the conclusion of peace, so long as he is left free to go where he will and to enjoy perfect safety.

Fourthly.

As to the Dutch, the King will cede to them, for their Barrier, all the fortresses named in Article 22, namely, Furnes, the fort of Knock, Menin, Ypres, Lille, Tournay, Condé, and Maubeuge, with their dependencies, on the conditions there specified.

As to the fortresses in the Low Countries still held by the King of Spain, he will withdraw his troops from them, and will hand them over to the Archduke as soon as peace is signed.

He will confirm his offers to the Dutch, as to their trade, and Article 35 shall be rigidly adhered to.

Fifthly.

As to the Duke of Savoy the King will concede the demands made in Articles 27 and 28.

But he demands that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria shall be restored to their states and dignities, and their envoys admitted to the conferences for peace.

Lastly, as a peace, not a truce, is in question, the time allowed for fulfilling these conditions shall be such as is usual in treaties after ratifications have been changed.

This is the basis on which the King is still prepared to send plenipotentiaries to treat for peace, and to take advantage of the winter for the purpose, before the next campaign begins. If these offers are not accepted, the King will hold himself free from any engagement, and will disclaim all responsibility for the prolongation of this sanguinary war.[1]

1710, 5th Jan. Rouillé to P.

Your letters of the 20th and 27th. You should have had a very full one from Torcy, by last post, assuring you of our sincere desire for peace, but for a stable one, for, as I have told you, our only fear, is that we may not obtain it, after having offered all. Mistrust begets mistrust, especially in the weaker. Let our propositions be impartially considered. Our wishes are only bounded by our powers; we long for a real settlement. . . . . .

1710, 6th Jan. P. to Torcy.

Your letter of 26th ult. . . . . As you realise how determined they are here on the propositions I brought, I will only say that I no longer press for a reply, which, I feel sure would only break

[1] These propositions should be compared with those to which they refer, and which were made to Torcy at the Hague in May 1709. These are printed, with Torcy's objections to them, in his *Memoirs*.

Round MSS. off negotiations. . . . . It is not to cause bitterness that France is accused of repudiation. Heinsius maintains it because, before I left [for France], only the 37th Article was in question, and you yourself proposed an alternative [3 fortified towns] to Heinsius and me, which led to my journey. Yet you sent me back with other propositions, which you knew would be distasteful. I must not speak freely; but to judge from appearances, France no longer wishes for peace, and trusts to the difficulties in the North, which, however, the Allies will soon put a stop to. Peace is also being arranged between Sweden and Denmark. You see that France has nothing to hope for.

1710, 7 Jan. P. to Marlborough.

Your letter of the 20th ult. has consoled me for the attacks on me. I take advantage of your permission to inform you, from time to time, of what I hear from France, and have the honour to enclose copies of my letter to Torcy, and his reply. I wrote to him again on the 20th ult., and on receiving his reply, which should be decisive, will send you copies of both letters. . . . . .

1710, 6th Jan. [O.S.]. Marlborough to P.—St. James's.

Thanks for your letter of the 7th and enclosures. I shall be glad to see those you promise me, which will enlighten us. I am sorry for the attacks on you, but those who know your zeal will always do you justice, as I do.

"Le Pr. et Duc de Marlborough."

1710, 7th Jan. P. to Torcy.

I fear your reply to mine of the 20th must have been intercepted. I am the more anxious as I think it would enable us to renew negotiations, while France might profit from the mistrust which is spreading among the Allies and which a Congress would accentuate. . . . . .

1710, 7th Jan. P. to Rouillé.

I cannot think why I have not heard from you since the 20th ult. I fear they must be right here in saying that France does not want peace, and trust to arms, whereas, as my letter of the 20th showed you, you could now secure peace on reasonable terms. You must not allow this opportunity to slip. . . . . .

1710, 9th Jan. P. to Torcy.

Your letter of the 2nd only reached me at five yesterday afternoon. I took it at once, with the enclosures, to Heinsius, who read them in my presence, but only said he must communicate them to those whom they concerned. As the States of Holland do not meet till the 15th, I hardly expect an answer till the 16th or 17th.

Your memorandum is a welcome reply to the charges against France here, but I wish it had followed the Preliminaries more closely, and that the compromise as to Spain had been the same as you suggested to Heinsius last August, when you accepted, for the King, everything but the 37th Article and made a more acceptable offer as to Spain. This would have advanced matters and helped to silence objectors. I heartily wish I could send you a more favourable reply than I expect, considering the last determination to accept no modification save of the 37th Article. I am going to Amsterdam to-morrow, where I shall see Buys about this business.

1710, 9th Jan. Torcy to P. ROUND MSS.

Your letter of the 2nd. If peace were as ardently desired with you as here, means would soon be found for bringing it about. But this cannot be done when we are left to learn from Gazettes the resolves of the Allies on your report of your mission. . . . . .

You are right not to press for a reply which might break off the negotiation, but my hopes are small so long as it is confined to writing and no conferences arranged.

The state of affairs in the North has not lessened the King's desire for peace, but those who wish to make it impossible must not be surprised if, in return, he employs every means against them.

1710, 11th Jan. P. to Heinsius [Amsterdam].

I saw Buys and Van Der Dussen on arriving here yesterday, and showed them the last propositions. I send you Rouillé's letter received yesterday.

1710, 13th Jan. P. to Rouillé.—Amsterdam.

Yours of the 5th relieves my anxiety. Your wishes for peace are doubted here, because the Barrier fortresses are not to be handed over till ratifications have been exchanged, and, as to Spain, the offer is not so good as was Torcy's own to Heinsius last August. Thus the difficulty is no longer confined to Article 37. . . . . Pray show this letter to Torcy.

1710, 17th Jan. P. to Torcy.—Amsterdam.

I have been here a week trying to obtain leave for an envoy to come from France to treat on the Preliminaries. I am now returning to the Hague, where your propositions are being discussed. I hope they may lead to a conference, for if France be then content with the Kingdom of Sicily or an equivalent, peace will be made. Pray keep this hint secret.

1710, 21 Jan. Same to Same.

. . . . . My master's business delayed me at Amsterdam. On arriving here I ascertained that all the Preliminaries must be accepted, saving the 37th Article. If then you think a meeting desirable certain parties are ready to arrange it, if you will empower me to declare, on behalf of the King, that he accepts these conditions, which will limit the subject of the meeting ("pour-parler") to Article 37. . . . . The interview should be as secret and as short as possible. . . . . The person or persons you send should be acquainted with the King's full intentions. Moerdyke is suggested as the place; and the necessary passports will be sent as soon as the King consents to the above conditions.

1710, 21 Jan. P. to Rouillé.

. . . . . The moderate party has had much difficulty in gaining over Sinzendorff and Towns[h]end. . . . . You should eagerly embrace this opportunity, and will never have a better one. I impress this on Torcy before the two Princes [Eugene and Marlborough] arrive and exert their influence. . . . . .

1710, 23 Jan. Torcy to P.

Your letter of 17th. Your journey [to Amsterdam] has given anxiety to the envoys of the Allies. . . . . If conferences can be arranged, I am sure they will remove many difficulties.

Rouxe Mss. The English are more eager for war in Holland than at home. The suffering on every side makes peace indispensable. God grant that the governments may arrange it. . . . . .

1710, 4 March. [Rouillé] to P.

Yours of 25th ult. I hope the conferences you have arranged may prove successful, but I fear we are asked, in the matter of Spain, for what is beyond our power. . . . . The present attitude of Spain towards us should convince you that she will pay no attention to the advice, still less to the orders of France. Our Ministers left the day before yesterday, and should reach the place of meeting on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday would be spent in discussion, and we ought to know the result by the end of next week. May you reap in a peace the fruit of your labours. So far as I can judge the character of the Maréchal d'Huxelles should fit him for the work. . . . . .

1710, 11 March. P. to Torcy.

The plenipotentiaries reached Moerdyke last Sunday. Buys and Vanderdussen are expected to return here this evening to announce the propositions made to them. For they are only appointed *ad audiendum et referendum.* I hope their report may induce this State to resist the opposition of the Imperial and English envoys, who leave no stone unturned to render the conferences futile. Marlborough himself who arrived at two last Saturday afternoon does not conceal his annoyance at the conference, and says openly—he said so to me to-day—that it is only a trick of France, which has no wish for peace, but only seeks to divide the Allies. Heinsius, who is as anxious as myself for the success of the conference, told me yesterday it was strange that not a single member of the State or foreign envoy believed France to wish for peace, and that no one but myself gave her credit for it. So he hoped I might be right. The envoys of the Empire having shown jealousy of my going to Antwerp, I have, on the advice of Heinsius, delayed paying my respects to the Plenipotentiaries, but I have written to advise them as to how they should open the conference.

You will hear from London what has caused the sudden departure of Marlborough, but I doubt whether the Address from Parliament is agreeable to the Dutch; it is too openly mistrustful.

Since the Duke came here, Sinzendorff, who was quite disheartened, has been more hopeful, thinking that, with his help he can again stop negotiation.

Prince Eugene was to leave Vienna on the 7th. He will visit Berlin to induce the King of Prussia to leave his troops in Italy, and is expected here on the 20th.

It is said that the Campaign is to be opened early, and yesterday the Deputies of the States conferred with those of the Council to settle the first camp. I am told the French lines are to be attacked at the beginning of next month.

I have just come from Heinsius, who tells me he heard this morning from the Deputies that your Plenipotentiaries reached Moerdyke at five on Sunday afternoon, that they had held meetings the same evening and yesterday, and were returning to report.

We hear from Copenhagen that the Danes are doing badly, and that on the approach of the Swedes nearly 22,000 strong, under Steenbock, they abandoned Christianstadt and fell back on Elsingboorgh, and that their general is ill. The Dutch envoy has at last had a meeting with the King's ministers on the subject of neutrality.

1710, 5th June. Torcy to P.—Marly. ROUND MSS.

Your letters of 20th, 23rd, 27th, and 29th ult. . . . . I am sorry to find that the conferences are not advancing matters, but I do not despair, so long as discussion is possible. . . . . Heinsius will act rightly and wisely in opposing the war party as you tell me he is doing. . . . . .

The envoys of the Empire are misinformed as to affairs in Spain. The imprisonment of the Duke of Medinaceli has created no stir, nor has anyone tried to remove him from the castle of Segovia. We may be as much in error here as to the Archduke's health, but it is said to be very bad, and it is not believed that he can live long or leave issue. It is strange that the Dutch should wage war so obstinately for his benefit.

I send you the passport for the Prince of Hesse.

1710, 6th June. [Rouillé] to P.

Your letter of the 29th ult. I am sorry the last conference was so unsuccessful. . . . . Mistrust is spoiling all. The despatches sent yesterday to our envoys will enable them to speak more clearly. There is nothing in the rumours from Spain. It is the very strength of the King there that is the chief obstacle to a peace. I do what I can to forward it here, and your advices help me, though I never mention your name. Pray continue them.

1710, 8th June. Gertruydenberg.—Huxelles and Polignac to P.

We are sending you a letter we have received for you, and one for Heinsius.

"Huxelles," "L'Abbe de Polignac."

1710, 9th June. P. to Rouillé.

I am surprised at not hearing from you or Torcy. The States of Holland rose last Saturday for a fortnight. Sinzendorff failed in his efforts to make them break off the negotiation. But for Heinsius he would have succeeded. Everyone believes that France is only playing with us. It is a dangerous game. If only she would treat in earnest and content herself with Sicily and Sardinia, and give security for evacuating Spain and the Indies, I am sure the Dutch would at once arrange a peace. Let me know what you think of the proceedings of your envoys.

1710, 10th June. P. to Huxelles and Polignac.

I gave the letter you sent me to Heinsius, who said he would summon Buys and Vanderdussen this evening. I am obliged to you for the letter from Torcy.

1710, 10th June. P. to Torcy.

Your letter of the 5th, with the passport. . . . . The Plenipotentiaries have written to Heinsius, begging that the Deputies may return, and he will summon them here at once, and despatch them to Gertruydenberg. His firmness will prevail over Imperial opposition.

If the Plenipotentiaries now give satisfactory assurances as to Spain and the Indies, I am sure the Dutch, now more sickened than ever by the siege of Douay, will be eager to make peace. The two Princes, seeing they cannot prolong the war, are resolved, after taking Douay, to fight a battle at all cost, in the hope of destroying all peaceful tendencies. You must see the importance of preventing this by timely concession.

ROUNO MSS.

1711, 10th June. P. to Rouillé.

. . . . . The Imperial envoys are trying to oppose another conference, but, I think, in vain. . . . . The Dutch want peace, and nothing but that article [37] stops the way. . . . . If your Court realised this, I know it would take the step required . . . . . .

1710, 12th June. P. to Torcy.

On Heinsius informing the envoys of the Empire and of England that your plenipotentiaries had asked for another conference, and that his government would grant it, Sinzendorff insisted on attending it, but, at the instance of Heinsius and Towns[h]end, consented to send to Prince Eugene and await his instructions. He will hear to-night. Buys and Vanderdussen will be here then, and will leave, I hope, for Gertruydenberg to-morrow. . . . . As to the Archduke, it is not, as you alleged, for love of him that the Dutch are fighting ; but for their own safety, which depends, they maintain, on no French Prince reigning in Spain. How strongly they feel this is shown by their allying themselves with England, their greatest rival, not to say enemy. If only France would come to terms, means might be found of securing the succession for the Prince of Asturias by marrying him to a daughter of the Emperor, but this should be done before she is secured for the Prince of Piedmont. France has many other reasons for peace, namely the changes it will bring about in England, in the Empire, and even here. Pray excuse my freedom.

1710, 13th June. P. to Polignac.

I have received for you the enclosed letter from Hamburg.

The Deputies left for Gertruydenberg at two this afternoon. I hope you may be able to satisfy them as to the evacuation of Spain and the Indies. I shall then hope to see you both here or in the neighbourhood.

1710, 16th June. P. to Rouillé.

Your letter of the 6th. The impression here of your insincerity is fatal to peace. I hope the last instructions you speak of may remove it. Having obtained permission to go to Gertruydenberg, I hope to do so and to discover what is now stopping the way. . . . . .

1710, 16th June. Rouillé to P.

Your letter of the 9th. I admit some delay here. The fact is the King was at Marly, and the Ministers on leave. If the Dutch are disposed for peace, they should be reasonable, and make allowance for courtesy, for the ties of blood, and for humanity. I discussed your last letter with Torcy at Versailles yesterday.

1710, 19th June. P. to Torcy.

The Deputies returned on the 17th, and made their report yesterday morning to Heinsius, in the presence of Sinzendorff and Lord Towns-[h]end. I saw Buys this afternoon and he told me your Plenipotentiaries have given way about the coast [-towns] of Tuscany and that the King, though refusing to make war on his grandson, had offered to give the Allies a subsidy till King Philip abdicated. I believe this would satisfy them, if the sum were named and some town given as security. Heinsius told me this morning that your propositions are so equivocal as only to increase the mistrust here, and that your Plenipotentiaries had, this time, shown haughtiness. I told him I was aware of the mistrust,

but was convinced of your sincerity, adding that his own wisdom should have its influence on others. The haughtiness, I urged, could only be regret at the exacting demands of the Deputies. I told him of the baneful action of the Imperial envoys, which he admitted, insisting that this should influence you to secure a peace at all cost.

Sinzendorff and Lord Towns[h]end are proclaiming their dissatisfaction with your last propositions.

1710, 19th June. P. to Rouillé.

I was prevented from going to Gertruydenberg, as I intended. . . . . The Deputies insisted on the amount of the subsidy [*vide supra*] being named, but this was not done. . . . . Buys gave me to understand the Dutch would be satisfied, if a sufficient sum were named, and some towns given as security. I hope you may be able to help in this.

1710, 21 June. Same to Same.

Your letter of the 16th. . . . . Had you only to do with the Dutch, you would not have much difficulty. But there are two other Powers who would give you no quarter, save for the Dutch. There have been meetings and discussions, which have tended in the resolve to let me go to Gertruydenberg, and to lay before the Plenipotentiaries these four points—

(1.) That the new proposition is not acceptable, as it would entail a new war.

(2.) The Allies must have Spain and the Indies in accordance with the Preliminaries.

(3.) This being admitted, the conferences can be resumed as to all other points.

(4.) If this basis is refused, the conferences cannot usefully be prolonged.

I am now starting to execute this commission, I implore you to labour for peace.[1]

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[1710, 10th August. Torcy to P.[2]]

1710, 11th August. Rouillé to P.

Your letter of 31st ult. Torcy told me yesterday at Versailles your suggestion was no longer practicable after the way negotiations were broken off. Peace is now farther off than ever. . . . . .

1710, 14th August. Versailles.—Torcy to P.

Your letter of the 7th. No wonder that war alone is spoken of in Holland, for the Allies were bent on its continuance . . . . . But I thought you too well-informed on all that has passed to accuse France of having raised an impassable obstacle to the conclusion of peace.

1710, 15th August. Rouillé to P.

Your letter of the 8th. . . . . The conduct of the Allies in the last conferences has produced the conviction here that they never wished for peace. It must now be no longer thought of. . . . . .

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[1] Petkum delivered the above ultimatum to the Plenipotentiaries on the 22nd and defended its terms. This virtually ended the whole negotiation.

[2] Original missing. Copy printed *verbatim* in Appendix IV. (Townshend MSS.) to 11th Report, p. 71.

ROUND MSS.

1710, 15 August. P. to Sinzendorff.

I think you may be glad to see the enclosed copy of the letter Torcy wrote me on the 3rd. Pray keep its contents to yourself that I may retain the confidence of France. . . . . I hope you will obtain for me the Emperor's protection against my foes. . . . . .

1710, 16th Aug. Same to Same.

Your letter of 30th ult. Certainly the success of the Allies in Spain makes its evacuation easy for France if she means to forward it. But if King Charles has reached Madrid, as I hope, we are no longer dependent on France. . . . . I have but little to live on, and if you could recommend me to some Prince of the Empire, such as the Bishop of Osnabruck, who would give me 100 crowns a month, it would be a great help. . . . . I hope you will not be long absent, for I think the French will soon renew their attempts. Hennequin is at Paris, and Du Puys has left us, probably for Paris.

1710, 16 August. P. to Marlborough.

I sent you by last post copies of the letters you wanted, and I now send you my latest from Torcy, with my congratulations on our success in Spain. It will doubtless lead to fresh overtures from France. . . . I hope it is true that Hennequin has no commission from here to treat.

1710, 17 August. Rouillé to P.

Your letter of 11th. . . . . We are so convinced that peace is not really desired that there is no idea of negotiation. . . . . Nothing but the public weal can make me emerge from my retirement.

1710, 18th August. Marlborough to P.

Your letter of the 13th, with copies of those of Torcy and Rouillé. I shall be greatly obliged for copies of any more you receive from them. You may rely on secrecy.

1710, 18th August. P. to Rouillé.

Great advantage is expected here from the victory over King Philip. I hope your Council will now realise that it is resistance to God to try any longer to keep him in possession of Spain. . . . . It will be difficult to resume negotiations, unless France hastens to make such overtures as will satisfy the moderate party. . . . . .

1710, 21 August. Camp of Viler Brulin.—Marlborough to P.

Your letter of the 16th with copy of Torcy's of the 10th.[1] I should like to have seen the letter to which it was a reply.

1710, 22 August. P. to Torcy.

The last letters from England inform us that Parliament, which has been prorogued to October 7 will be dissolved, that the Great Treasurer will lose his post, and that the Tories are preparing complaints, among them one against the Admiralty for spending 500,000*l.* more than was voted for the fleet.

A despatch from the Emperor for Prince Eugene informs him that the King of Sweden is ready to advance from Bernder with 40,000 men, Turks and Tartars, and was going to march through Hungary, which

[1] See note *supra*.

makes him fear that the Turks are about to break with the Emperor. The Swedish envoy at Vienna persists that his master will not hear of neutrality. Yet Palmquist [here] is now in treaty for 9,000 men, and if it is arranged, 5,000 or 6,000 men will also be taken from the troops that Denmark has in Holstein and Jutland. It is believed here that King Philip has ceded to France by treaty part of the West Indies. The Dutch are considering the plan of the two Princes for carrying on the war through the winter. . . . . .

1710, 23 August. Rouillé to Petkum.

If it is true that King Philip has been so badly beaten, the Allies should finish the struggle in Spain [itself]. Here only honour and good feeling restrains us, as our offer of subsidies showed you. The Allies should in honour give the King of Spain a partition and not insist on the grandfather dethroning the grandson; he has gone very far already. There can be no treating for peace till the Allies have convinced us that they are in earnest. . . . . .

1710, 23 August. P. to Marlborough.

You letters of 18th and 21st. I send you copies of more letters from France.

1710, 2 Sept. Rouillé to P.

My own answer to your suggestion would carry no weight. We must have patience.

1710, 19 Dec. Same to Same.

Your letters of 4th and 11th. I have not written because I can only repeat that we would gladly see an end of the war, but that we must not be held responsible for making King Philip abandon Spain; we can only withdraw from him our assistance. . . . . If we are more successful your friends will be sorry; if we are brought lower, they should be sorry also, for it will disturb the balance of power . . . . . The English are said to have conquered Acadia and to be threatening Canada. It will be an opening for their trade of which they will take much advantage.

1710, 21st Dec. Torcy to P.—Versailles.

In exchange for the news in your letter of the 18th, I send you that from Spain, which reached us yesterday and the day before. Prince Eugene and Sinzendorff had reason to say that the Archduke needed prompt reinforcements: it will perhaps be found a useless expense to send them to him now.

Here is a change in Spain! It may serve to illustrate the importance of seizing a favourable opportunity. You can apply this as you like, remembering the past.

1710, 25 Dec. Versailles.—Same to Same.

D. Pedro de Zuniga, Lt.-Gen. of the King of Spain's armies arrived yesterday to announce the late victories [Brihuega] over the Allies in Spain. I send you a detailed account.

1710, 22 Dec. Paris [enclosure].

. . . . . I have great news from Spain to send you to-day. . . . . The King of Spain, after spending two days in Madrid, on the retreat of the Archduke, joined the army, and learnt that

ROUND MSS. the Allies, who had abandoned Toledo and were retreating to Catalonia, had not gone far for want of supplies. They were in two bodies, one commanded by Staremberg and the other by Stanhope, advancing in parallel lines. Some fifteen leagues from Madrid they caught sight of Stanhope's force. Informed of the King of Spain's approach, he threw his troops into a small town called Baraguera, with a fair wall round it and an old castle. The King of Spain summoned him to surrender, and on Stanhope's refusal, the walls were breached, and the entrenchments made by the enemy carried. They took refuge in the castle, and were made prisoners of war to the number of 8 batallions and 9 squadrons. Among them were Stanhope, Carpenter, and several other general officers.

After this affair, which had occupied the King 24 hours, he marched in pursuit of Staremberg. He came up with him next day, and found his troops in battle array. At the first attack the Spanish infantry were repulsed; [but] the Walloon troops and the Spanish cavalry saved the day, and the infantry rallying behind the cavalry returned to the charge. After ten hours' fighting Staremberg was completely defeated, his artillery and all his luggage captured. As the result of these two actions, the Allies have no longer an army: those who fled were pursued by the royal troops and the armed peasantry. The fight was a severe one, and the slaughter great. The King of Spain and Vendôme performed prodigies of valour. The D. of Noailles has entered the plain of Barcelona, where the Archduke has arrived with scarcely any infantry.

We are expecting every moment M. de Zuniga, who brings fuller details. . . . . .

The Allies should attribute the disaster to Stanhope's eagerness to reach Madrid: he been guided more by vanity than by the prudence of a good general. Staremberg must be furious: we do not yet know what has become of him. These actions were fought on the 12th and 13th.

1710, 29th Dec. P. to Rouillé.

Your letter of the 19th. I can only inform you with regret that the Dutch will not make peace unless France undertakes to dethrone King Philip. His late successes may lead your Ministers to think differently, but I can tell you that here there is more determination than ever, and that they are working night and day at raising means for continuing the war, and restoring the affairs of King Charles. I am astonished to see the resolve to stake all on the war. One can only regret the bloodshed, and ruin due to mutual mistrust . . . . . .

1710, 30th Dec. P. to Torcy.

The news from Spain has caused as much grief here as joy in France. In truth, however, you ought to grieve, for it postpones peace for years. Had you seen, as I did, the calmness with which Heinsius received the news, you would have shared my admiration. "It is the chance of war," he calmly observed, after reading my letters. The same day that the news arrived, it was discussed with the Council of State, with Marlborough, Lord Towns[h]end, and Sinzendorff. This last alone betrayed anxiety, because he is urged to make the Emperor come to terms with the Hungarians, which is distasteful to the Court of Vienna.

Hé has no anxiety as to the Allies, being convinced that France will never give up Spain. From England we hear that all is well and that Parliament is eager to show its zeal for the Queen, the country, and the common good. Lt.-Generals Meredith and Mahartnay [*sic*], with Col. Honywood, have been thanked by the Queen for rashly drinking to

the confusion of the Ministry. The first will have [£]3,000 and the other two [£]2,500 for their Regiments from their successors. Cadogan who is not among these madcaps ["insenses"] is yet to lose his post as Envoy Extraordinary at Brussels. Hill succeeds him, and is as great a favourite in Brabant as the other was the reverse—except with the Duchess of Aremburg. They say he [Cadogan] is to keep his military appointments out of consideration for Marlborough, who cannot dispense with him. The Duke himself is detained here by a contrary wind, to his annoyance, for he is much wanted in England. I hear that Ld. Towns[h]end will be recalled which I am very sorry for.

I grieve to think that the news from Spain will renew instead of ending the war.

1711, 1 Jan. Same to Same.

. . . . . I took your letter of 25th to Heinsius, Marlborough, and Sinzendorff. Heinsius read it calmly, but it made him taciturn. I found the Duke in Lord Towns[h]end's company. They could neither of them conceal their distress, in spite of their efforts. Sinzendorff concealed it better, or feels perhaps that it forces the maritime Powers to continue the war, and march into France, which he believes the best course. No decision on the news will be formed till to-morrow, when they may hear what has become of Staremburg. We heard this morning from Barcelona that King Charles was within a few leagues of it. . . . . .

The wind still detains Marlborough. Our last news is that St. John is named to succeed Ld. Towns[h]end here. The Dutch wish to keep him and he is secretly taking steps to make the Queen change her intention.

1711, 5th Jan. P. to Rouillé.

. . . . . The firmness and calm of Heinsius and the Dutch are marvellous. An English Maj.-Genl. has brought news from Barcelona of the safety of King Charles and of his having 5,000 men in Catalonia besides the garrisons of Barcelona and Gerona, so it is hoped that he can hold out till the reinforcements arrive. The rupture between the Czar and the Porte causes anxiety lest war should break out in the Swedish provinces of Germany. The Duke of Marlborough left yesterday for England, though the wind was unfavourable, to inform the Queen and Parliament on the situation and its requirements. . . . . .

1711, 17 Jan. Amsterdam.—P. to Marlborough.

I send you copies of my last letters to Torcy and Rouillé with their replies. I would add the former's scheme for peace were I not sure that Ld. Townshend would send it you. You will doubtless have heard of the two letters to the Emperor and yourself intercepted by the French. They have caused much jealousy and mistrust here, and the government is sore on the subject. But I hope that Heinsius, by his caution, will keep things quiet, and prevent any misunderstanding between the two maritime powers, to the irreparable injury of the common cause. I rely on your secrecy.

1711, 1 June. P. to Rouillé.

I feared that you had forgotten me, and Du Puy also. I am afraid he is acting crookedly. . . . . I admit that the evacuation of Spain and the Indies seems now impracticable, but the maritime powers must have security for their trade. I can bring them here to treat on

ROUND MSS.

a new footing, definitely and with no reserve. I cannot think why I am supposed to speak with no authority. The two conferences I procured for France prove that I have served her well, and that I perform what I undertake. Had you been given a free hand [in 1709] matters would have been very different. Had not Torcy come [himself] to the Hague, the Allies would never have asked for such preliminaries. It was not my fault, therefore, that the negotiations failed. If I were trusted in the matter, I could secure Spain and the Indies for King Philip, in return for some equivalent and the security of trade.

1711, 16 Aug. Rouillé to P.

. . . I do not wonder at your hesitating to send Torcy a scheme, though he has asked you for one. It is difficult to express a matter so important in a brief memorandum. But do not refuse in the hope that you may be asked to come here, as it is not considered advisable that you should. . . . Carry out Torcy's wishes as far as you can.

1711, 5 Sept. [*sic*] P. to Rouillé.

Torcy has replied curtly to my letters of the 10th and 20th August with my scheme for peace. As you must know how successful are the secret negotiations with England, this will not surprise you. . . . . But I defie the Tories to make peace without exacting Spain and the Indies, unless the Dutch propose it, which they will never do, however desirous of peace, so long as they are despised, and a Power whose interests are hostile to those of France preferred to them. The negotiation will only discredit the Tories in the eyes of the nation and hasten the fall of the Ministry.

Can it be true that D'Huxelles and others are in London? I am most anxious to know.

1711, 16 Oct. [*sic*] Rouillé to P.

Your private letter of the 5th and one of the 8th for general use. The latter is deemed a vindication of you. . . . There is no truth in D'Huxelles' visit to London.

1711, 23 Oct. Du Puy to P.

We are not in favour, as you know, at present, but when these negotiations fall through, you will be sought after more than ever, as having warned France they would.

King Charles, on his way, visited the Dukes of Savoy and of Modena. He reached Milan on the 15th. Next day he received news of his election as Emperor. He proposed to leave after receiving the solemn embassy from Venice. It is said he will go straight to Frankfort and be crowned there.

1711, 26 Oct. P. to Rouillé.

Your letter of the 16th. . . . . We are now informed by the English envoy that it is Ménager who has been to London and signed the seven articles there. . . . .

1711, 6 Nov. Rouillé to P.

Your letter of 26th ult. I knew no more than you did. The negotiations were kept secret here. . . . .

1711, 6 Nov. P. to Rouillé.

Your letter of the 6th. . . . . I still cannot believe that peace can be made through England. The party in power is too violent. Its treatment

of Gallasch [the Emperor's envoy] betrays its want of experience and of tact. The opposition, on the contrary, is strong and clever: it neglects nothing and watches the Tories closely, knowing that their only object is to crush the Whigs by securing the succession of the Prince of Wales: It would risk everything sooner than help to forge its own fetters. Therefore, the success of your English scheme is still very doubtful, depending, as it does, on the resolve of a divided Parliament. You must be aware that everyone in England, including some of the Whig leaders, is scandalised at the terms of peace. I say nothing of the Dutch and the other allies. The former, of course, see themselves ignored; and the others will be too dissatisfied to consent. . . . . Events, I think, will prove that peace is not so easy to arrange as you imagine.

1711, 17th Nov. P. to Du Puy.

Your letter of the 23rd comforted me. You are suspected here of plotting with Hervart to remove the sphere of negotiation to England. I am denying the rumour, and only mention it for your information.

The last three weeks here have been a time of crisis. On Ld. Strafford communicating to the Government here and to the envoys of the Allies the terms agreed upon with Ménager, there was a general outcry; they were described as impertinent and unworthy and those who had accepted them in England as traitors and cheats. As England told us nothing till she summoned us to the congress of peace on this footing, rather as a master than ally, I think the Dutch and the other Allies have reason to be indignant, and the States-General are right and wise in declaring they will never assent to so unsubstantial a peace. They are justified also in having recalled Buys from Helvoetsluys, where he was detained by the wind, and instructing him to make a strong protest to the Queen. But for the glory of this country they should have stood firm, and risked everything sooner than be dictated to by a faithless friend. It would have been more glorious to submit to an enemy than to a Queen, no longer an ally, who is fettering her own subjects by the advice of those whose sole wish is to ruin their opponents at the price of betraying their country and of staining their Sovereign's honour by making her abandon her allies. . . . . I grieve to say the staunch old Batavian spirit is dead: Amsterdam has led the way, and the province of Holland agreeing to the conferences, the others followed suit. So I suppose I shall soon be able to tell you the place and time of meeting, and even the hour at which peace will be signed. For those who have it in hand are not men to stop half-way, and in spite of the English Ministry's assurances to Buys, and those of Ld. Strafford here, I am confident that the English have signed peace for themselves, and have cut out the suit for the other Allies, who will be obliged to take it whether it fits them or not. . . . .

1711, 24 Nov. P. to Sinzendorff.

. . . . . It is clear that, unless some happy change takes place in England, all Europe will soon pass into that slavery, which such efforts have been made to avoid. I have done what I could to postpone the decision here, in spite of Ld. Strafford's pressure, till the Emperor's wish should be known, and while the two English ministers, who have sold their country, had not yet won over Parliament.

As Amsterdam is foolish enough to be influenced by the Burgomaster, who had bought up all the stock he could, with the result that Holland and the other provinces have followed its example, the conferences are

ROUND MSS. arranged. I shall have no part in them unless you intervene in my favour. In such a congress all parties will strive for their own interests rather than the common good.

I shall always be faithful to the Emperor and my country, but I hope you will pay me as soon as possible, the salary of 1,000 crowns you promised me a year ago, otherwise I shall have to leave the Hague.

1711, 26th Nov. Rouillé to P.

Your letter of the 16th. In spite of your predictions we believe that the action of the Queen and her ministry will be confirmed; but we shall soon know, for Parliament has met. Our plenipotentiaries are ready to start. But I am only a looker-on, and am glad it is so.

1711, 3 Dec. P. to Torcy.

. . . . The congress will now meet, unless the English Parliament yields to the protests of the Emperor. If you wish to secure the Emperor's concurrence, I am in a position to influence him through Sinzendorff and Wratislaw, especially as I have to go to Frankfort on my master's affairs I will faithfully carry out your instructions. .

1711, 10th Dec. P. to Rouillé.

Your letter of 26th ult. I can now tell you that you may hope for peace, as Queen Anne and the Dutch are agreed as to the congress and the date of its meeting at Utrecht. . . . . Time will show the difficulties of its task. . . . . I do not believe in the sincerity of England, for those who betray their friends and allies will hardly keep faith with their enemies. France would not lose by waiting for the coming troubles in England. Let us look on at the play and hope for the best.

1711, 13th Dec. Torcy to P.

I have no doubt you would do your best, but you are not wanted at present. Merely tell me what you hear. The King I may add, is quite indifferent whether the Archduke consents to peace or prefers to continue the war.

1711, 15 Dec. Geneva.—Du Puy to P. (7 pp.)

. . . . I did not care whether England or Holland was to be the channel of peace. I am a friend to both countries and was in the late Queen of England's service. I honestly long for peace, and am indifferent as to how it is obtained.

1711, 22 Dec. P. to Torcy.

I gladly send you what news I can. You doubtless know of Prince Eugene's arrival and instructions. He has had sundry private interviews with Heinsius. He explained that the Emperor had not sent him to complain of the conduct of the English or the Dutch, but to say that he is as anxious as them for peace if it is a lasting one. He is empowered to discuss it here and in England, and also to state what the Emperor can and will do if he has to continue the war to attain his end. This has already postponed the decision here as to the new alliance projected by the English Ministry, and by Buys who has sent the scheme here, and they are waiting to see what parliament will do, in the hope that it will oppose peace on the footing proposed. I have seen letters from a neutral and well-informed envoy in England, who expects it will. The nation there is as dissatisfied as it is here.

Prince Eugene had two interviews with the Deputies on Saturday The other envoys of the Emperor and Ld. Strafford were present. He explained his plans for the next campaign, which are said to be very sound: the Emperor offers to increase his army by 25,000 men, and the Prince personally undertakes that everything shall be carried out as arranged. The same day Buys and Vanderdussen were named commissaries for the Province of Holland at the conference. Some persist that the congress will not take place, because France must see that the English terms will not be accepted here, and would rather break off on the ground of the Allies refusing passports to King Philip's envoys. Sinzendorff is to come here on the 15th prox. to replace Goes, who is summoned to Frankfort. Prince Eugene will remain here till he hears from England whether a yacht ("jagt") is coming for him. The memorandum from the Elector of Hanover's envoy in London is making much stir and is expected to influence parliament. I know that he has instructions, if his protest is unheeded, to announce publicly that the Protestant succession is in danger.

1711, 24th Dec. Same to Same.

The arrival of news from England has made the Dutch more hopeful. They trust to the Elector of Hanover's firmness and believe that Bothmar's memorandum will make a great impression, for the nation is already dissatisfied with the present Ministry, which is said to have corrupted a majority of the House of Commons. I hear the Emperor is ready to grant the maritime powers all they can ask in the Indies, in order to stop the negotiations for peace.

I also know as a fact that efforts are being made to induce the Queen to declare that Menager's preliminaries are not to be the basis for the Utrecht conferences, and that the Gertruydenberg scheme is being revived. Ld. Strafford announced yesterday that he had been instructed not yet to secure a house at Utrecht, which makes us suspect some change. . . . . Ld. Strafford does all he can to keep Prince Eugene here, but the Prince is resolved to leave as soon as he hears from England. The plan of the next campaign is the subject of daily discussion. I leave for Frankfort to-morrow morning and will write on my return.

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[LETTERS from PETKUM'S PRIVATE CORRESPONDENT at PARIS.]

1711, 12th Oct.

Huxelles is ready to leave at any moment . . . . . Some think there will be no peace so long as Staremberg can keep the field, and that it would be facilitated if Vendôme could shut up the Allies in Barcelona.

1711, 16th Oct.

Belief in peace increases daily; the King is more cheerful, and less reserved than usual, which makes us think negotiations are well advanced. The Ministers also speak openly of England favouring peace rather than see both Spain and the Empire in the hands of King Charles,

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The treaty, it is said, will not be published till he is elected Emperor. . . . . He left Catalonia on the 27th ult., and has been sighted from Marseilles.

Vendôme is reported to have defeated Staremberg's rear-guard.

The man who has been imprisoned in the Bastille some months for boasting that he could make gold, and then trying to leave the Kingdom, has at length received permission to make trial of his discovery before the director of the Mint on the 25th.

1711, 19th Oct. It is doubted here whether the Dutch can impede the negotiation with England. The jealousy they inspired in England by the previous negotiations, together with their demands in Flanders, have induced the English Ministry to act in concert with France for obliging them to give up to the Duke of Bavaria the conquests in Flanders.

The King is annoyed at the Cardinal de Bouillon's request to be included in the negotiation and has refused. But his nephew the Count of Evreux has secured his annuity of 10,000 *livres*, which had been confiscated by Parliament. This is the doing of Toulouse, a great friend of his.

Vendôme has attacked Staremberg's advanced post which was entrenched, and Staremberg abandoned it after losing 2,000 men. On the next day they had an interview, but its subject is unknown. King Charles has left his wife at Barcelona as Regent of Catalonia.

In returning from a fair outside Lyons great numbers were suffocated or maimed. Over 40,000 people had gone there from Lyons. The officers at the gates wished to search them all on their return, but the crowd could not be checked. On the morrow, the Governor had the dead laid out along the ramparts, that their relatives might identify and bury them.

Marechal insists that the Count of Toulouse is suffering from stone.

The King has issued an edict ordering individuals in the Provinces to take up the quotas of the loans assessed on them.

1711, 23 Oct.

Nothing is talked of but peace now that the King has announced the terms agreed upon with England. Returning to supper from M^me^ de Maintenon's, on Monday, he said that Marshal Tal[l]ard[1] would be here in a week, but on the Duke of Noailles observing that this meant much, the King only replied that all he did was for the good of his people. Next day the King announced at his *levée* that the Queen of England had sent here two individuals, while he was at Fontainebleau, and that his propositions to them had been accepted by her. In the evening he told the *Dauphine* that it was Menager who had arranged the business. . . . . Our plenipotentiaries will not leave till they have seen Tal[l]ard. It is known that peace has been signed between England, France, and Spain. The King has signed for the King of Spain. All the allies of England are included in this treaty, but will only be informed of its existence when the congress has met. The Queen gives the Dutch the choice of four towns, Utrecht, Nimeguen, Liege, and Aix la Chapelle. If they are obdurate, she will name London, and those may come who will. Her plenipotentiaries are the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Strafford, and Prior. The King has chosen the Maréchal d'Huxelles, and the Abbé de Polignac. The third, who is not yet chosen, will be a man of law. The conditions of peace, as known, are these:—

[1] A prisoner in England since Blenheim.

The King of Spain to remain King of Spain and the Indies. The English to have Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with power to the King of Spain to redeem them by money or an equivalent.

The King to dismantle Dunkirk and hand it over with Ypres to the English. But he is to receive in exchange some of the fortresses latterly taken from him in Flanders.

The Duke of Bavaria to have the Low Countries; and his son to be Elector after the Elector Palatine. Strasburg to be dismantled, and to become an Imperial town.

The following conditions are also talked of:—

The English to be given Ostend and Nieuport, in Flanders; Port Mahon in the Mediterranean; six factories (*comptoirs*) in Spain; and in the South Seas one port with freedom of trade for twelve vessels.

King James to be recognised as King of Scotland, and as King of all England after the Queen's death.

The treaty to be ratified in six months.

Tal[l]ard returns, on unlimited leave and with an English Lord.

Marshal Berwick leaves Dauphiné on the 23rd to come here.

The *Dauphine*, who goes frequently to see the King since the death of *Monseigneur*, went as usual, on Saturday, to see him at Marly before dinner. The King made her dine with him at his own table, where she was waited on by the first gentleman of the chamber. Behind her was the Duchess du Lude, seated, and some ladies of the palace, standing. Joy was depicted on her countenance: the honour is without precedent. The *Dauphin* came to look on, but did not remain long and stood all the time.

The Emperor has reached Vado and is expected at Milan on the 11th. . . . . .

The interview between Staremberg and Vendôme is said to have been only for facilitating the retreat of the Allies and discussing the terms on which the Catalans should submit to King Philip.

1711, 26th Oct.

The prospects of peace have given an impetus to trade. Desmarets is considering a plan for getting rid of all the bad paper in circulation. . . . . .

The King went to see the Count of Toulouse lately, and could not refrain from tears. He also wept on hearing of the death of a carp, at Marly, more than a hundred years old, which knew him well, he believed, by sight.

We are waiting to hear what town the Dutch have selected. The Preliminaries were signed, in London, on the 11th. Menager, in giving his report to the King, told him of the Queen's excellent intentions in the matter, and of her wish that he should be employed as a Plenipotentiary, which, it is expected, he will be.

The King has told our envoys that their coaches must be draped for the Dauphin's death. This will save them more than 100,000 francs. The envoys of the Allies will do the same, on account of the Emperor's death, so that the whole Congress will be in mourning.

The new Emperor reached Milan on the 12th, and will remain there some days. . . . . Several Lords who have gone there to congratulate him, had equipped themselves in mourning, and are now put to a double expense, as the Emperor is only in slight mourning, and as a *fête* of the greatest splendour is to be held on receiving the news of his election. He will leave for Germany after that.

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On the 6th the Duc d'Uceda, who was at Genoa as envoy from King Philip, discarded the blue ribbon he had received from the King of France, and, declaring for King Charles, set out to meet him at Vado.

The Princess des Ursins left Corella on the 15th for Madrid; and the King and Queen of Spain were to follow her in a few days.

The King of Spain has bestowed the Archbishopric of Saragossa on M. Molines who has upheld his cause so well at Rome for the last ten years.

1711, 2nd Nov.

It is from Menager himself that we have learnt the full details of the preliminaries of peace with England. Our plenipotentiaries must be about to start, for they have been given money for their outfit. It is suggested to Menager who is only a Chevalier of St. Michael, that he should buy an estate to which the King could attach the title of Count or Marquis.

The general eagerness for peace makes us sanguine of success. But those who know fear great difficulties if the Powers interested refuse to be suddenly deprived of the fruits of their victories and their exertions. Our chief hope is in the jealousy of the ruling party in England, which fears the schemes of the opposition, and we trust that the failure of the Quebec expedition will help to hasten matters. But we await impatiently the decision of the Dutch and of the envoys of the Allies.

It is noticed that Torcy seems less contented and does not speak of the negotiation.

Villars is back from Flanders. He has had a flattering reception from the King.

1711, 9th Nov.

We hear from Milan that the Emperor was to receive there the Papal Legate, the Venetian ambassadors, and the other Italian envoys, so that he could not leave till the 5th or 6th. . . . . Genoa had appointed envoys to go and congratulate the Emperor as King of Spain, and pay him 60,000 pistoles, in addition to the 10,000 muskets that the Senate has sent to Catalonia for the Imperial troops. But this is denied by its representative here.

Emo has had long interviews with Torcy. They have specially discussed the Duchy of Mantua, which the Venetians want given to Prince Eugene as a Barrier between them and the Milanese. Torcy has promised them the support of France, but complained that the Italian princes had never sought in time the help of France against the Germans.

Tal[l]ard has arrived in France and his return increases the expectation of peace. It is considered a sign of the Queen's disposition towards it. But it is still feared that the English may be persuaded by the Dutch and their other Allies to continue the war.

When Menager was asked whether the articles announced by L$^{d}$ Strafford at the Hague were the same as those he had signed in London, he said nothing, and, on being pressed, replied: "Don't you know that I am a Norman, and that Normans never say yes or no?"

The officers have been given money to enable them to recruit in good time. To encourage them, the King has declared that, in reforming the regiments after the war, he will not consider their precedence, as in the past, but their good condition. . . . . .

I have not heard from you by this post.

1711, 13th Nov.

We are in suspense as to England's determination: even the court seems puzzled.

Tallard is here. He had a bad crossing, which obliged him to remain some days at Calais.

In the meantime somebody was sent to see the Marshal at Calais, and then go on at once to England to thwart the schemes of her Allies. He has orders to leave no stone unturned and to sign anything that will gratify the English Ministry, especially as to the safety of their trade. No effort will be spared to keep England from repudiating the terms. Meanwhile there are many rumours, mostly to be traced to Menager.

The King has given him a brevet as Councillor of State, and will give him a title, but no office.

The court returns to-morrow from Marly to Versailles. . . . . .

The King of Spain has conferred the Golden Fleece on D'Arpajou who has taken the fort of Venasque and the the castle of Fortleon.

1711, 16th Nov.

The answer of England to the protests of her Allies is awaited here with feverish impatience. It is feared that the delay may mean a change, especially as the Court had hoped that the Queen and her ministers would not hesitate to reply at once and positively that they meant to keep to their engagements with France. Their irresolution is the more unsatisfactory as it is, in any case, giving the Allies time to scheme against us.

Tal[l]ard has been well received by the King, and has had a long interview with Torcy and the plenipotentiaries. He has presented the King with a handsome English horse, and has given two to Torcy and another to Pelletier. He has leave for four months.

The Genoese have sent four envoys to recognise the Emperor as King of Spain. They are forced to do it, and will doubtless repent of not have done it with a good grace, in their anxiety to conciliate France and King Philip, who deem their trickery intolerable.

The Emperor will not leave Milan till the 9th. He will go by Mantua, though it will take two days longer.

From Spain we hear of an open rupture between the Princess Des Ursins and the Grandees on the title of Highness which she claims as a Sovereign and which their Majesties seem inclined to allow her. The Duke of Osuna has been informed to that effect, and carelessly replied that his reverence for ladies, irrespective of their birth, was so great, that he would gladly call her not only Highness, but Majesty, or anything that she would prefer. Knowing that she would be hated, perhaps ruined, by the Grandees, she is trying to conciliate the people of Madrid and overcome their adversion to her. She has joined the Council in pressing their Majesties to give up going to Aranjuez for the winter. . . . . This, she thinks, will be popular at Madrid. The Count of Pastrana and the Count of Bergueick will probably be King Philip's plenipotentiaries. They are known to be capable and experienced.

The King of France has sent Queen Anne a present of 2,500 bottles of wine, 1,000 champagne, 1,000 burgundy, and 500 hermitage.

1711, 27th Nov.

The uncertainty as to the decision of the States-General on the congress for peace, makes us wait with the keenest impatience for letters from Holland. But we incline to believe that the Dutch and their allies must follow the example of England if she stands firm.

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The King with the Princes and Princesses of the blood will pay their first visits to-morrow to the Count of Toulouse, who is going on well.

Last Tuesday the Papal Nuncio took his leave of the King. There were several changes made in the ceremonial, which may cause dissension among the Ministers if they are sustained and approved. . . . . The question is whether this is done to establish a precedent for the other Ministers, the Nuncio being the first in rank, or only to annoy this Nuncio, who has never been much in favour here, though none has given the King so magnificent a present as he did.

The Cardinal de Noailles is ill. He is in a great difficulty, being deserted on all sides, especially since the Court has refused to support him against the Jesuits. He has privately confessed to a Bishop who is his friend, that what would be most distasteful to him would be, not to condemn the New Testament of Father Quesnel—because he had found undoubted errors in it, but to be forced to take a step which he had resolved to take of his own accord.

M. Julhen, Lt.-Genl. of the King's armies, who became so conspicuous in the war of the Cevennes, has died at Orange, where the refugees are still persecuted for their religion.

King Philip has named as his plenipotentiaries the Duke of Osuna, the Count of Bergeick, and the Marquis of Monteleon.

Vendôme has sent troops to besiege Castel Cuidad and Berga, and the siege of Cardona is proceeding. . . . . I have instructions to send you the enclosed.

1711, 30th Nov.

Friday morning (27th) a messenger arrived from L$^{d}$ Strafford with despatches for Torcy, announcing that the States-General had sent the passports for us to Queen Anne, leaving blank the name of the place of meeting, to be filled in by her if she would not agree, as they wished, to the Hague. Our plenipotentiaries are ready to start on receiving them.

On Torcy bringing this news to the King he begged the office of Ecclesiastical Councillor of State for his brother-in-law the Abbé of Pompone, and obtained it, though the King had refused it to many since the death of the Archbishop of Rheims vacated it.

It is believed here that the King of Portugal was informed of the secret negotiations in England and privately gave his consent.

The introducers of Ambassadors maintain that they have changed nothing in the ceremonial for the Nuncio. . . . . But the Nuncio will persist in his complaint, that he may know how the matter stands. It is strange that in this Court a ceremonial cannot be adhered to, so that, on every occasion, there is some complaint.

1711, 4th Dec.

It is believed that an English lord came to Versailles last Friday, and left next day, after seeing Torcy, without anyone discovering his name or what he came for.

We are in daily expectation of the passports, and are so confident of peace that we are already discussing how the Allies should be treated, except the English whom everyone is praising and treating as superior to all the others.

Polignac will be empowered by the Princesse de Condé to urge her claims, at the Congress, on Montferrat as the daughter of a Princess of the house of Gonzaga.

. . . . The Abbé du Bosc has no commission on this occasion, as he had at Gertruydenberg, but he seems resolved to go for his own satisfaction.

. . . . It seems that Menager's horoscope predicted he would some day be Ambassador and then marry a Princess, the first has come to pass; we are now speculating on the second. . . . .

It was said at Versailles, last Tuesday, that Queen Anne, dreading Marlborough's return to England just now, when he might cause trouble in Parliament, had appointed him Ambassador extraordinary to Frankfort, to congratulate the Emperor and attend his coronation. But the news of his embarcation has falsified this rumour.

1711, 7th Dec.

The King, being unwell, was bled last Friday.

There is a strong cabal ("cabale") at court to make the King appoint Tallard plenipotentiary in the place of D'Huxelles, but it is not expected to succeed. The latter will carry the day, for he is supported by the ladies.

Our envoys, while waiting for their passports have sent on their coaches to Philippeville. The artillery will supply them with teams gratis.

. . . . The Princesse d'Auvergne has been refused a passport for coming to France with her daughter. The Cardinal de Bouillon, ever attentive to the interests of his house, has persuaded her to marry her daughter, sole heiress of the Prince d'Auvergne, to the young Duke of Château-Tierry, so as to keep this rich inheritance and the Principality in the family. . . . .

1711, 11th Dec.

The delay in receiving the passports, so impatiently awaited, makes us anxious and gives rise to fears that great difficulties are likely to be made in order to stop or at least put off the Congress.

1711, 14th Dec.

I have not heard from you for two posts, just when I am most eager for your letters, now that you are in the centre of the most important affairs in all Europe.

News reached the court yesterday that England had chosen Utrecht, and that the Congress is to meet on Jan. 12. The passports are sure, now, to arrive soon.

The scheming in favour of Tallard continues, in spite of its apparent hopelessness. It is urged that the English Court favours him, and sent him to France with this intention. D'Huxelles is viewed with suspicion by both courts, on account of the correspondence he has kept up with Holland, and of his preferring the Dutch to the English. If he is sent, Polignac alone, it is thought, will be entrusted with the secret instructions.

Our troops in Flanders are on the move. All the cavalry, on the Arras side, are on the march, and a reinforcement of 200 men has been sent to every batallion on that side. They say it is only to protect a large convoy we are despatching to Maubeuge by the Sambre against attacks from the garrison of Mons and the neighbouring fortresses.

[CORRESPONDENCE RESUMED.]

1713, 12th Dec. P. to Marlborough.

My great respect for you impelled me, on hearing how near you would be to us, to wait upon you. Indeed I had resolved to do so, when

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it occurred to me that my journey to Antwerp, however innocent, might be misconstrued by the present Ministry, which dislikes me and so unjustly suspects you. So I will confine myself to writing.

You are too good an Englishman to leave your country and your party, when both have so much need of your brain and of your arm, without some pressing reason. I do not ask what it is, but as I am always the same Petkum, ready to sacrifice myself for the common cause and the liberty of England, which is now in as great danger as that of the rest of Europe, you may rely on my discretion and proved fidelity, if you have any orders for me. Should you wish to see me I would come at once in disguise.

1714, 3rd Aug. London.—J. Moller to Bouwensih (Dutch).

1716, 6th Jan. N.S. [London].—P. to Torcy.

Events here having confirmed the predictions in my letter of 29th Nov. 1714, I hope you will give more credit to the proposition I now send you, namely a treaty between the Kings of France and Spain and the maritime powers to strengthen the treaties of Utrecht and Baden. . . . . I am writing also to D'Huxelles to ascertain the views of the Prince Regent. . . . . I hope it may lead to my visiting France and paying my respects to the young King, the Prince Regent, and yourself.

1716, 6th Jan. [N.S.]. [London].—P. to D'Huxelles.

. . . . . It has occurred to me that a defensive alliance between France, Spain, and the maritime powers, might renew the happiness of the Augustan age. My master having sent me to this court about a year ago, I have kept this object steadily in view, but the Ministry have been so busy with home affairs, and the negotiations of L[d] Stairs in France and M. Metwin [Methuen] in Spain so much less successful than was expected, I dared not suggest it. . . . . Now that the treaty of commerce between Spain and England is arranged, to the joy I perceive of the King and of the whole nation, I think the time has come.

But as I would not moot the subject till I hear the views of your King and the Regent, I venture, with so great an aim in view, to approach you. You are well aware of the advantage it would be to France. I trust you will reply to my suggestion.

1716, 31st Jan. Paris.—D'Huxelles to P.

You refer, in your letter of the 6th, to a matter of the utmost importance, the public peace. I commend your zeal, but it is certain that nothing can now trouble it: the last treaties have settled the interests of the European powers. The King will fulfil all their engagements, and so will the Duke of Orleans, who has made his private ends subservient to the public good. This is well known where you are, and no one can doubt the sincerity of the King or the Regent, or their respect for the Treaties. So you can keep your good intentions for some other occasion.

LE M[al] D'HUXELLES.

# THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE EARL OF LINDSEY, AT UFFINGTON, CO. LINCOLN.



CHARLES BERTIE to his brother[-in-law], SIR THOMAS OSBORNE, at Kiveton.

1667, June 27. London—"The Dutch fleet is once more returned to the buoy in the Nore and seems to threaten us with a second attempt; they have sent up a squadron as high as the Hope which so terrifies the inhabitants of Gravesend that they left their houses and are removing their goods to the inland country for better security. The General goes not down, all things being committed to the prudential management of my Lord Middleton, who hath remained ever since in Kent. When these alarums will be over—God knows—it being in their power to visit us every spring tide; however I hope we are better provided for a repulse then before. Whither they intend for Chatham or Gravesend is yet a mystery but I conceive by their return that they design some further attempt. Our correspondence with France is very bad, my Lord St. Albans being banished the French army and the Court. We have twenty-five sail of fire-ships, but I fear none in the Medway. The regiments are ordered to be once more complete."

The SAME to the SAME.

1667, June 29. London — "The Dutch do still continue at the Buoy in the Nore without having attempted any thing as yet upon us. The squadron that came up to the Hope and alarum'd the inhabitants of Gravesend is fallen down again, and incorporated in the whole fleet. His Royal Highness went yesterday to Chatham to view the batteries there in hand, which are totally completed, and every thing in an excellent posture of defence. The last letters from Holland mention the great exultations of the people for their late success against us. However the Sieur Beuering—one of the States' Plenipotentiaries—is reported to have said in a casual discourse with a person of honour at Breda, that the loss which the East India Company had sustained to the Norw. was far more considerable then ours, though I am not inclinable to that belief, since the one is the loss of honour the other of profit; and yet tis no easy matter to decide which weighs most at this time in the world. The Emperor hath presented the King with ten Hungarian horses which were intercepted by the Dutch, but after De Ruyter had opened the King's letter, and found nothing but compliments therein, he freed them immediately. The Duke of Buckingham rendered himself yesterday to my Lord Arlington and was immediately committed to the Tower, but is this day at liberty and fully reconciled to the King. 'Tis discoursed that my Lord Mordaunt will make a resignation of the Government of Windsor Castle to Prince Rupert and that before the convention of Parliament. Sir George Carteret is reported likewise to have changed the Treasury of the Navy with Anglesey for his Vice Treasurer's Office in Ireland, which makes the world believe him far more peccant then before. Sir Jeremy Smith is sailed from Leith with his squadron intending for Plymouth by the way of Ireland as thinking himself little secure in those parts. The rumour upon the exchange was very hot that our frigates had taken another

Lindsey MSS. East India ship outward bound; the last was a prize of so great a value, especially in cables and anchors besides thirty chests of silver and other merchandise, that it may compare with any that we have taken before. All our ships are now buoying up at Chatham and every one afloat except the *Vanguard*. We fear the Dutch have intercepted our volunteers for Flanders which makes their captains little desirous of that expedition. The French are reported to have taken Cortrick. The conclave hath agreed upon the election of Rospigliosi, who is chosen Pope and assumed the name of Clement the 9th, a person every way qualified for infallibility."

The Same to the Same.

1667, July 6. London—"Our letters this day from Holland mention the successful conclusion of a peace with the Dutch, that the Articles are signed both by our Commissioners and their plenipotentiaries, and that Mr. Henry Coventry is coming over for his Majesty's ratification. However by what I am able to collect from the discourse of the most intelligent persons, I apprehend the conditions to be of such a nature as will scarcely consist with the dignity of our nation, and if so 'tis certain his Majesty will never condescend unto them, wherefore I shall suspend my faith till a farther confirmation. The generality of the people are highly satisfied with the conceptions of it and believe it far more advantageous then it is likely to prove.

The General was yesterday in the city to borrow 20000*l.* for his Majesty's occasions which were cheerfully supplied. We continue still in some fear for Sir Jeremy Smith and his squadron which we hope are by this time secure in the Humber. My Lady Arlington was this week delivered of a daughter to the great satisfaction of her husband. Several merchant ships are fitting out in the river to fall down with some frigates to the Buoy in the Nore, where we hope by the means of our fireships to prevent their return.

The Spanish letters give us intelligence of the conclusion of a peace with Spain with concessions of such privileges in all the Spanish dominions that were never yet granted to any nation. One of our English frigates had likely to have taken a French galley laden with cardinals for the conclave. Among the rest were cardinal Duke de Mercœur and two more, but our frigate was becalmed, and they escaped by rowing. Gaylands affairs in Africa are utterly broke, he only keeps the town of Arzila, which he is willing to put into the King of England's hands for protection. One squadron of the Dutch is gone to the southward, with some designs upon Rye and those parts. I must needs retract something I wrote you of the Duke of Buckingham's release which was confidently reported, but proves very false, however there is such quantity of false intelligence here, that one cannot well tell what to believe especially the whole story of the storm of Languard fort which though printed in the gazette is notoriously false."

The Same to the Same.

1667, July 9. London—"Mr. Coventry is preparing for his return to Breda, but what message he carries back we know not; but the generality of people here seem rather to desire the continuation of the war, though they struggle with never so great difficulties than to make a disadvantageous peace. The Duke of Buckingham was yesterday interrogated before the Council but what the allegations were I know not only I am told this day that the chief witness against him is since dead. The Dutch still hover about the North Foreland unwilling to

leave our coasts without doing us some other mischief. Prince Rupert is gone this day with his engineer to fortify Sheerness which we hope will be a better defence then any chain; we say the Dutch are very insolent in their demands, and believe in Holland that they have destroyed our whole navy. I wish we may not lose the sovereignty of the seas to a nation that knows too well how to use a victory I am afraid we may suffer as much by an inglorious peace, as by continuing the war and be undone through the decay of our trade, though more insensibly, yet as certainly, as by an invasion, and it matters little me thinks, whether we perish by an acute disease, or a chronic. I suppose the French may not be willing to trouble us this year, not because they tell us so, but because 'tis not their interest to lay too much weight in one scale."

The SAME to the SAME.

1667, July 16. London—The Duke of Buckingham was released last Sunday, and is now frequently abroad. Lord Manchester is said to be already privately married to Lady Carlisle, and the marriage not yet to be revealed for some special reason. We are told some of our colliers have escaped the Dutch and are now coming up the river to supply our want of coals. Sir Jeremy hath sent several prizes into Ireland, and from thence we judge him to be near that coast. What the event of Mr. Coventry's message will be we are ignorant of, only it is believed we shall contribute all on our side towards a peace, though that is despaired of by many.

CHARLES BERTIE to his sister, LADY BRIDGET OSBORNE.

1667, July 30. London—As "Sir Thomas Osborne is eminent both for his parts and his integrity to the whole nation and as he pretends a service to the Duke of Buckingham you can not believe him very acceptable to the Court. However they give him a very fair commendation, and I hope I shall see him one day as great as he is now good." My sister Campden is come this night to Kensington, where she is very melancholy reflecting upon the great loss of our family in that place.

We are now enjoying the benefit of a universal peace, which I hope will prove more fortunate than our martial enterprises.

CHARLES BERTIE to his brother[-in-law], SIR THOMAS OSBORNE, at Kiveton.

[16]67, August 20. London.— My brother Peregrine continues desperately ill. 'He is visited every day by Dr. Rugeley Bates, and the other eminent harpies of the town, who feed as much upon his purse as his disease does upon his body; and indeed Lindsey House is a mere lazaretto, for my brother Norreys with his whole family is very sickly especially Crab and Mr. More. The griping of the gutts is very epidemical among us, having swept away near 2000 in the space of a month."

The French King "hath lately made another *belle retraite*—as they usually term it—from before Lille, and not much unlike to his former of Gigery. Some say that the Chancellor—finding himself unable by reason of his ill habit of body and his late grief for the loss of his wife—desires the association of a Keeper of the Seal; others report that the King will invest him with the dignity of Lord High Treasurer." London insensibly increases, and will be quickly up again with the conclusion of a peace.

LINDSEY MSS.

The SAME to the SAME.

1667, September 19. London—"The humiliation of the Chancellor does so well relish among the generality that they desire nothing more for their satisfaction then the convention of the Parliament to unriddle the mystery of his degradation. For my own particular I am so disinterested from the concerns of the world, that I can condole with my Lord Chancellor and rejoice with his adversaries. It seems they have begun first, and in matters of that nature the first motion may be of as great importance as at chess. 'Tis well if a single sacrifice make a perfect atonement, and that the punishment of the one can purge the guilt of all the rest. I confess I have so much of malicious curiosity that I could gladly see him once more at the bar, who hath so long frequented the Bench. The French King hath extended his Christianity into the best parts of Flanders, where that name is become as acceptable to the Flemish as the Turk to the Venetian. He would have certainly made a greater progress, had not the rains come seasonably to their deliverance, insomuch that 'tis believed Alost will prove his Thule this year. The lazy Spaniard hath abandoned all hopes of his defence by natural means, and recurs now only to miracles. I am told that on the high altar of Antwerp is exposed the image of the young King of Spain with his petition in his hand to the Virgin Mary—*De Gallorum servitute libera nos Domine.*

My Brother Peregrine "hath put a paper over the door to let Lindsey house, and some persons this day have seen it; he desires me to let you know, that as long as it remains undisposed of it is freely at your service, and if you can dispense with the uncertainty of such a lodging you will very much oblige him with your company. I had this day my share in your venison, which came very sweet and was eaten not without a kind commemoration of the donor. The Duke of York's son was christened Edgar, the Duke of Albemarle and Marquess of Worcester were godfathers."

The SAME to the SAME.

1667, September 21. London — "The Duke of Buckingham is restored to all his honours and dignities, and the King this night bid him ask what he pleased and he would grant it, so that I suppose you will be invested again in your Lieutenancy. The Dutch have denied a passage to the French forces designed for Munster, and we expect daily when those two nations will clash, the French King has laid aside Mademoiselle la Valliere, which is no ill precedent to others. The General hath given Sir Fretchevill Holles a company. 'Tis discoursed as if the Chancellor would be confined before the sessions. We are all expecting the blessed fruits of a reformation."

The SAME to the SAME.

1667[-8], January 30. London—There is nothing I more passionately deplore than the loss of my dear niece Betty. It is said Lord Clarendon lies very ill at Calais, and that his death will put an end to all his misfortunes. St. Albans is expected here in a day or two, and brings *dulcia verba* from that Court. The General Union renders us very formidable to France, which is hoped may impede his design of universal monarch. The Bishop and Dean of Lichfield have proceeded to mutual excommunication of one another, which begets strange discourses in town.

PEREGRINE BERTIE to his sister, LADY BRIDGET OSBORNE, at Carlton. LINDSEY MSS.

1667[–8], February 18. London—Blaming her for indulging in her sorrow and writing such sad letters to her husband. Also urging her to come up to town and occupy half of Lindsey House.

The DUKE OF ALBEMARLE to SIR THOMAS OSBORNE.

1668–9, January 20. Newhall—Concerning Captain Nicholas Bartue. who wanted a "colours" in his regiment. *Signed.*

CHARLES [BERTIE] to SIR THOMAS OSBORNE, at Lindsey House, near the Old Palace Yard at Westminster.

1670, June 15. Stockholm—"In my last I acquainted you with my design of leaving Denmark; this brings you the news of my arrival in Suedeland where I arrived in five days from the Sound, upon a collier bound for Stockholm. The places of most importance we past were the Islands of Oeland and Gothland—the jointure of Queen Christina—the last is famous for the best tar in these northern parts. I landed about thirty miles from Stockholm at a place called the Dallers, and as inhospitable to strangers as the deserts of Arabia. Here I encountered the officers of the King's custom-house, such barbarous villains, such Goths and Vandals that, as God shall help me, the best of them is not righteous enough to go to the gallows. From the Dallers I came overland but thirty miles—and alas that too much; for our horses were without shoes, our snaffles made of wood, and the reins of a tarred rope, that I am confident the riding of the wooden horse must needs be a pleasanter exercise than mine. The country I passed was so horribly deformed with misshapen barren rocks, that nature seems to have turned the wrong side outward here: Denmark is a land of promise in comparison of it. Nevertheless Stockholm hath reconciled me to the rest of Suedeland, and since I cannot retract what I have already said in its dispraise I think myself obliged at least to magnify the excellencies I have found here. 'Tis a town of a 'bigearre' situation environed with water and mountains on every side: the people are very obliging and have another air of civility than the Danes, the streets are very well built, and I think here are as many and as noble palaces as in Rome it self. 'Tis almost incredible to believe how delightful they have rendered this place by art which is inhabitable by nature. Their harbour is exceeding commodious and crowded with ships from all parts, the government applying its whole industry to the promotion of trade. The King hath here about sixty sail of lovely men of war and he hath one ship ready to launch, called the *Crown*, of as great force, and as comely as ever I saw, built by one Sheldon an English shipwright whom the Suedes are great admirers of; they have also got among them several English dyers, to whom they allow a competent salary for the teaching their own subjects the mystery of that art. By the discourse I have here had with some gentlemen of the Court, I collect that they are very jealous of our proceedings in England in reference to the Triple Alliance; they fear the Kings of England and France are better friends than they wish or desire. That which confirms this belief is Madame's late expedition into England where they fear she was sent to offer something to the prejudice of that alliance, especially since they discern a tendency in our King to the amity of France, which they utterly detest. The five Regents that govern all things here are Count Peter Brahé, President of the Civil Courts of Justice, the Rix Felt Herr Wrangle, the Rix Admiral

LINDSEY MSS. Count Gustavus Steinbock, the Chancellor Count Magnus de la Garde. The Treasurer—who is now lately dead—Monsieur Boot. Wrangle is going into Finland, Liefland, and the other dominions of this crown, to visit all the fortifications this summer, and put every place a posture of defence in case the French should stir up the Muscovite, or any other enemy against them. They here assure me that they have an army—with those in garrison—of 60,000 men. I intend Monday next for to see the silver and copper mines which are an hundred and forty miles distant from this city, and lies near the borders of Lapland—if I mistake not. Hitherto I am come without my Lord Arlington's pass or letters of recommendation, and I hope to perform the rest of my travels as fortunately. At my return back to this city, I shall embark myself for Dantzic, to see some part of Poland, and I choose it the rather, because I have a curiosity to see a nation and a people as unsteady as ourselves. What course I shall steer from thence I know not, whither through Cassubia, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, or follow some other new crochet of my brain in Suedeland. 'Tis excessive hot and the sun is as formidable as the element of fire. I travel here all by night—or rather by day—for 'tis never dark at this time of the solstice, and the high ways are as secure as I could wish. I hope you forget not to speak to his Majesty about my company sometimes. Wrangle hath caused several gun to be cast for sea—all copper—which they load at the breech. Yesterday I was aboard his own yacht who hath all her guns in that manner. I have left word that if you send your letters to Copenhagen they be directed for me, for I have heard but once out of England—and that from my brother Vere—since I left you. By this time you have made a costly experiment how little I have to do, and though it bee not very reasonable you should suffer for my idleness, I know not how better to make you amends or deserve your pardon, than by acknowledging my fault and promising you —as children use—to do so no more."

*Postscript.*—"Friday next the young King—who is a lovely youth —receives the first time the sacrament, where all the senators of the kingdom are to be in great solemnity."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1671,] May 9, *stylo loci*, Sunday. Dunkirk—"After a tedious passage of two days and three nights I arrived att Dunkirk the 8th instant *S.N.* coming into the road wee saluted the town with seven guns, but had no return. I conjecture they were somewhat displeased, because I stood in with our topsail, but I matter not much their anger since I have furnished my self with a fresh precedent to justify our pretensions in the sound. However I am resolved we will spare our powder when we go forth which I hope will be to morrow if the wind come fair, for this town is so pestered with such a multiplicity of people that I assure you this letter bespeaks no small kindness to write standing and among twenty persons in the same room. I have already seen his Majesty, the Queen, and all the Court, find little worth so high an admiration as I brought with me. The army this day makes the reveüe and I am seeking a horse to see this show. The soldiers are employed in the fortifications, 10,000 working every hour, which are relieved by the same number of men every five hours, to wit, at four, nine, two, seven. They are so harassed that the poor creatures are scarce able to draw their legs after them, and every man only $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day pay, but that which most affects me is his endeavouring to form here a more commodious port for the reception of greater vessels, which he is assured may be effected at length

though with great charges; and the King said at dinner yesterday that he valued not how much money he buried here, provided he could make what he designed. Most certainly he intends this for a town of great trade, and a staple of all his manufactures and fabriques made in the new conquests. The citadel here is a noble thing but most of our old bastions altered and made greater in all respects. He hath here five ships which were never at sea two are, already launched and carry upward of fifty six guns a piece. He hath also ordered the cutting of a new dock, which is now near finished, and every day commands a new miracle, removes heaps of sand, and carries them to other places. This day—being Sunday—he hath ordered the review of his army consisting of 30,000 effective foot, short pikes and their muskets of a very small calibre in comparison of ours. The Dutch are said to be in the field with their army neer Bergen op Zoom, and fear not the French myrmidons with all their formidable reveües. My Lord Bellasis goes this afternoon into the field and I intend to wait on him. They discourse here that the King after four weeks stay in these parts intends for Rochelle and those other western parts of France with this very army at his heels."

The SAME to [the SAME].

1671, June 27. Copenhagen—"As for the King's business committed to my charge, after many a sharp conference with my obstinate commissioners I have at length wrought them so far to a compliance as to offer a project of a Declaration containing the King of Denmark's express commands to his Governor of Cronenburg to suffer the King's ships for the future to pass with their top sails up before that castle without violence or molestation; and in case this project please—which I dispatch this post to Mr. Secretary for the King's approbation—the Danes will here sign it without delay, and this they say is a great concession on their part. But if the King still urges—after all this—the punishment of the Governor for his last affront, and will make him cry *Peccavi* for the rashness of that action, they swear it is that they will never retract. However I press warmly for it, to make his Majesty's satisfaction the more complete, though without any great hopes of obtaining it; and since the matter mounts to a renounce for the future I am induced to believe his Majesty will not much insist upon the manner, but make it as easy to them as we can. I know there are some things in this project, which will not be received by us though I doubt not but with our own emendations we shall pass it here.

"Having given you an account of the State affairs, I will now entertain you with some of my observations upon the eastern trade in these parts There passes—according to the most accurate calculations—every year unto the Sound about a hundred and forty English and Scotch ships, twelve hundred Dutch, thirty French. However it is very observable that the Dutch highly complain of their decay of trade in these parts, which receives indeed a visible diminution occasioned chiefly by two causes. 1. By the French, who with their own ships now furnish the greatest quantities of salt and wine to these northern countries at an easier rate, which was heretofore the great employment of the Hollander. 2dly. By the Scotch, who begin now to serve these parts with herring much cheaper and altogether as good as the Dutch, having imported the last year into the Sound five hundred lasts and upwards, which we expect will be double this year, to the great prejudice of the Hollander, who sees these two mischiefs growing upon him, and

LINDSEY MSS. can no way prevent them. I am informed by several of our English masters who come lately from Dantzic that the Dutch can get no freight for their ships there though they offer them at a rixdollar per last.

"However I cannot choose but inform you that whereas heretofore fifteen or twenty sail of English ships were every year constantly employed from Hull and Newcastle into Suedeland, we complain here that four or six sail of English come only, and that a hundred sail of Suedish ships freighted by English merchants and manned a third part with Dutch mariners perform that navigation to the detriment of our English trade and the small encouragement afforded to sailers. It is believed here that the Parliament by laying a duty of ten per cent more upon all goods imported by Suedish ships, would equallize the privilege the Suedes enjoy of paying less custom in the Sound and also in their own country, which differs fifteen shillings in every ton of iron; by which means it is conceived the English might sail as cheap as the Suede, and consequently recover the loss of their trade in these parts. This concerning in a great measure the benefit of Yorkshire I would by no means omit to acquaint you with it.

The Suedes are now working at a mine of alum seven miles from Malmay in Schonen, which produces every month a quantity of 500*l.* sterling and is likely to prove a great prejudice to our alum works in Yorkshire and other parts of England.

The Suedes have also erected lately three gunpowder mills in Schonen, where they dig a good quantity of saltpetre and furnish themselves an neighbours at thirteen rixdolars the hundred pound with which we and the Dutch did formerly supply them. Indeed the very boors of the country are grown now so skilful, that every one now makes his own powder.

Baron Spar, Governor of Gottemberg, will shortly be in readiness for his Embassy into England in order to the arbitration of the French pretensions in Flanders.

The Cham of Tartary's ambassadors have taken their leave at Stockholm and instead of their pretensions to have Suedeland join with them in a war against the Muscovites have obtained abundance of mum and brandy and at parting a thousand rixdollars to pay for their scimitar they presented to the young King, and their dog-whip to the Master of the Ceremonies, the only charges they have been at in that country."

DENMARK.

1671, October 31. Copenhagen—*Endorsed:* "A copy of the declaration given to Mr. Bertie in Denmark about the King's ships striking in their ports." *French.*

CHARLES BERTIE to SIR THOMAS OSBORNE, Treasurer of the Navy.

1671, November 7. Elsinore—"I here send you the fruits of a five months negotiation, and hope the inclosed paper contains the substance of his Majesty's demands, though it carry not the same form, which the Danes will never suffer to be imposed upon them. However, the displacing of the Governor of Cronenburg, and the declaration they now give in favour of his Majesty's ships through all their dominions are looked upon here as acts of great deference, and I think his Majesty hath now laid such a foundation of his right in this point as none shall dare to dispute for the future. And now I can not omit to make some reflection upon those n this Court who by being the occasion of the

late precipitate action of the Governor of Cronenburg have now—somewhat unnecessarily me thinks—enforced the Danes to a more solemn declaration in this point than would otherwise have been expected from them, or will consist with their future pretences of the like honour, not only from us, but from all other men of war sailing through the Sound,—since a privilege—as they will call it at least—is no sooner granted to one but all others who are in amity, will pretend to the like."

The SAME to the SAME.

1672, July 10. On board the *St. Michaels*—"Our expectations is very eager after the East India fleet we having dispatched a frigate to Bergen to give us what intelligence that coast affords of them. The *Fairfax*, *Edgar*, and other of our third rates are spreading the sea, that nothing may escape us. This day came into our fleet Sir John Chickeley from Holland, he tells us that de Ruyter lies in the Wielings with about fifty sail of great ships well manned, and that the Dutch fleet was not in that disorder and distraction we here imagined. 'Tis said that de Ruyter having received a compliment from the Duke with an invitation to come into us with his fleet, did publickly profess that he would rather eat his own flesh, and drink his own blood, then betray the trust which the States had reposed in him, and which hitherto he had always discharged with the greatest fidelity imaginable, and that he was above the temptation of all our offers. We hear the Prince of Orange hath refused to assume the Government of the seven provinces, which was offered him both by the French and our plenipotentiaries, and that he resolves to be just to that oath he hath taken, which makes most of us think him a modest gentleman here, and none of the wisest to refuse that which perhaps will never more be offered him. They say the treaty is broke off, and that our plenipotentiaries are returning home. The French King will acquiesce in the delivery up of the whole province of Brabant into his possession, and that being performed will restore all his new conquests, provided his brother of England receive a just satisfaction. We believe a squadron of us may sail towards the northward—if not the whole fleet—which I wish, rather knowing how dangerous all divisions are to us, and for my part I believe de Ruyter will give us another battle notwithstanding the mean opinion most of us have here of him."

The SAME to the SAME.

1672, November 29. The Temple—Asking him to enquire for the lists of Captain Bertie's soldiers on board the *St. Michael*, *Monk*, and *Yarmouth*, also for his own list of soldiers on board the *Rupert*.

LORD CLIFFORD to SIR JOHN NORTON, High Woodward of the New Forest.

1672[-3], January 15. Wallingford House—Grant of a yearly sum of 560*l.* to be paid to the Keepers of the New Forest out of moneys to arise from the sale of any "dotard or decayed trees, lops, tops, boughs, or offal wood." *Signed.*

SIR ROBERT PASTON to his kinsman, SIR THOMAS OSBORNE.

1673, May 2. Vulture Tavern, Lombard Street.—"I am now with Mr. Lewis and Mr. Browne and have gained this point, from the uncertainty of the rest, that they will this next week give me in proposals

Lindsey MSS. in writing how we may effect our business and to a greater advantage than I have proposed to you, and I have engaged to them, they making out that plain and visible to us and that it may be in the King's prerogative, to grant that they shall both be employed as managers and have a salary, such as they shall reasonably propose out of it, confirmed by the same grant which shall secure our own emolument. This has so taken them that there is no secret in the matter we shall not be masters of, and if we like the model they propose, shall have it ready to go in hand with in ten days: They further propose to give in security to take of my Lady P.'s patent at the rate of a thousand or twelve hundred pounds a year; for the well gratifying her will be a means to make the matter go on smooth, so sir, I hope we shall proceed a better way and not depend further on the uncertainties of the people, which I plainly perceive will not be unanimous even in what concerns their own profit, as they all confess to me. This I thought good to give you an account of, intending to be recluse while Sunday is past."

Viscountess Yarmouth to [Viscountess Osborne.]

1673, August 14.—"I still live in hopes that through your intercession with my Lord [Treasurer] we may be so happy as to get off our advanced rent, and have the farm at the rents it was first let at, which was 2700 pounds a year."

Viscount Yarmouth to [Viscountess Osborne.]

No date.——On the same subject as the preceding letter.

House of Commons.

1675, April 13.—A list of bills to be presented to the House of Commons. Amongst others is "A bill to prevent the illegal exaction of moneys from the subjects," against which is a note, in the Earl of Danby's handwriting, "which will be, I hope, rejected."

The Same.

1675, April 26 to May 4.—A full report of the debates which took place upon the proposed impeachment of the Earl of Danby, for wasting and misapplying the public moneys.

L. Hyde to [Charles] Bertie.

1675, July 14.—"I am so confident that my Lord Treasurer intends to be as good as his word to me before he goes out of town, that I write this to you to desire you again to put his Lordship in mind of me. There is now eight weeks allowance due, and sure to desire one fortnight's more in consideration of his Lordship's being to go away, and of promising not to trouble him any more all the summer, will not appear unreasonable to him."

The Earl of Lindsey to his brother [in-law, the Earl of Danby].

1675, August 25, Chelsea—"I am ashamed my paternal affection to my son, who lies desperately ill at present of the smallpox should withdraw me from an attendance which your Lordship was pleased to think requisite to your service. Though indeed I must be so just as

to undeceive you, for I could not be any ways useful to you there but as a mere intelligencer. As I have written to my sister, I always thought the Court of no good complexion towards your Lordship, and that if such small things as Bab, May, Giffins, Godolphin, and others had had influence enough with their master to have removed you, it had been long since effected by the allusion your Lordship makes of a schoolboys returning to school after Christmas. I cannot but observe what a strange creature man is, who is seldom or never pleased with his present condition. And at the same time I admire God's providence who makes all conditions supportable. Those who want power and the gilded troublesome pageantry that attends it, have the greater leisure to follow their own private affairs, are not to provide to secure themselves from the malicious design of their enemies at Court, are not in pain what the people think of them, not affecting popularity out of any intention to promote themselves to places of preferrment, or to enrich themselves as Sir Thomas of my country does by the sale of a penned speech pronounced in Parliament. Possibly your Lordship might think this good advice to my Lord Shaftesbury, who at St. Giles enjoys the pleasures of a great and ample fortune and who hath been so successful in his knavery as to save both his head and estate; and yet your Lordshipe observes the restlessness of that man's condition and how easily he would be induced to abandon all these rural satisfactions for a Court trifle. But for yourself I would not have you weary of your load, though I confess it almost insupportable, and what I protest I think I should have ten thousand times quitted if I had been in your Lordship's case; and that which makes it the more so to you is the intentions you have of acting like a man of honour. The aim you have to settle the Church and State; to defend the one against schismatics, and papists, and the other against Commonwealths men and rebels. These are indeed things that would make a man's head ache and his heart too especially when one in the world that your Lordship knows will be so wanting to himself as not to be concurring in this design to his own advantage. The greater the difficulty the more glorious the conquest, and I do really believe God hath raised you to this eminency of condition to save a tottering monarchy, which, if your counsel is not followed, I am confident will be quickly changed into an anarchy of confusion. The gentleman I mention is certainly apoplectic, you must bleed him, purge him, fright him, and the great God of Heaven bless your endeavours."

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1675, October 13 to November 20—Reports *in extenso* of the proceedings in the House of Commons on most of the days between these dates.

### JAMES CLARKE to the KING.

1675-6, January—Petition that the term for which he held the manor of East Moulsey might be made up to ninety-nine years. *Referred by the King to the Lord Treasurer, and by him to the Surveyor General, Sir Charles Harbord.*

### The NAVY BOARD to CAPTAIN BERTIE.

1676, April 5. Navy Office—Giving particulars of the accounts of the fund for the sick and wounded. *Four signatures.*

LINDSEY MSS.

J. BRISBANE to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1676, November 4–14. Paris—"I do really believe our injuries and complaints have grown to this bulk and heinousness in great part by the corruptness of Sir Ellis Leighton, whom my Lord Berkley did recommend as the person intrusted by him to take all the care of his Majesty's subjects brought in by the privateers. Not to insist upon all the instances that are and may be given to render this probable almost beyond doubting, one thing which my Lord Ambassadour hath sufficient assurance of seems very remarkable. Monsieur de Louvois—who is generally thought to bear much emulation to M. Colbert—did once in the King's presence represent to Monsieur Colbert the danger of disturbing our commerce, and confiscating our ships and goods and affirm that unavoidably they must lose the friendship of England if these courses were continued. Monsieur Colbert undertook to satisfy Monsieur de Louvois that he was quite mistaken and had taken vulgar reports for more than they were worth, and very suddenly after that *Sir Ellis went to Monsieur de Louvois and assured him the King of Great Britain and his ministers were throughly satisfied with the justice his subjects met with in France.* Other persons have told me almost the same thing with other circumstances as that upon that occasion M. de Louvois treated M. Colbert harshly in words, even to call him a pedant, saying it was a little unpolitic chicane to venture the loss of England for a nice interpretation of a bill of lading, to put the English marchants to distinguish which pack was theirs and which belonging to Hollanders &c.

"M. le Vayer one of the Marine Council and a gentleman of excellent parts commending Monsieur Colbert's abilities and great application to the improvement of this kingdom, tells me that many of the best qualified persons have been three years employed about the making one *ordonnance de marine*; that Generals have been sent through all the ports to look over all the registers that are kept there and into foreign parts to learn good regulations. That the whole is divided into two heads of peace and war, that of peace into merchandise, customes, bottomries, assurances, fisheries, &c.; that of war into arsenals, constructions, stores, amunitions, victuals, equipages—which is manning—and some others. I hope to have from him the method at least and contents of the whole work, which he says will not be finished yet this twelvemonth. It seems a work of great use and ornament to a kingdom."

The SAME to [the SAME].

1676, November 22. Paris—"With my last I sent you both the enclosed *ordonnances* of which the first I could only send by a written copy. It is certain that it was observed in the practice for some time, but how or when it came to be laid aside I cannot trace. I think that as the *ordonnance* was made in Sir William Lockhart's time, in all likelihood at his instance, it continued in observation during his embassy, and I am afraid the discontinuance of it will be in great part found chargeable upon our own ministry in France, for if we can reduce all our contentions to the single question of the 'propriety' of the ship, there will be little new work cut out for me, only God knows how I shall be able to clear this Augean stable of the old heaps. I need not observe to your Lordship the necessity of a more fixed security for our commerce, but I must put you in mind of some danger I apprehend myself to be in by exceeding the sphere of my mercantile

solicitations, and for that I could not think that when your Lordship commanded me to write to you sometimes, I should give you particular account of small barks and butts of brandy." LINDSEY MSS.

J. BRISBANE to the EARL OF DANBY.

Same date—Sending a copy of his letter to Mr. Secretary [Coventry].

The SAME to [the SAME], at Wallingford House.

1676–7, January 13. Paris—"My Lord it is a vexation to me to hear persons here who for religion's sake and the interests that usually follow the factious asserting of it, entertain great hopes that the parliament will do no good; that Fagg's business will be revived next sessions and take up one half of the time; that quarrelling with the ministers will take up all the rest; that there will not be one step made towards a right understanding, towards the support of the kingdom's honour and safety, and that after a weeks wrangling there must be a prorogation. I think of these things so much and so often and am so persuaded that our misunderstandings are fomented by such as fear the prosperity of England, that I fancy sometimes I could convert the sharpest and most discontented man in England if he have but ever so little love left for his country. I imagine I have the materials of an excellent speech for my Lord Chancellor—but sure he hath infinitely better—that if it were represented—as you can and may with the greatest truth—that our discord make musick to those that wish us evil, that our friends think us fools and not to be relied upon, that our enemies for the same reason fear us not, and that nobody will pay their devotions to saints that can do no good nor harm; I think every honest man would be persuaded to lay aside their little immaterial quarrels, and keep up a very good house supposing it had a smoky chimney in it.

"The treaty I believe will be signed in a short time and I believe it will likewise be observed, for as long as this war lasts it will be carefully looked after, and when the peace is made there will be no occasion for privateers."

The SAME to the SAME.

1676–7, January 17. Paris—"The treaty which my Lord Ambassadour hath been so earnestly pursuing hath met with one week's retardment from an indisposition of Monsieur de Pomponne, and perhaps some other incident may retard it a week longer, so that—if it proves a treaty—we are like to have it no sooner than just to meet with the parliament. And from that conjuncture some will infer, and probably enough, that the councils here are influenced by the regards they have to the parliament, and that they acquiesce to a thing upon that sort of consideration which they have refused to all the instances which have been made for it by the King and his ministers. If this inference be true the compliment of the treaty—if it comes—will not be very obliging to the King nor very sincere to the parliament. It may raise the spirits of such as murmur against the government, and amongst the unwise remove one main motive to union and respect for his Majesty, which is necessity and common fears of evils to come. I think if any one considers rightly the meaning of such a present—supposing it is made to the parliament—they would suspect it as from the Greeks—*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes;* and infer that they are to unite themselves so much

Lindsey MSS. the more straightly to their head, as others who have no reason to wish their prosperity tempt them to divide from it by insinuating to them how considerable they may be in disjunction."

The Same to the Same.

1677, April 11. Paris—It may be by the time your Lordship receives this Monsieur de Crequi will be ready to return into France. If his errand was, as we are informed credibly enough, to assure his Majesty that the late successes on this side do not render them averse from a peace, and that he offer any thing towards making his Majesty arbitrator instead of mediator, it will be a difficult but a glorious personage, and therefore it would not be rejected for the difficulty of it. That which makes me imagine there may be some such thing designed by Monsieur de Crequi's journey is that some intelligent persons here who find fault with the addresses of our parliament and tax them of too much partiality do say they might have been conceived in terms as advantageous to ourselves and of more apparent justice, and which might import some inclination to procure the peace of Christendom. For example they say they could not have complained if the parliament had prayed the King to propose to the parties now in war such conditions of peace as he should think just and safe; and upon the refusal of either side to acquiesce, then to cast the balance by his adhering to the other side; and for aught I see it is agreed on all hands, that his Majesty can turn the scales which way he pleases. For our little domestic broils, as God be thanked, we have less reason to fear them, so those that reckoned much upon them not long ago are now of another opinion and think his Majesty in a situation of great authority and above the reach of factions at home. My Lord if I may adventure to use the freedom you have commanded me to take, my humble opinion is that we can not long enjoy the advantages of our peace alone if some effectual endeavours be not used on our parts to procure a pacification; for if this war should end either by conquest, or weariness, or by the disuniting the confederates, or any way without the King's apparent procurement of it, besides that it looks neither humane nor christian like to decline quenching our neighbours fires, we shall infallibly make many armed enemies, a thing by all means possible to be avoided, because we have so much to lose that the least of the parties concerned if they were at leisure to deal with us must get by a war against us."

The Same to [the Same].

1677, May 1, new style. Paris—"All people here are full of great expectations from England. Those who think themselves best informed do reckon upon the friendship between the Kings as a sure card, and that we will not engage any way to their prejudice, the rather because they likewise believe that the Christian King hath offered a blank to his Majesty for conditions of peace. The commanders, I mean general officers, for the rest of the campaign are not yet named, except the Duke of Luxembourg for Flanders and the Marechal de Crequi for Germany. The Marechal de Schomberg doth not know himself whether he shall serve this summer or not nor where. Its thought he will command a small army about the Moselle and that he hath no great stomach to that command for fear of being put to hard shifts in a country wanting strong places to cover his few troops. He hath been some days in town, and Tuesday last he went to his country house not

far from hence, and, people say, discontented. However he keeps still a chargeable equipage on foot and will be ready on short warning to take the field when commanded.

"Some of the prudent people here blame the indiscretion of the French that go over into England in so great numbers. They say that neither the time nor the place is well chosen for a theatre to their triumphs after the winning of a battle and taking of three towns; and that the Duke de Villeroy for that reason forbade his son to go thither though he desired it. It is thought likewise that the Bishop of Rheims and Monsieur de Barillon go for more than a compliment."

The SAME to the SAME.

1677, May 1. Paris—"I saw yesterday the Marechal de Schomberg at his own house, who had this morning a courier sent him to go into the field; and he says he is to command an army apart about the Moselle which truly he seems not to like very well of. It was the third time that ever I had the honour to speak to him and yet though he had many farewell compliments, he took me aside and spoke very obligingly to me and confidently of himself. That his mother was an English woman and that he accounted himself an Englishman, that he had once a formed resolution and retains yet the desire of settling himself in England. That it was enough for him that he commanded this King's army, and that he could rather have wished he had never had the baton of Marechal, because they made him stay too long for it, gave it to others of less service before him, and at last bestowed it upon him with intention to tie him, which yet he insinuated it might fail to do. That if he had been left without employment this summer he had taken measures with Monsieur le Chevalier de Vensdosme to make a step into England; and he takes occasion often to express a great respect for the King and his Royal Highness, and a great sense of their favours to him. I presume his frank opening himself to me proceeded from a good character given of me to him by my Lord Arlington, to whom I know he hath formerly communicated his thoughts to the same purpose, and by him to his Majesty. He tells me that my Lord Arlington hath done me that favour, and I do believe it was in a letter which I carried myself, though truly I was not told so. If ever hereafter his coming into England be negotiated I think your Lordship may have what share you please in the business either in furthering or hindering the effect of it. However I found myself both obliged and inclined to impart this to you, because I would not know anything of anybody that might be of concernment without acquainting your Lordship with it; the rather because this confidence was both unexpected by me and without condition of further secrecy than common discretion requires, and upon condition of reserving any thing from you I will know nothing. He further spoke to me of the differences that happened between Prince Rupert and himself when he served in England, which he derives from old quarrels of their families, though he affirms his father and grandfather had deserved very much from the others, and that his grandfather had chiefly procured their election to Bohemia, which by the by though it might be then designed as a service, hath not proved in the consequence of it advantageous to the Princes Palatine."

The SAME to the SAME.

1677, May 8, new style. Paris—"It is certainly believed here that Monsieur Courtin is to leave his post in England, and Monsieur de

LINDSEY MSS. Barillon to go in his room. The reasons given out for it are by some that Monsieur Courtin wants health in England, by others that he can not support the expense of it; and all agree that it is his own desire or advice to be recalled. The reasons I imagine for that change are quite different; for he knew both his own constitution, and the expense of the embassy, having made trial of both before. But my Lord, there is much discourse here of your Lordships power and influence upon our affairs and of the great success you had this session, which even those that did not wish it, attribute to your prudence and courage. All hands agree that with these qualities you serve the King so usefully that you must be strongly fixed in his Majesty's favour, and that there remains no hopes of removing you. Now, my Lord, my conjecture is that Monsieur Courtin from the beginning of his embassy having proposed to himself—perhaps being instructed so to do—other measures and means of succeeding in his negotiations than by applications to your Lordship, it is not so easy for him to change his own measures as it will be for another Ambassador to begin upon new ones. Whether this conjecture be right or wrong will appear to your Lordship by Monsieur de Barillon's carriage when he comes to be employed, and it may be you will perceive something of it by his present journey. As I offer this only as a conjecture your Lordship will not I hope blame me much if I be mistaken in it.

"Yesterday morning Monsieur de Luxembourg went from hence early to Condé where is appointed a rendezvous for the army though it was spoke of before to be at another place; and M. de Schomberg tells me he must set out Monday next to meet the King, I believe at the same place. Monsieur le Comte de St. Geran told me yesterday likewise they expect a great impression of the confederates from the country of Luxembourg, what—it is reported—the Spaniards have given to the Emperor, though it doth seem probable the Emperor cannot be much the better for a small country so far from home.

"It is reported here likewise that the adjournment of our parliament to the 21 of May is to be prolonged till October next; and truly it will not be much amiss to see the success of this campaign. One before the King be any more pressed to public resolutions about the share he is to take in the affairs of our neighbours. It is a hundred to one neither side can be so successful but we may then as well as now cast the balance. However in the meantime it hath all the appearance of a glorious, safe and christian design for the King to procure and give peace to Christendom, which may be done so as to engage all the parties to be guarantees for the treaty that shall be made. I pray God preserve and direct you and that the success of all your Lordships undertakings may be answerable to the worthiness of your intentions." *Printed in "Danby's Letters,"* p. 311.

The SAME to [the SAME].

[1677, May ?]—"Having found that upon all occasions the Prince of Condé expressed a great respect and service for the King of England I thought it might be of good use to live with him in good intelligence, which I have done ever since my being here; I have of late had two long conversations with him, in both of which he hath been very earnest with me to persuade the King of England not to engage in the war, in the condition Flanders is now in.

"For he says he thinks, he knows it, and is sure that it will be impossible for him to support it, and though the conditions now offered from the French King are very hard and unfriendly considering the

obligations he hath to the King of England, yet his opinion is that if they are not accepted, that the King of France will carry Brussels or some other great thing before a month be over, and that will make them higher then ever. LINDSEY MSS.

"That he knows the greatest disappointment that can be to Monsieur Louvois will be any peace. I know the Prince of Condé hates Louvois mortally and is sorry at any good success that happens, which is an argument to make his advice now believed sincere, and his way of speaking to me was like a man as much discontented and dissatisfied as you can imagine; he says no servant the King of England has can advise him in this matter so well as he, for that he knows Flanders very well, and the condition it is in, and this country, and what it is able to do, and can never have any so great hurt as by a peace.

"He knows that the peace sticks upon Ypres but he is afraid that if it is not now made there will not be so good a one in a little more time. He told me further, that after the battle of Dunkirk if the Cardinal had not out of complaisance to the Queen Mother made the Pyrenean peace—though he was then in the Spanish service—Flanders could not have been saved, and that if I would not think him vain, he would say that they had now nobody to defend it, that understood the trade so well."—*Copy*.

The SAME to [the SAME].

1677, May 18. Paris—"Nobody doubts Monsieur de Crequis returning again into England, and it is constantly imputed to the apprehensions they have here of what may happen upon his Majesty's resolution and proclamation about the parliament and that he hath instruction to give and receive, if he can, better securities than in his first journey. Some people say his Majesty will not be able to resist this second attack, but will yield to the insinuations from this Court; but truly I think much otherwise, and that nothing will divert him from his true interest; and by what I can understand he can take but few resolutions which are not like to prove advantageous to him if they be well followed, so much I am persuaded that his present condition is safe and strong. I am still of opinion that you expect the issue of this campaign—and that you enter upon no new engagements with this Court, that being the only dangerous course you can fall upon: for I reckon it past all doubt, that if this session of parliament had been spent in such contentions as might have produced a prorogation—which I'm sure was wished for and endeavoured—and no supply or more use of strength to his Majesty, there had been much less care taken to make or keep a friendship with us.

"There is here lodged in the same house the Bishop of Lodere in Languedoc, *un Eveque de Cour*, a great servant to Monsieur Colbert, who puts many civilities upon me, and such as I am sure he doth not without design. He often quarrels with our parliament, magnifies the cordial affection and resemblance of our Princes, wonder why the King lets the parliament sit, and takes it for granted the King designs and all his faithful and affectionate servants, to form our government upon the model of France, that that thing can not be effected but by a strict and indissoluble union with France. To all which I have made no other answer at different times but that we found the parliament dutiful and obedient, that our people love their Prince's person and government, and these matters are out of my road, far from my thoughts, and that I may know news as any body else, but otherwise know no other design

LINDSEY MSS.

of the King my master but to procure justice for his subjects that have been wronged by the French. Wednesday last this Bishop assured me that the day before M. Colbert had at his house at Sceaux a great meeting of *interessés* that is farmers of the revenue and lenders of money, that he borrowed several millions, and then settled the reimbursment of two millions, and appointed another time of meeting. They pay ten *per cent.* interest which is three *per cent.* more than was paid last winter when they gave rents upon the Maison de Ville for the security to the lenders. There will be unavoidable necessities of anticipating the revenue to a vast proportion of it. For let the revenue be ever so great the expense must outrun it; there is a vast frontier and many garrisons to maintain.

"Yesterday *Te Deum* was sung for the victory of Tobago in *Notre Dame*; neither the Queen nor Monsieur did assist at it, nor doth any body think there was much cause for it."

The EARL OF LINDSEY to his brother-[in-law, the EARL OF DANBY.]

[16]77, June 18. Grimsthorpe—"I was extremely surprised when I received this inclosed from Mr. Wingfield which confirms me how much a great man above thinks it necessary to obstruct all advancement to your Lordship's creatures and dependents. Else certainly Mr. Wingfield might have passed the pikes as well as Serjeant Scroggs, or Sir Thomas Jones one of the judges of the King's Bench, all called without the formality of reading or expending such sums of money as rather renders the preferment a burden than an advantage. And I confess I doubt not but Sir Robert Carr hath had his finger in the pie, for he knows very well what a great card Mr. Wingfield is in these parts to play in all affairs of importance. And since the preferment came not by him he obstructs it as much as is in his power. Indeed the whole county hath taken notice of it, that those who stick to me are preferred, which is a very powerful and engaging argument for persons to adhere to our party, for the world will be governed by interest. Truly my Lord I apprehend that if we should not carry this point through there would be a strange retrogradation in our affairs and nothing could more encourage the fanatic or presbyterian party in the world than to see Mr. Wingfield either put to that unnecessary and extraordinary charge or else not to obtain the Serjeantship, which God knows is no such great matter, but that those vacancies are only reserved for my Lord Chancellor's friends who are in time to be your Lordship's enemies. This is the highest ingratitude his Lordship can be guilty of to one to whom he owes his very being in the station in which he now is. I beseech your Lordship represent it to his Majesty as a thing of that consequence which will discourage his whole party in this county and be the most acceptable news in the world to the commonwealthsmen."

J. BRISBANE to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1677, June 25. Paris—"People of consequence here think the King almost at war with the parliament, and I'm sure would not have them concurring in anything. They think or say at least that the personal friendship between our Princes is such that our master hath no where else so good a security for the support of his prerogative; and I think and dare say they would be loth upon occasion the defence of it should cost them anything, and God be thanked we are not like to need their help. One day or two at most before we had the news of the last

address and adjournment of the parliament I was with Monsieur de Ruvigny who is confidently believed here and with reason to be the man in France who understands England best. He then told me he believed the parliament would give the King the 600,000*l.*, but upon harsh conditions, and appointed administrators of their own. I replied they had been of late so sparing in shaking the ministers that probably they would not desire that. He said it is true I believe they may not desire it now, parce que Monsieur le Grand. *Tresorier est de concert avec eux, qu'il leur promet que l'argent sera employé comme ils veulent et qu'ils se fieront peutêtre a luy pour une fois; mais apres cela ils en useront comme je vous dis.* The address and adjournment have been very gladly received here, and I am asked many questions about it what I can not answer, but I'm sure they wish all breaches of that kind wider than ever they will see them if there be a grain of common sense left amongst us. I find many difficulties in the revisions of sentences given against his Majesty's subjects, and am afraid they will furnish us matter of complaint and for a manifesto too if ever his majesty have occasion for it. Those of the council who are reporters of marine affairs and whom I have occasion to entertain about them do often insinuate to me their thoughts as if the King my master would be better pleased it I were slack and complying, and cry up mightily the intimate friendship between the Kings. But truly I have no secret instructions, and if I go to guess at the King's secret thoughts, I shall always think he hath a greater interest to protect his merchants than the most christian King can have to protect unjustly his privateers, a race of thieves and ever useless and unprofitable to their own country and destructive to the trade of it. I have written much to Mr. Secretary Coventry about these affairs and if I thought it worth your Lordship's while I would send you copies of my letters and other papers of these matters, but they are many, troublesome and full of chicane, so that I think better to forbear giving you that trouble.

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"On Thursday last I was with one Monsieur de Bezons a Counsellor of State, who is intimate with Monsieur de Barillon, and our marine affairs being over he asked me news from England. I told him there was discourse of a progress of the Kings to Portsmouth and Plymouth and of the Queen to the Bath. He told me that Monsieur de Barillon was preparing for England, but that he thought he would not go till the end of August. He confirmed me in a conjecture I had formerly about the change of Ambassador in England by saying *l'etat present des affaires demandoit d'autres liaisons que celles qu' avoit M. Courtin.*"—*Printed in "Danby's Letters," p.* 313.

The Same to [the Same].

1677, September 4. Paris—"The expresses that have lately gone to and again, and which I have heard of give some signs as if the treaty were followed warmly, and many people adventure to say that Nimeguen is indeed the theatre where that piece is publicly represented, but that all is concerted behind the curtain in the King of Britain's closet, and indeed I hope it is so. However, I am persuaded—without any penetration beyond what the eyes of all Europe see—that he hath the means in his hands of providing strongly for his own safety and that of his kingdoms, and doubtless he will do it with strength proportionable to the importance of the conjuncture. The no success the confederates have had, and the campaign being in the opinion of most people even ended on their parts, is like to produce disunion amongst them. And therefore the Emperor and whoever else amongst them is most concerned

LINDSEY MSS. to keep the confederacy from falling to pieces, ought immediately to employ vigorous negotiations with all the interested to keep up their hearts with new offers and measures—which will not be spared on this side to take them off from one another—and to let them see the Duke of Lorraine's long marches and subsisting all in the enemy's country, his posts near Pont a Mousson and at Mouzon, which last he might have kept all this year if he had had magazines at Luxembourg and Treves and thereby been in a condition to have kept up at work all next winter and prevented the early campaign next spring. Whatever is done in the treaty of Nimeguen or elsewhere it were very advisable to preserve carefully memorials of all that passes, that a history of the treaty be compiled, and with this caution that his Majesty's share and interposal in it be represented with all the advantages of honour, and marks of the consideration the Princes and States have for him, the effects of his power and resolution, his personal virtues, the superiority of his understanding and generosity, all which may be so done as it needs not appear to be the work of a partial hand, and therefore it would require an able one. It may perhaps be worth your Lordship's consideration, whether on the present conjuncture his Majesty ought not to send an *envoyé* to circulate amongst the Princes of Germany and the Hanse towns and all those of the confederates with whom he hath not ordinary ministers, to take fresh informations of their strength, interests, and inclinations, whose errand may easily be covered with the pretext of inviting them to and promoting the general peace, a diligence well suiting the principal mediators part; and it ought to furnish him with useful remarks, whether the peace be made or the war continue."

The SAME to [the SAME].

[1677, September].—The people here are backward to print our treaty, and but lately M. de Pomponne's first *commis* told me there was order to do it. I gave an account to Secretary Coventry lately of several dry negatives to most just demands of ours from M. de Pomponne with whom I spoke about several affairs. They will not admit of English consuls in their trading ports, a thing that hath been stipulated with Holland in former treaties. The only reason I can imagine why they use us so differently is their arbitrary way of using our merchants and seamen, which being done upon several small occasions, produces a prejudice to our people of what they are not in the gross so sensible, and this would be prevented by a watchful consul, who might from many particular grievances, raise complaints and procure redress. I am sure you will never believe they have any good will for you, and that being laid down for a principle, you may take such measures as you think best to prevent your own harms.—*On the same sheet as the preceding letter.*

The SAME to [the SAME].

1677, September 18. Paris—Giving his reasons why it was desirable that there should be consuls at the French trading ports, and narrating the difficulties which Sir David Inglis had met with from the Parliament of Bordeaux when he was sent there as consul in the year 1661 or 1662.

The EARL OF DANBY to [the COUNTESS OF DANBY].

1677, September 28. Newmarket—"You must excuse me to my brother because I have scarce time to write this to you, the King being

just going abroad, and I making myself as good a waiter as Posling himself. You may let him know that the King has consented to his being a commissioner when Sir William Lowther shall die or be removed, but will gratify some other with his place. Your brother Lindsey and my Lord Rosse are here and have complained of Sir Robert Car to the King from whom they have received very good satisfaction; and my Lord Arlington looks so dejected here, that even all we do pity him. Sir Robert Howard is also come and the King does not speak to him, so that I am here looked upon as a much greater conqueror then I am. The Duke of Albemarle arrived last night and says the Prince of Orange will be here very speedily."

*Postscript.*—"Remember to send to see my Lord Burford without any message to Nelly, and when Mrs. Turner is with you, bid her tell Nelly you wonder she should be your Lord's enemy that has always been so kind to her, but you wonder much more to find her supporting only those who are known to be the King's enemies, for in that you are sure she does very ill."

J. BRISBANE to the EARL OF DANBY.

1677, October 30 [new style]. Paris—"The Prince of Orange his voyage into England with so splendid a retinue, and at such a time whilst the armies in Alsatia are yet in the field and facing one another, renders it so probable that he goes upon his own errand and to make love, that it is become the common belief amongst us. And thereupon arises another conceit in some; that to spoil his wooing, an offer is made or to be made from hence of a much greater match for my Lady Mary; and it is presumed that if such an offer be but made—though with no intention to accomplish—the glory, as they call it, of such a hope will dazzle our prudence and make us reject an alliance of less splendour, although we do apprehend it to be more convenient. If such a negotiation be intended, it will begin by feeling our pulse and some steps preparatory to a gallant embassy; and if it be designed for consummation it will run upon wheels, all difficulties and obstacles will be overruled, and rather broke through than orderly removed; but if it be only begun to break off the other, then we shall see it spun out to a great length, and it will stick upon many points.

"The very dispensation from Rome, which costs but one courier and one pithy despatch, when Princes are resolute, if they be otherwise disposed will hold at least to the next election; the rather for that his present Holiness being extraordinary holy, the lady's heresy and the consanguinity of the parties—who are in the degree forbidden to marry by the canons—are two pills which he will never swallow without long straining, except they be thrust downe by force or well gilded with hopes of advantage to the Catholic cause."

The SAME to [the SAME].

1677, November 27 [new style]. Paris—On Tuesday I received a letter from the Secretary Williamson, "and with it I had two others inclosed one for the King and the other for Monsieur, both which I delivered with the utmost care and expedition and both with my own hand. The King's answer was in these words, *Je vous remercie de votre peine et je la verrai.* Monsieur's answer was like the King's but that he further promised an answer, and told me the King had such another; by which and by what was told me next day by the Marechal de Grammont that the letter I delivered to the King overnight was from

LINDSEY MSS. the Prince of Orange, I perceive they made no secret of them though I did make a secret of from whom they came; and therefore it is like there was nothing in them but a compliment upon occasion of his Highnesses marriage. It was expected by some here that his Majesty marrying the Princess of Orange—in the situation she was in when married—would have sent some body to acquaint this King with the design of it, and the speculative people infer from that omission—as they will reckon it to favour their inference—that this King was sufficiently preacquainted with the matter to dispense with the formality of an envoy. Though on the other hand it is certain the ministers and those of the council I converse with seem to consider that match as a thing done without any communication, counsel, or consent asked or given from this side.

"It is my Lord a wonderful care and dexterity that is used here to retrieve revenue out of every thing and at every turn. They watch attentively the channels into which the public expense conveys the money, and from these very channels it is intercepted and brought back to the pond, the King's treasury, which is the heart of this kingdom and through which all that blood circulates perpetually, remaining in no greater quantity and for no longer time in the other veins than just enough to give life and motion to the members: for there is no control to raising money by which way soever they please to go barefaced to it: and it is a pleasant thing to see how many exactions are disguised like acts of grace to those who are to pay well for them; and how some abatements of taxes are so contrived as to produce an increase of revenue; of all which dexterities I have particular instances. Upon the whole matter though all sorts of people in this kingdom must of necessity be impoverished in their turns, yet the unlimited power to create revenue and the ingenious application that is practised here about that matter, will undoubtedly furnish so many great resources that it is a vain hope in the confederates to imagine the most christian King will fail that way.

"If to this consideration of a great and certain revenue one adds the esteem this King is in with his subjects for his personal virtues and love to glory which they all admire because he is successful; the no success of so many powerful confederates, who have done nothing this summer contrary to all appearance; the abilities and vigilance of his ministers; the punctual obedience that is paid to all his orders; his vast armies; his great numbers of excellent officers exceeding the world besides; his admirable economy for provisions, forage, artillery and ammunitions which he hath in vast quantities; the near and absolute dependence of all the considerable subjects, nobility, clergy, and officers of justice, upon the crown even for this subsistance; his dreadful navy all his own without borrowing; the unitedness of all this strength in one kingdom all of a piece, from the furthest extremities of which a courier in four days comes to the Court with advices, and in as many more returns with orders; his great influence upon other courts; the facilities his ministers have to intrigue every where by their money which too often meets with venal souls, and by their language commonly understood which is no contemptible advantage, and in effect few or none of them need or will deign to learn another, their own being sufficient to serve all turns. It seems that all these laid together renders this power much more formidable, than was that of Charles the Fifth or Philip the Second of Spain; which yet raised the jealousy of all Europe against the house of Austria till it hath been brought low enough now not to be feared. It is true we are bound to believe the Spaniards

did design an universal monarchy, because all the world said so, though they themselves denied it and gave very plausible reasons for their denial; and on the contrary we must piously believe the French have no such intention, because they themselves out of modesty deny it though all the world besides affirm they have that intention. Whatever the intentions of either were or are, they may be perhaps impenetrable, or they may change in time, *l'appetit vient en mangeant*, one bit brings on another. But truly it seems if any one will sit down and compute right, and compare the circumstances of power and means mentioned before, as the house of Austria had them and used them, and as the French have them and use them: he will conclude that the French have the better tools to work with, and that they have hitherto gone the righter way to work to conquest and glory. They will tell us their friends and neighbours are sufficiently secured, by their affection, sincerity, moderation and *disinteressement* as they call it, and that it is *contre la civilité Francoise de demander d'autres suretés contre les perils que la parole de gens d'honneur.* In effect some people might find some security in that if the most solemn treaty of the Pyrenees which terminated a war of twenty-five years very advantageously to France which was confirmed by the interview of both Kings and many protestations, and cemented by a marriage: if the youth, innocence, and beauty—for we talk much here of personal *tendresses*—of the present King of Spain, and his implicated relations of blood and alliance, had saved him one foot of ground that the French armes have been able to take and keep. My Lord I do not take the liberty to write such things to your Lordship because I think you need to be put in mind of your dangers; I know very well and admire your superior understanding and vigilance, and that you have many better and more reasonable considerations than hundred such as I can furnish you with, and—which is a happinesse to your country—that all your extraordinary talents are directed to do good. But as many things evidently just and reasonable need to be helped by number of votes, and that every one makes one, I think it my duty to do the part of an out sentinel, who is bound to tell what he sees or what he thinks he sees, though he knows very well that the vigilance of his superior officers reaches far beyond his sight."—*Printed in "Danby's Letters," p.* 317.

The SAME to the SAME, at Whitehall.

1677, December 1 [new style]. Versailles—"By some hints we had from England and from the reports of the town, it is believed my Lord Feversham brought hither a project of a peace; and that belief is confirmed by the short stay he is to make here, and by the sending an extraordinary courier to Monsieur de Barillon which was done yesterday.

"If such a project be sent, it is hard to wish of what nature it should be of. If it be such as this Court would gladly embrace, either the confederates will absolutely reject it and then it will miss of its effect, or if they do allow of it, France will be in a mighty and formidable posture. If it be such as the French may admit of but with discontent and grumbling forced by the necessities of the conjuncture, then woe be to whoso ever puts hardships upon them, whenever an opportunity offers, and that they have leisure to vindicate their glory. And if the project be so very disadvantageous to France that they will rather choose the continuance of the war than submit to inglorious conditions, then it seems we may all be safe enough, and that the rest of

LINDSEY MSS. the war will not produce such unequal success, as the years past have done.

"My Lord George Douglas his regiment is appointed to meet all together at Chalons in Champagne, and his Lordship tells me he is informed—though he have not yet orders for it—that their quarters are to be assigned them in Provence, others say at Chalons sur Saone, which is in Burgundy near Lyons. Either of these quarters are certainly designed for that regiment with intention to send it into Italy where the war is to break out against the Dukedom of Milan, to which purpose this Court hath engaged the Duke of Savoy, and some others with promise of keeping for its self none of the conquests to be made, but only to employ 12,000 men to conquer for their Italian friends.

"Now my Lord I humbly offer my opinion that by all means possible the march of this regiment into Italy or even to Provence should be hindered. For it is the King's own regiment I mean our King's; by my Lord Douglas his own confession 2,500 strong—3,000 is the constant report—consisting of thirty-eight companies, and full of very good officers, which the King may recall to his own service by the capitulation between the crowns. And it is too probable the sending of it into Italy is designed on purpose to render the recalling of it difficult, almost impossible; for it is observable that they have of late employed all his Majesty's subjects in their service in those places most remote from England, for which I know they pretend it was done to prevent the deserting of the soldiers, in which there is in effect some appearance of reason. But besides that the difference is not great—as to the facility of deserting—between Flanders and Germany; I know the Douglas regiment hath been formerly for a long continuance quartered in Picardy and Artois and in Champagne some time, without much loss by deserting and it is not to be doubted, but if the regiment goes into Italy it will be lost to us irrecoverably and perish."

The SAME to the SAME.

1677, December 18 [new style]. Paris—"It is now constantly reported here that my Lord Feversham brought over a project of peace, and I am assured from a good hand that my Lady Berkley wrote it to my Lady Hamilton, and my author saw the letter which speaks of it as a thing certain. They say likewise this court is not satisfied with the project, and I am confirmed in that belief by a conversation I had this week with Monsieur le Marechal de l'Orge. I went to him and asked him whether he had any news from his brother Feversham since he went from hence and since he landed at Dover, and that discourse being over I expressed to him my admiration of the success of the King's arms and of the valour of his commanders and troops, that they should take two such places as Fribourg and St. Guislain in so few days and at such a season. He answered the King was forced to strain hard to take as much as ever he could, to oblige the enemies to come to a reasonable peace. I replied that was indeed a probable means to produce that effect, and that doubtless, by this time, there must needs be some advances towards it, and that the confederates must needs be weary of losing. He told me that for aught he could see the peace is as far off as ever; and, said he, *c'est votre faute, car si l'Angleterre eut voulu tenir ferme, et seulement se declarer resolue de se tenir dans la neutralité, les Hollandais ne se seraient jamais opiniastres a continuer une guerre qui leur coute tant, et ne leur produit rien. Mais l'Angleterre a toujours chancelee, a demandé tantot une chose et tantot une autre, et enfin on nous fait*

*des propositions de paix que l'on sait bien nous ne pouvons pa s* accepter. *Ensuite il me dit qu'il n'y avoit que les Hollandais a craindre pour nous, et allegue quelque raisons pour cela,* and as he was full of that matter I did not interrupt him, till he was called for to go to the King and so broke off. LINDSEY MSS.

"I think it very observable that nothing is spared to carry on their work here, of which the taking of St. Guislain is a special instance. For the soldiers in this siege were allowed their full pay as in winter; and besides every man had his ration of bread as in the field, and over and above all that they had proportions of flesh and brandy distributed to them; they had huts in the camp of an extraordinary fashion and cost, and every man upon duty had a great warm coat—which they call a Brandenbourg—and a pair of sabots to keep his feet dry in the trenches. Whoever can be at this expense for a place not of the greatest consideration, must either be very imprudent, which is not to be thought; or must be far from the fear of wanting money.

"On Tuesday last Monsieur de Pomponne—after a long conference about our maritime affairs of which I have given an accompt to Mr. Secretary—asked me about our insurrection in Scotland of which they have relations here. I answered that I had a report of it here in town, but that I did not believe it true or considerable because my letters from Scotland—and that is really true—make not the least mention of it. He assured me seriously with a countenance of concernment and seeming sorry for it, that it was true and that the rebels set up the covenant again which created all the troubles to the late King. I hope and believe there is nothing in that rapport or very little of truth, or but enough to serve a good turn. But if there should be any considerable commotions of that kind I should mightily suspect the hand of joal (?) there as I do suspect it shrewdly in the war we have now with Algiers. There is yet living in France one Monsieur de Montreuil who was resident with the rebels in Scotland many years together during the troubles of the late King; and there be some old enough to remember the negotiations he had there with which they were perfectly acquainted."

The SAME to the SAME.

1677, December 22 [new style]. Paris—Introducing Lord Dumbarton.

The SAME to the SAME.

1677, December 31 [new style]. Paris—"The present conjuncture is certainly very busy, and your Lordship's situation with the honourable share you have in his Majesty's resolutions must needs expose you to many importunities no less frivolous than those which my blind zeal now and then thrusts me upon. And therefore without any further preface or better apology than what your Lordship's favourable construction will make for me, I adventure to offer at a proposal, which will need all your indulgence for me; and in order to it I suppose a few things to be true because it seems they should be so.

"The first supposition is that we are to enter into the war with France: for it is so much talked of here by great and small, that one cannot refuse to believe it at least historically.

"The second that this war being undertaken at the earnest solicitations of the confederates even almost desponding, the King will have his choice of cautionary towns and landing places,

LINDSEY MSS

"The third is that the Parliament will heartily concur and observe all respectful duty to his Majesty; which I suppose and pray Almighty God for, not onely because it is in its self one of the most desirable blessings; but because I know perfectly it will be a great mortification and disappointment to our ennemies.

"The fourth thing to be supposed is that with these advantages, the King will form some great and noble design suitable to the glory of his person and reign, for the safety of his crown and dominions, and to bring back to a competency this overgrown power and dangerous ambition.

"These things being granted it may be worth considering whether St. Sebastian and Fontarabia be not the most convenient places we can ask or the confederates can give, because they afford a near and quick entrance into France, and into such a part of it as is not thronged with strong towns, where we may meet with little other opposition but that of fighting men in the field without walls, in which sort of war it is the belief of mankind we are inferior to no nation under heaven.

"The Spaniards need not be jealous of us with these places in our hands, because they have the impassable mountains of Biscay behind us; and it seems they ought to further our acquisitions in France on that side for the same reasons by which they judge it to be our interest to maintain them in Flanders.

"If the port of St. Sebastian be not found excellent, yet between that and Fontarabia there is another called Los Passages which hath been much commended; and it is a probable opinion, that foreign ports at a reasonable distance, not without reach of supplies from home, are more useful to England than if they were very near.

"An invasion on that side would cause a distraction of the enemy's forces, and—if we made any progress—a great loss of revenue to them and the people thereabout are of suspected obedience, having been often chastised for their mutinies.

"There are as is reported many good serviceable horses in these parts of Spain, so that we should need for cavalry to transport only men, arms, and furniture for them. But now that I am sure I have committed a great fault in pursuing so far my idle thoughts to your Lordship's great trouble, it remains that I implore your pardon for the sake of an extreme good intention, which tempts me to try all the way I can think of to be useful.

"Monsieur de Guilleragues a *Secretaire du Cabinet* and an able man, told me on Tuesday last that he is going Ambassador to Constantinople, and it is true. If he should have any instruction to create disturbances to our Levant trade, as it may be suspected, Sir John Finch's vigilance will easily prevent it, especially if he have any hint given him to that purpose. . . .

"The Marechal de Schomberg continues still to speak very confidently to me, of his regret that he missed settling in England, the reasons why he desired it, and why it was advisable for the King to keep him there; that my Lord Arlington was for it but not enough. That his religion hath been and ever will be a hindrance to him here; and that his baton de Marechal is rather a clog to him than an advantage; and that it was bestowed upon him for no other end, just in a time when he was in treaty with the Emperor, having failed of an establishment in England, which if he might choose he would prefer to all the rest of the world to live and die in; and he expresses much affection for the King's person."

### Sir William Temple to the Earl [of Danby].

Lindsey MSS.

[1678 ?] January 3—"I obeyed your Lordship's commands in speaking yesterday with Monsieur Van Beninghen. The points he intended to entertain your Lordship with as necessary in case of a war, I find were these.

"To enter into a concert with all the confederates for prohibiting all French commodities, of what sort soever.

"To endeavor to engage the cantons of Switzerland in the confederacy, so as to bring in an army of theirs upon France either jointly with the Imperialists or separately.

"To send a fleet of English and Dutch immediately for reducing Messina, and another to block up the French ports, but strong only in proportion to the fleet the French were like to set out, so as without too great expense a certain number of ours might be always out, and at no time leave the seas open to the French.

"His Majesty not only to make treaties [with] Holland but likewise with all the confederates and make himself head [of] the [who]le alliance, and govern the [ ] by his counsels and directions [ ] hereunto to enter into conferences w[ith] their ministers here so soon as [ ] is resolved. [ ]ly are for the defence [ ] which he believed the Spaniards would put into his Majesty's hands, and said they trusted so far to him for the defence of those two places that they had very weak garrisons at this time in them.

"To oblige the Spaniards by particular treaty to the maintaining at least twenty-five thousand men in Flanders, and to advise the States to keep up their army at least forty thousand effective and pay no more, where as they were now near fourscore thousand upon the state of war and yet little above thirty thousand effective—which I took to be spoken with some reflexion upon the Prince.

"To have a land army aboard the fleet fit for any exploit there should be occasion for, and besides, at least fifteen thousand men to throw into Flanders for defence of the places near the maritime ports.

"All these he said he spoke of, not *comme un ambassadeur mais comme un discoureur seulement sur l'affaire*, and he made it good by the length and circumstance of his discourses.

"He reckon'd from his Majesty's to him two days since, that within two days more we should know certainly whether it would be a peace or a war, but knew nothing that I could observe of any suspension in proposal.

"I should have waited on your Lordship with this account, but that my illness yesterday and last night hindered me."

### A Treaty.

[1678 ?]—Notes of alterations in a proposed treaty between the Emperor, Spain, and Holland.—*In Sir William Temple's handwriting.*

### J. Brisbane to [the Earl of Danby.]

1678, July 9 [new style]. Paris—"I did yesterday visit A. R. [Monsieur Courtin] and as it happened found him at home at leisure, and it seems in an humour to speak freely enough. I adventure to trouble your Lordship with an accompt of that conversation as near as I can recollect it, being sorry I cannot better entertain your Lordship nor make any more profitable use of the freedom you are pleased to allow me.

LINDSEY MSS.

"Concerning the stop to the signing of the peace he says they do not doubt but 38 [Dr. Emanuel de Lyra] will comply with 55 [the King of France] in every thing; because no man will dare now to speak of war, the people being *ebranlé* and made fond of the peace—which was certainly the only design of publishing the project and of the letter of the 18th of May—so sure they reckon those measures they take from the humours of people what they think will never agree amongst themselves.

"He told me likewise he hoped now all would go well between 55 [the King France] and 88 [the King of England] though there have been several causes of discontent given, which I perceive are not forgotten, because he could tell them upon his fingers.

"As first the voyage of 19 [Prince of Orange] which was assented to contrary to preengagements, upon a letter brought by my Lady Temple and which was not communicated to R.C. [Duke of York] till 88 [King of England] did give it him and that without the participation or knowledge of 55 [the French King] or his ministers. To which I replied that voyage was so public and mentioned in all gazettes so long before its execution and otherwise so impossible to be concealed that it was not probable any body would think to make a secret of it.

"Secondly the declaring the marriage next day after a promise made to M. Barillon that it should not be till after the peace. To this I said that if he A. R. [Monsieur Courtin] had been upon the place he would never have needed to excuse his own credulity by alleadying a promise that never was made.

"Thirdly the alliance with Holland and my Lord Duras his message was mentioned and exaggerated. And to this I said that most men did find the conditions of peace stipulated in that treaty so advantageous to France that they were persuaded it was done by concert with 55 [the King of France] and nobody can easily believe he is in earnest when he seems to dislike it.

"Then he spoke of the calling 2 [the Parliament] and lastly our troops sent into Flanders; and to these points I told him he certainly knew these actions were not only in themselves reasonable and prudent but otherwise very consistent with the greatest friendship and designed in their favour to produce the peace they had so much reason to desire and which they did so earnestly pursue.

"He told me likewise—but I do not remember in which period of our conversation—that the things 88 [the King of England] desired of 2 [the Parliament] in his last proposition were very reasonable and fit to be done, but he did believe 2. [the Parliament] was not disposed to let 00 [my Lord Treasurer] have the credit of being instrumental of such an advantage. This is the old string I have found them harping upon; and to try what he would say I applauded his penetration and knowledge of our affairs, and asked who else he thought would be fit to promote 88 [the King of Englands] interests. He answered with hums and hà's, and named nobody and truly I could name nobody to him. But a while after and upon another occasion he said one of 8. A [Scotland] seemed to him the most qualified for the ministry of all he had practised, were it not for his passions and those of his consort.

As such conversations never end without compliments on both sides, he was very profuse of them to me, and assured me that Mr. Colbert and all those of the Council that I have had to do with, do highly commend me for many good qualities—of all which I only own a little labour and perfect integrity—and that he could bear me witness that I had

with extraordinary success appeased the quarrels and prevented many disorders which would have arisen about prizes and might have created great trouble ; upon this I took occasion to tell him freely that I wondered much that Mr. Colbert had never given way to the restitution of any thing confiscated before I came hither, especially seeing I had assured him that we would use so strict and accurate a discerning between the just complaints of our people and those that were fraudulous, that he needed not fear to open a door to numerous and excessive reparations. He acquiesced to that and blamed O. B. [Marquis of Seignelay] modestly enough imputing the errors to his youth. And to be even with him for his commendations I found means to extol his great abilities and his perfect knowledge of foreign affairs and his dexterity in managing them, which rendered him in the opinion of all men the best qualified for the service of L. 8 [Monsieur de Pomponne]. Thereupon he told me a pretty singularity. That he was in passe and in every body's eye for that employment but that he lost his opportunity when the last vacancy happened by being at home. For said he S. P. [Monsieur le Tellier] persuaded 55 [the King of France] to give it to L. 8 [Pomponne] who was then with U. C. [King of Suedeland] and that in the interim 33 [Monsieur Louvois] might exercise the place which gave him his first entrance into the Council ; where he hath ever since stuck as master as you see. And L. [8 Pomponne] will often say merrily that if he had been at home he had never been advanced to the post he hath." *Partly printed in* "Danby's Letters," p. 319. LINDSEY MSS.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, July 30. Paris—"Monsieur Courtin told me yesterday that he had shewed the Duke of York that my Lord Treasurer was not respectful to him when a resolution being taken to prorogue the Parliament my Lord Treasurer advised the King to continue it without the knowledge of the Duke ; they spare nothing to mischief him.

"Thursday last Monsieur Gioe was three hours shut up with Monsieur de Pomponne ; Friday Monsieur de Bonœuil visited me, on purpose—I think—to tell me of it, both designing to give jealousy of him. Yesterday Monsieur Gioe told me it was true, and that it was on no business, but former kind acquaintance. I said, if he had no business it would be thought otherwise and I think he should have made his visit public and in company of many ; he mistook and was proud of the honour."

SIR LEOLINE JENKINS to [the EARL OF DANBY.]

[16]78–9, January 2. Nimeguen—"Since my last of the 5th of the last month I have let pass no opportunity to wait on M. Olivecrantz in order to have from him that further light he had given me some hopes of, as I acquainted your Lordship ; and for a motive to induce him to it, I thought I could not do better than represent to him the great expectation his Majesty is pleased to be in of a good deal of light from him in the present conjuncture.

"His answers were very respectful towards his Majesty but it was easy to perceive that there was no coming into any closer confidence with him in this matter, before he be first satisfied how Monsieur du Cros came to partake of the informations I had given your Lordship concerning Mr. Montague.

"He does not now say—I come from speaking with him this very morning—that he hath not yet heard from his friend with whom he

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hath a correspondence by cypher; but he says that in his informations he hath nothing that can give any light as to any thing of a conspiracy against his Majesty's person; whom God in his mercy preserve and bless! nor does he know any thing of the plottings of any of the King's subjects against the Government.

"He says particularly, that he can say no more then he hath said—and of that I have already given your Lordship an account—touching Mr. Montague, the person from whom he had his informations being now in Sweden.

"All the informations, he says, that may have come to his knowledge —*dont je pourrois avoir connoissance* were his words—are concerning the intrigues that the Papists in several parts do carry on against the Protestant religion, and that their design was to be put in execution in England in the first place.

"That the design was not against England only, but against all Protestant States; and against Sweden in particular but that the design against England is, for the present, prevented and disappointed.

"That these designs are laid and managed by the Pope and his Jesuits; but since they cannot be brought about but by force, it is certain there are some secular powers that are to act as the Pope and his Jesuits shall have prepared things; that those powers will act seemingly in favour of the Popish religion; but their main end will be to serve their own turns, and to promote their own interests.

"These powers he did not name; though I made it my request he would be pleased to be particular in this point; and to let me have some knowledge whom he meant.

"He said further, that while the powers thus engaged are persuaded that this is yet a secret, they will think of gaining time to ripen things, still for their own ends; but if they perceive that the thing hath once taken wind, and that the Protestants are in alarm at it, they will balance no longer but put things to a push; which he the Ambassador looks upon as of infinite consequence to all Protestant States, so to Sweden in particular at this time.

"For this reason principally, that is, for the danger that Sweden would be in, if the secret he hath should take wind at this time, he desires to be excused from entering into any communication of particulars, most especially from committing any thing to writing.

"He thinks he may be at liberty after that the conferences we are now in are over, to take a turn for a few days into England in order to acquaint his Majesty with all particulars; and to negociate some affairs of the King his master.

"This is all he would communicate to me; though I offered him all assurances to keep the thing as secret as himself could wish, but finding him resolved not to do it but to his Majesty himself, I desired him to consider there might be infinite danger in delaying the notice of it to his Majesty. His answer was there is none, and that he is sure of it there can be none; the measures against England being now broken."

J. BRISBANE to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1678–9, January 8.—A letter in cipher. Endorsed: "In cipher about Mr. Montagu's designs against me, &c. And great joy in France for my troubles in the Parliament."

[The Earl of Danby] to Sir William Temple. Lindsey MSS.

1678–9, January 8.—"You will easily believe by what I doubt not but you have had from others that I have been too much employed to give you the trouble of a letter before this time, and yet there is nothing I can be more concerned for than to have the Prince of Orange rightly informed both as to what regards the King and myself in those transactions which Mr. Montagu hath so treacherously and falsely represented to the wounding of the King through my sides. For that end I have sent you the copy of that letter which Mr. Montagu has produced in the House of Commons both for your own information and to be made such use of as you shall think fit and though it be enough for me that I had his Majesty's command under his hand to write that letter as well as many others to Mr. Montagu, yet on the King's part it will appear that his Majesty bargained for no peace nor no town, for if he would have done that I have it to shew under Mr. Montagu's hand that his Majesty might have sold towns for as much as they were worth and the money have been sent with secrecy, and offers to have made my future what I pleased if I would have been the instrument for them to the King; instead of which as I scorned that office so his Majesty would never hear of any propositions but such as Holland and Spain should approve and you will see it was only in case those propositions which were sent by Lord Coventry should be accepted by France that his Majesty would have endeavoured—by the persuasion of Mr. Montagu—to get money from them and at a time when he had all the discouragements imaginable both at home and abroad to make him believe that the war would neither be continued by those who were already engaged in it nor have been supported here to any degree that was necessary.

"Another thing that troubles me more then Mr. Montagu's accusation of me is that the distempers here have so blasted all credits of money that I have not been able to procure for the Prince upon the Act that money which has been so long due to him and for which I had given my own promise as I had received other men's to me who never failed me before, and I do protest that were I any way able to encompass, it upon my own estate I would have pawned it before this time to have performed with the Prince; and although I am still in hopes it will not be long before I shall get the money, yet I am ashamed to write to his highness until I can give him an account of the money being in Mr. Godolphin's hands. I most earnestly beg your kind management of all these matters with the Prince and that a right information of his Majesty's transactions with France may be given both to the States and to all the foreign ministers to whom you shall think it necessary. I am by his Majesty's command directed to let you know by this post that he intends very speedily to give leave to Mr. Secretary Coventry to retire from his employment and is desirous to have you there rather then any other, that although his condition be so ill that he has not money for his necessary occasions yet he is willing to secure to Secretary Coventry 5,000*l.* of the 10,000*l.* he is to have for his place and will be hereafter willing to reimburse to yourself the latter 5,000*l.* if you will lay it down, but that not being able to do the whole for you at present as he intended he supposes you will look upon this offer of his Majesty's as a great mark of his kindness and such an one as he shall not shew to any other and therefore expects your answer to it by the first opportunity. Having delivered his Majesty's message pray give me leave to offer my own advice that you would cheerefully embrace his Majesty's kindness in the manner

LINDSEY MSS. he offers it, and that you would do it by a letter to himself. I know how readily you may furnish yourself with objections against it, but I think it would be but finding out objections against yourself which I can by no means agree to."

SIR LEOLINE JENKINS to [the EARL OF DANBY.]

[16]78-9, January 13. Nimeguen—"I took the first occasion to move Monsieur Olivecrantz anew in his Majesty's name, acquainting him with the special command I had to do so, and with the expectation his Majesty is in to have from him of a further light touching Mr. Montagu.

"He answered me that he had nothing more to say than what he had already said in that business. That the gentleman who gave him the intelligence is now in Sweden. That it were no such hard matter —now that the house where Mr. Montagu had his conferences with the Nuncio, as also that the time when he had them, is distinctly pointed out, and that the *Abbé Siry* is a man so well known—to discover more of that intrigue than his—the Ambassador's—correspondent, if he were within reach, would be able to say. In fine, my Lord, after many affirmations of his desire to serve his Majesty and to satisfy your Lordship, his conclusion was, that he had nothing more to say touching Mr. Montagu. And for other matters, which he had hinted to me in general, as 'tis in my last of the second current, that he reserved himself till he should have the honour to wait on his Majesty.

"I am extremely sorry not to be able to draw more informations from this Ambassador in a matter so important to his Majesty but I cannot hope that Monsieur Olivecrantz will open himself further to me in this affair.

J. BRISBANE to CHARLES BERTIE, at the Treasury Chamber.

1679, January 14 [new style]. Paris—"I have been three several times in one week at St. Germains which hath taken up much of my time, and on Wednesday last I had an audience of the King of which I have given an account to Mr. Secretary who I presume will communicate it to my Lord Treasurer, so that I need not trouble his Lordship with it, the rather that I fear he hath too litle leisure too read such letters as I might write to him. We are now wanting two posts from England and full of impatience to know what you are doing. One thing is certain that the news of my Lord Treasurer's impeachment and the circumstance of Mr. Montagu's box and papers was here in town two days before I had any letter about it or any body that I know, so that it was either sent hither quickly or foreseen. I hope by this time you have the letter I wrote to his Lordship by Mr. Bridge, and I must now entreat you to remember me and the danger I am in if you forget me. I could tell you of many perplexities I am in if I thought you had any leisure to consider other people's troubles when you have for aught I know too many of your own. I have told you several things which have proved true, and if you would recollect them, it would perhaps get me the credit of no ill guesser in your opinion. A certain zealous and very busy Papist on Tuesday last triumphed mightily that the Parliament was fallen upon my Lord Treasurer, and hoped they would not find leisure to mind the poor priests, and said it was the right work of a Parliament to hang great officers of State."

The SAME to the SAME.

Same date and place—"Barillon's letter to Monsieur Pomponne says Holmes the first man of England for the sea and two more are put out for voting against my Lord Treasurer, and that many of the King's best friends constant to him in all other occasions voted so also.

"My Lady Cleveland says that Mr. Montagu hath long designed my Lord Treasurer's ruin and would have put her upon it. One Puymoran, a great friend of Mr. Montagu, hath a letter from him excusing his proceeding; he speaks at Court his reasons, which are no other but that my Lord Treasurer persecuted him, to which I give the lie by what I know.

"I am sure there is great joy here for my Lord Treasurer's troubles and nothing will be spared to break him, I have told you so long ago."

The SAME to the SAME.

1679, January 18 [new style]. Paris—"Old Ruvigny visited me yesterday. Told me my Lord Treasurer was able and bold; that the prorogation is a *coup de parti*; that he saved much money in the House of Commons, but all for himself and not for the King, and that accusations against my Lord Treasurer had been hissed out of the House of Commons, when the next day the same men voted against the King's interest. This obstinacy to hunt my Lord Treasurer here ought to tie fast honest men to him." *Printed in* "Danby's Letters," p. 325.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to [the EARL of DANBY],

1679, January 23 [new style]. The Hague—"Though I know very well Lordship is too busy to be troubled with empty letters, and there passes nothing of importance to fill one from hence, yet upon the part your Lordship's name had in the last newspapers and journals from England I cannot forbear giving you this trouble, though it be only to assure your Lordship how great a sense I have of whatever touches you in any kind and with how much impatience I expect the good news of some happy issue out of these present distractions in England, wherein I see your Lordship has so sensible a part, and the consequences whereof are already felt abroad as well as at home, and will I fear be more so every day. I can assure your Lordship all men I meet with here lament our misfortunes at this time as a concern of their own and so they esteem it considering the condition of this country, and of Flanders without a support from England, and they think the peace of Germany to be fallen into much worse terms already upon the late ill posture of our affairs.

"Your Lordship will find the Prince's sense of it in the enclosed. I am sure what both his Highness and the States express of it upon all occasions is very great, and particularly of what concerns your Lordship. But I keep you from being so much better entertained, that I shall do it no longer, nor increase this present trouble." *Printed in* "Danby's Letters," p. 271.

The SAME to [the SAME].

1679, January [27 new style]. The Hague—"I had the honor of one from your Lordship of the 9th and defered not upon the receipt thereof, to make that use of it here which you intended, and was indeed in a manner necessary for his Majesty's service and justification as well as your

LINDSEY MSS. Lordship's here. I communicated the first part of it to some of the States who are in chief credit here, and to the Imperial and Spanish ministers, who all took notice of those clauses in it which showed how great advantages might have been made by bargaining for any towns; how no conditions were proposed but such as were approved by Spain and Holland; and how the thoughts of making any advantages of that itself were entertained only at the persuasions of Mr. Montagu. And in the several conversations I have had upon this subject here, I may assure your Lordship all was done with the success you desired.

"For the Prince who was gone from Utrecht to Arnheim about the time I received your Lordship's dispatch, I thought there could be no way so good of performing your commands towards his Highness as by sending him, the letter itself, by which he could best see how much you were concerned, both in his good opinion and in his particular affair of the money due to him, which I am sure could not have been by me so well expressed as in your Lordship's own words. You will before this time have been fully satisfied by the letter I lately sent you enclosed, how much the Prince was concerned in your part of what lately happened in England, and how little reason you had to apprehend any change of His Highness's opinion in what concerned your Lordship upon that occasion, and I know very well that he wrote that letter with kinder intentions than only of making you a compliment at that time. For the money he never said one word of it to me in several conversations about those affairs, further than complaining of his own ill luck, since he was sure to have received it within four or five days, at the time when that trouble was given your Lordship there, which he reckoned upon as what must certainly delay it till some better settlement in his Majesty's affairs, and especially that of the revenue.

"Having acquitted myself of the duty I owed your Lordship upon the first part of your letter, I find another I owe to his Majesty upon the latter, of which I despair of being able to acquit myself as I ought to do, or as the sense of so great a grace and favor justly obliges me to. The distinction his Majesty is pleased to make between me and other men, both in esteeming me fit for the discharge of so great a trust, and in offering to be himself at the charge of Mr. Secretary Coventry's retiring from it, is that I am sure that I shall never live to forget, though I can never hope to deserve, and therefore must beg of your Lordship to assist me in making the heartiest and humblest acknowledgments to his Majesty, that any servant can make to the best master in the world. After this is done I am very sorry that I must make so true and plain a confession of myself, as I am forced to do upon this occasion. If I found myself capable of doing his Majesty the service that would become me in such a post, I should esteem it the greatest and indeed the only happiness that could befall me at this time, and in the poor remainders of my life. But the sensible decays I feel of late in myself and which must increase every day with my age and ill health, make me absolutely dispair of acquitting myself as I ought, and would be necessary for his Majesty's service in a post that requires not only great abilities, but good health and all the application that can be, neither of which I can any ways promise either his Majesty or myself. And I may pretend to be so honest a man as never to make so ill a bargain for so good a master, which would be like selling him very dear, a horse that I knew to be old and resty, and not at all fit for the service he designed him.

"I beg your Lordship to represent this to his Majesty not as any affected modesty, nor as a speaker's form of disabling himself when he

is chosen, for your Lordship may please to remember I wrote the same thing to you six months ago, and Mr. Hyde knows very well the thoughts of this kind he both found and left me in at his last being here. The season I have since passed in a place so unkind to my health has given me a great deal of reason to continue them and to think myself not at all fit to enter upon so great and laborious an employment or even to continue this longer than the spring, beyond which time I can foresee little use his Majesty can have of me here; and whenever he shall please to end it, I doubt not but he will give me leave to seek for a little better health in some better climate." *Printed in* "Danby's Letters," p. 273. LINDSEY MSS.

The KING to the DUKE OF ORMOND.

1678–9, January—"It would be convenient to the present condition of my affairs that I might for some time put your employment of steward of my household into the hands of one I would gratify at the present with that place. I do not intend by it to take the place from you if you should at any time leave the command you have in Ireland but since your necessary services in that country will require your constant attendance there, this will in the mean time be suitable to my service and shall be no prejudice to you. I will make no excuses to take off any marks of unkindness in this matter because I have given you so many proofs of the contrary." *Copy in the Earl of Danby's handwriting.*

The EARL OF DANBY to his son, VISCOUNT LATIMER.

1678–9, February 3. London—"I have just now received yours and did believe you would find disadvantage [in ] delay. In the call of a new Parliament the writs do not issue to the several boroughs, but only one to the Sheriff in each county." The writ for Buckinghamshire was given to Mr. Hampden and by him to the undersheriffs, at whose hands the precept ought to be looked for, and you will do best to employ other chapmen to get it for you. The High Sheriff dined with me, but I find him such a sot that he knows not what his undersheriffs do. If you find you will not prevail for your brother, I would have him come away immediately and I will send him to Corfe, where I find you might be chosen.

The KING to the DUKE OF YORK.

1678–9, February—"I have already given you my reasons at large why I think it fit that you should absent yourself from me for some time; as I am truly sorry for the occasion so you may be sure I shall never desire it longer then will be absolutely necessary both for your good and my service. In the meantime I think it proper to give you under my hand that I expect this compliance from you, and desire it may be as soon as conveniently you can." Draft. *Endorsed in the Earl of Danby's hand*: "I gave this to the King 26th of February [16]78–9."

The EARL OF DANBY to the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

1678–9, February 11. London—"I should very unwillingly trouble your highness with a letter until I could write a full satisfaction in the matter of your highness's money, but I was earnestly entreated by my Lord Sunderland to recommend him to your highness as one devoted to your service, and since he has been desirous of his own accord to offer it to your highness I hope you may rely upon it. When I had begun

LINDSEY MSS. this letter I received a lucky message from my Lady Temple which gave a fresh occasion of putting the King in mind of his former intentions to employ my Lord Ambassador Temple as one of his Secretaries of State, and it has met with so good success, that his Majesty has been pleased to call him over immediately, and although it be not a present revocation from his embassy, yet I hope that will shortly follow and his Lordship become a more useful servant to your highness here than he can be in Holland. I am so tired this day with writing that I would have forborne my Lord Sunderland's compliment till next post but that I knew your highness would be well enough satisfied with the news concerning Sir William Temple by whose assistance your servants will be very strong in this court: You will please to let this be private because there is nothing yet known of it here." *Printed in* "Danby's Letters," p. 240.

The EARL OF DANBY to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1678–9, February 11. London — "You will by this post receive orders from his Majesty by my Lord Sunderland to come over instead of Sir Leoline Jenkins; and that you may know the true cause of it—which you will not receive from my Lord Sunderland—I had this day an assurance by my cousin your son from my Lady Temple, and afterwards from her Ladyship that Sir Joseph Williamson being removed, thereby the chief obstacle was taken away which made you unwilling to undertake the Secretary's place with such a partner as might not concur as you desired to the King's service. Upon this encouragement I resolved to lose no time of trial how far his Majesty had fixed his resolutions about Sir Leoline and finding him still willing to prefer you before him, I desired that Sir Leoline's order for coming over might be stopped by this post, and the same direction sent to yourself which was given him before, viz., to come over as soon as may be to his Majesty, and that not as a revocation—which may be better done after you are here—but as a journey in obedience to his Majesty's command. The inclosed to the Prince was designed—at my Lord Sunderland's request—to have recommended him to his Highness, who gives me very great assurance of his readiness to serve him, but since this change has happened so suddenly, which I am confident will please the Prince as well as it does me—and I am sure it cannot do more—I could not but communicate it to his Highness, although it will be necessary to keep it secret, because otherwise it may receive a prejudice you shall know hereafter, and at this instant I dare answer that none in England either know or think of it but your Lady, my Lord Sunderland, your son, and myself." *Copy. Printed in* "Danby's Letters," p. 281.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1679, February 28 [new style]. The Hague—"I received last Saturday the honor of one from your Lordship of the 11th which I confess surprised me more then any I ever received from you, coming not only after my orders and preparations for Nimeguen, but after my wife had told me from your Lordship how all that affair had played, and after I had written to her how infinitely sensible I was of the obligations I had to your Lordship in the whole course of it, and how perfectly I was satisfied as to myself with the plie it had taken. Time alone must tell if either his Majesty or I have reason to be satisfied with the change you have made in that measure, which will

depend upon the success of it towards those public ends I am confident your Lordship aims at in it, and which none can answer for. I wish to God I could deserve half the honor your Lordship does me by your good opinion, for I never can the kindness of your intention—whatever may come of it—though no man can be more sensible then I am of it. For the rest I shall not trouble your Lordship further with any discourses upon that subject being like to have the honor of waiting on you so soon for I hope God willing to go aboard the yacht to morrow or next day if wind and weather suffer me, and with your Lordship's good leave shall make my first step into the Cockpit." *Copy. Printed in* "Danby's Letters," p. 283. LINDSEY MSS.

[J.] B[RISBANE] to [the EARL OF DANBY.]

1679, March 8 [new style]. Paris—"My Lady Scroop has a letter that my Lord Treasurer has removed Secretary Williamson because he refused to give up a bond of 20,000*l.* with which he was intrusted for my Lord O'Brien, the same to be forfeited by you if the match broke off on your side. So many enemies you have here and there both."

The DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

1678–9, March 17—The pardon desired by the Duke of Buckingham. *Latin. Draft.*

The SAME.

1678–9, March—"The Right Honorable George, Duke of Buckingham doth hereby declare that he believes himself bound in conscience and duty to God and his Majesty to reveal to his Majesty all that any way comes to his knowledge of any plot or conspiracy against his sacred person, and the present government or any of his Majesty's Ministers of State. And he doth hereby engage upon his honor to do the same."

*Endorsed:* "Note of what the Duke of Buckingham would have signed to get a new pardon from the King, in March 1678–9."

The KING to CHARLES BERTIE.

1678–9, March 18. Whitehall—Discharging him in respect of a sum of 247,962*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* expended on secret service, without account, between the 25th of March 1676 and the 15th of March 1878–9. *Copy.*

J. BRISBANE to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1679, March 19 [new style]. Paris—At this Court they are driving on great designs against England, and very industrious in getting all the advantage over us they can by alliances and other ways.

"There is great correspondance held in Scotland, and assurances from hence of assistance on all occasions, advising to entertain correspondance with their friends in the north of Ireland: Your acquaintance is invited hither with promise to continue his pension and to be well received at Court, and other kindness showed him, desiring only of him to keep his friends together and get what others he can to be favorable to the design of liberty of conscience: And 'tis said here that Scotland and Ireland, are to be joined together, and have a king of their own. They have already several agents there to forward their design, and many are sent

LINDSEY MSS. purposely into England to gain our best seamen, with assurance of free liberty of conscience, naturalization, and constant pensions and foundations for themselves and children; in short they make use of all inventions, and subtilties imaginable to be as strong as us at sea, and always in readiness to assist any body that pretends to disturb us, by joining together under a pretence of liberty of conscience.

"They are fitting out at Marseilles twenty-eight galleys which the Marshall de Vivonne is to command, and twelve men of war at Toulon which the Chevallier de Tourville is to command, said to be employed against Tripoli, but others say for the assistance of Portugal if there be occasion; they are likewise fitting out at Brest, Rochefort, and other places in the Manche, thirty-six or forty good men of war all carrying upwards of fifty guns, which Comte d'Estres is to command.

"The Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, have their agents here. Colonel Scott, is the Dukes, and one that goes by the name of Mr. Benson is the Lord Shaftesbury's."

### [The EARL OF DANBY].

1678–9 [March 22].—The King's speech to both Houses of Parliament concerning the Earl of Danby.

"I met you here to put an end of that which may hinder our business, for I perceive the prosecution of my Lord Treasurer has put a stop to all business. I declare I have given him his pardon under the Great Seal of England before this Parliament met and if there be any thing wanting in form of circumstance I will give it him ten times over, for I will secure him in his person and his fortune, which is no more than I commonly do to my servants when they quit my service, as the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Shaftesbury well know. And as for his concealing the plot he could not be guilty of that, for he knew nothing of it but what he had from me, and as for the letters he is accused of he wrote them by my particular command, and as I have removed him from his place, so I will from my Court and Councils not to return. Now 'tis high time to go upon the public concern of the nation, which I think every body will do that loves the good and safety of the nation."

### The EARL OF DANBY to KING CHARLES II.

[1679, *c* March 25.]—"The humble petition of Thomas Earl of Danby, sheweth—

"That it hath pleased your Majesty by your repeated promises both to myself and others to give me your royal word and assurances that you would never suffer any thing to pass either against my life, or my estate, upon any consideration whatsoever. But so it is that an Act is lately passed both houses, not only for the taking away my whole estate, and subsistence in this world, but by the same Act your Majesty is disabled from restoring it again to me or mine—although some would maliciously persuade your Majesty to the contrary.

"Now forasmuch as by the said Act I and mine must be left to the utmost miseries of this world—if your Majesty should pass the same—and that I do much rather desire that a bill may pass against my life, provided my estate may remain to my wife and children, I do upon my knees most humbly implore your Majesty that you would not pass the bill; but rather that my life may appease the malice of my enemies, which I shall as cheerfully deliver up for your Majesty's convenience as I have faithfully lived in your service."

[Viscount Latimer] to his father [the Earl of Danby]. Lindsey MSS.

[1679, *c.* March 25.]—"How great an affliction it is to me to see your Lordship brought into this condition by your good services and eternal studies for your Prince's happiness you may easily guess when you think how good and kind a father you have been to us all and how unnatural we should be if it did not touch us to the quick. I am extremely troubled to see that all your endeavours and all the hazards you have run to serve his Majesty could not oblige him to stick closer to you when you suffer for his sake. He has now given his consent for a proclamation to come out against you to take you where ever they can, and indeed he has been either so timorous or cool in your behalf that he has never let the Lords that were your friends come to a division for you, but the Duke of Monmouth who they have made the cats foot to bring you to this is so eternally with him that nothing he does is to be wondered att. My Lord since your going away Mr. Bladen and Mr. Knox have been to acquaint both my Lord Ailesbury, Bath, and myself with some things that are able to invalidate the testimony of Bedloe and Oates against your Lordship some part whereof they had acquainted you with before, as they tell us; but if the men will swear what they say which Mr. Knox says they are desirous to swear, both the Lords are of opinion that if your Lordship stands your trial their evidence may prove of great service to you if their depositions were sworn to before a justice of peace. But I was unwilling to do anything without your Lordships advice which I beg I may have speedily; and besides Mr. Bladen and Knox asked me where they must have money to treat them when they meet them. I wish your Lordship saw their depositions, which if you have a mind I will send you, and then you may be abler to command me how to serve you."

The Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Danby.

1679, April 1. Welbeck—Expressing his concern at the violence of the House of Commons against the Earl, and regretting that his indisposition preventing him from coming up to town to assist him.

Viscount Conway to the Countess of Danby.

1679, April 2. Ragley—Last night on my arrival from Ireland, I received a letter from my late Lord Treasurer requiring my immediate repair to London about his affairs, and nothing in the world could be of greater influence on me than this, but on the other side, my wife died on the 23rd of February and "took order" not to be buried till my arrival, which, as soon as I heard of, brought me away with so much speed that I am not yet in a condition to perform the duty I owe her, or appear before any man whatsoever.

The Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Danby.

[1679], April 2—"Mr. Bertie brought me yesterday a paper signed by the King to be countersigned by me, to give leave to one of his Majesty's Council to be of yours which I did and was going to deliver it to him again when my Lord Chief Justice North told the King it was a thing not to be justified in case of treason, which word was expressed in the paper, and that it could be of no use to you, for that private counsel might be had without it, and none could be made use of other ways, till the Lords house should give leave for it, which could

LINDSEY MSS. not be refused, if there were occasion for it. This my lord I told Mr. Barber yesterday, but would not but acquaint you with it also, lest it should not rightly be understood, for I find by my Lord Plymouth that I have had ill offices done me which I have never, nor will not deserve, for in every thing that lies in my power I will as long as I live serve you without considering myself."

[The SAME to the SAME].

[1679], April 7—I was told yesterday that your Lordship lay concealed at Mr. George Montagu's in a low apartment which opens upon the river. If this is true I thought it might be of importance to you to know that it is no secret. I wish I could serve you more considerably.

VISCOUNT CONWAY to the COUNTESS OF DANBY, in London.

1679, April 17. Ragley—It is a great and generous action becoming only his spirit to surrender himself under the circumstances he was in. I shall not fail to be in London to-morrow week.

[VISCOUNT LATIMER.]

1679, April 1—"Lane came to Knox in the painted chamber; the first time of their acquaintance acquainted K with several things of Mr. Oates contained in the affidavit relating to the King, Queen, &c., which K refused.

Wednesday 2nd. The said Lane and one Osborne came to K and desired him to go with them into the Abbey cloisters and there shew him the said K severall affidavits prepared in writing. K took the papers and the same day acquainted my Lord Bath therewith in evening.

Saturday 5th. Went to my Lord Ailesbury to take the affidavits as a Privy Counsellor. Who refused.

Tuesday 8th. My Lord Bath imparted it to me.

Wednesday 9th. Went to Serjeant W. who doubted a cheat saying they would not swear it when it came to, and Mr. C. O. went with us who had heard the same things from one Captain Thewer before these men knew Knox.

Thursday 10th. Went to Mr. Cheyne by (Lord B.) approbation; he refused. Here my Lord Plymouth was acquainted, who acquainted the King, who commanded to go to a Justice of Peace.

Saturday 12th. Went to Justice Dewey he was in bed at five a clock.

Sunday 13th. K. caryed Lane and O. in a coach to Chelsea to Mr. Cheyne who refused again.

Monday 14. K. and B. went in my name to Justice Dewey who refused. Whereupon.

Tuesday 15th. Commanded to go to a Secrétary of State went to Secretary Coventry: who refused.

Friday 18th. Commanded to attend the Council but not called in. Meddled no more."

The EARL OF DANBY.

1679, April 12—Petition to the House of Lords to grant an extension of time for putting in his answer. *Draft.*

CHARLES BERTIE to the EARL OF DANBY.

1679. April 26—"I presume to give your Lordship an account of my attendance on the Secret Committee last night, where Sir Francis Winnington—as chairman—demanded of me an account of upwards of 190,000*l.* which the Committee found I had received for secret service within six or seven months time. He also asked me if I had not paid a great part of it to Parliament men, and whether I paid by the King's direction or your Lordship's only. I answered in general that my Privy Seal was without account and that his Majesty having intrusted me with that service, I could not disclose his secrets without his commands. Sir Francis replied that they knew very well to what persons I had distributed the money, and that they expected from me a more ingenuous and fair answer. I told him again that what I had done was by the King's command, and that I was not at liberty to give them any satisfaction in the least particular, which he said he would report to the house, who—he believed—would expect another sort of answer from me and that the burden would fall very heavy upon me. This is the substance of what passed last night at Serjeant Ellis's house, which I took for a kind of coffee house, every room being divided into Sub-Committees, the persons present who examined me were Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Robert Carre, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Colonel Titus. Ellis was writing in his withdrawing room, but heard all that passed betwixt us. Sir Francis Winnington pressed me to write my own answer to his question, but I told him that I thought he had no power to compel me so to do, and that I ought to be very wary, lest I should entrap my self, and so we parted."

[THE EARL OF DANBY] to [VISCOUNT LATIMER.]

[1679, April.]—"If my Lord Plymouth and you be upon good terms, you may do well to let him read the letter and desire his assistance both to my Lord Sunderland and the King as soon as may be, and if my Lord Plymouth do not offer it of himself it may not be amiss to move him to get the King read your letter, both to inform the King the more fully of the business of Oates and Bedloe, and that perhaps it may work upon the King to see what condition we shall be in if the bill pass. But all this must be as from yourself to Lord Plymouth and Lord Plymouth must pretend he desired to have the letter to shew the King, both for his better information, and because the matter of it did so sensibly touch him, having married a daughter of the family. I believe it would be best to have your sister Plymouth's advice how to do this with her Lord, and if she think it not proper, then only to let him read the letter, and get him to go with you to the King and Secretary. Remember me kindly to your sister Plymouth and tell her I thank her for her letter and will answer it. Be sure you keep my letter safely by you."

[VISCOUNT LATIMER] to [his father, the EARL OF DANBY.]

[1679, April.]—"The persecution you labour under forces me to be so sensible of it that I believe I shall never be able to forget it. My mother has been so good a wife she has deserved always that kindness your Lordship has shew her and so I hope have all your children endeavoured to do according to their powers. As for the concern your Lordship is pleased to express for not being able to leave me better, it is enough that you are pleased to own that you think I might deserve it if you had it, and whilst you think so nothing can be cruel to me

LINDSEY MSS. but making me contribute any way towards your afflictions by your Lordship's fall. I have seen the frailty of Princes, and for other men I have seen your friendshipp made so ill use of I shall never trust many; the chief thing we are to wish for is your life, to which your estate is not valuable. According to your Lordship's commands I discoursed with my sister Plymouth about your letter and she thought it best to tell it him when he was in bed over night and to have me come up in the morning and shew it him, and so go along with him to the King for fear he should shew it my Lord Sunderland first. Accordingly I waited on him by seven of the clock the next morning, but both he and his servants were in bed so that I could not get to him, so I went and got some Lords that were your friends to come to the house and came to him again about eleven and yet found him unready, and then the King was gone to the house whither he promised to come but came not till the King was gone back, so I was forced to go with him to Whitehall; and when the King went into the bedchamber I gave him the letter and went away but however I believe he shewed it my Lord Sunderland and I believe would any thing else he should have. The King bid us to get them sworn before a Justice of Peace and then brought to one of the Secretaries which he would rather have Coventry then the other, but by this time the men were gone out of the way so that he could not be sworn before Monday, and I think it is never the worse, since that will be the day your business will be ended and I believe they would be glad any thing should take them off it for the present, neither of these men are he that swore against Knox, but they are very ready to swear to the truth of their depositions and I believe are no cheats."

The EARL OF DANBY to his son [VISCOUNT LATIMER].

[16]79, April 28. The Tower—I would have you give this letter to the King and tell him that I commanded you to know of his Majesty whether he would give my brother Charles Bertie leave to wait upon him and when, and pray give my brother notice of the King's answer. When the King has read the letter, tell him that I desired you to put his Majesty in mind of burning my letter, and I would have you observe him in the reading it and after. Tell my Lord Bath also if you see him that my brother Bertie may perhaps come to his Lordship. *Compare Hist. MSS. Commission Rep. IX., Part II., p.* 456. *The Earl of Danby to the King.*

CHARLES BERTIE to the EARL OF DANBY.

1679, May 11—Since my commitment I have yet done nothing, but intend to write to my Lord of Bath and desire him to acquaint his Majesty that I stand committed for not daring to disclose his secrets without his command, which by them is called a contempt of their House. I shall in a few days advise about drawing a petition to his Majesty.

*On the back are the following notes in the Earl of Danby's hand.* "None (*sic*) my friends of the Papists or others who are found fault with by the Parliament. Who was there but myself to hinder that all things did not go into the French interest? Note the Duke of Monmouth in it as much as the rest."

The EARL OF BATH to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1679, May 18—"I have spoken to Mr. P. Bertie who is gone to Chelsea and will bring you an account this evening according to your commands. My Lord Chief Justice was not at his lodgings but at

Guildhall where he dines and returns not till six or seven a clock when I shall not fail to wait on him again and send you a further account of him. I have also been with my Lord Conway whom I find full of expressions of his frendship and sincere affection to your service and in particular in this first affair he told me that the Lord Chancellor was very zealous and real and had spoken his mind very freely in the matter yesterday with some others who were of a contrary opinion and who intends as he believes to oppose your petition. However his Lordship seemed well pleased with your resolution of petitioning his Majesty tomorrow in council, promising that you, might rest confident of his utmost service in that business and he doubted not but you would find my Lord Chancellor very firm and real to you, which is all I can say thereof at present, only I think it fit that you write to my Lord Conway this night acquainting him with your positive resolution and how much you rely on his friendship, and to desire him to thank my Lord Chancellor in your behalf for the kind message I brought you from him. If you think for more certainty because my Lord Latimer is now at Windsor rather then send your petition tomorow to Hampton Court by a servant to trust me with it to carry thither I shall be careful either to deliver the same to my Lord Latimer, if there, or otherwise to present it to the King myself at the Board, and especially if it should fall out that petitioners are not called in as I have seen sometimes; but if you resolve on this course you must be pleased to send me hither the petition this night because I resolve to go tomorrow morning very early betwixt five and six."

CHARLES BERTIE to [the EARL of DANBY].

1679, May 21—"Yesterday Sir Phillip Lloyd came to acquaint me that he was informed by one of the members of the Secret Committee, that they intended to charge me with a new article, viz. the receiving of fourscore thousand pounds of money from France, and that they would likewise require forthwith an account from me how I had disposed thereof? Your Lordship may easily guess out of what quiver this arrow is shot and I doubt not but the person whom his Majesty trusted with the management of that, and his other affairs in France has made no scruple to reveal it. Your Lordship may remember that I never transacted this matter immediately with the French Ambassador but that I only took bills from Mr. Chiffinch, and so left Mr. Stephens to receive the money, which was afterwards issued as your Lordship directed. I should be glad to be instructed how I am to govern myself—if interrogated—upon this point, and what his Majesty's directions will be therein.

Colonel Birch made me a visit the other day and was advising that your Lordship should give the House of Commons a deduction of the affairs of state from the time the Triple Alliance was broke until this day, as also the history of the plot, with what other circumstances your Lordship might think proper to be communicated, saying that this was the only game now left you to play. I cannot but observe to your Lordship that I found by his discourse that he seemed much gravelled upon the point of your pardon, but said he was confident the Parliament would set it aside, and I believe he is one of those—who out of a pretended friendship to your person—would persuade your Lordship to waive it, and rely upon their generosity, which I humbly hope your Lordship never will."

*Postscript.*—All the town is full of the expedient which his Majesty is said to offer in your Lordship's case viz. a Bill of banishment.

LINDSEY MSS.

The SAME to [the SAME].

1679, May 23—"I received the honour of your Lordships by Mr. Thompson, and shall govern myself accordingly in the matter I wrote to your Lordship in, but I could wish I might receive from his Majesty a direction for giving answer viz. [that I have delivered up this account into his own hands] and the rather because I am every day told, that his Majesty denies in private that ever he received the book of my account of secret service which my Lord of Bath is my witness he commanded me to say; but I hope his Majesty will be steady therein, and then I am sure I shall not be discouraged, I take the liberty to pray your Lordship to move the King by my Lord of Bath for the general discharge, I some days since sent your Lordship, for my secret service, which I conceive will be very proper for me to have apart from the account itself. I have desired Alderman Backwell to call on me as he passes to the House, and will then send your Lordship an account of that affair. I am advised to lie still a little without petitioning his Majesty for my release, but I humbly pray your Lordship to recommend my case to my Lord of Bath. I have been lately complained of in the house for being at the Divell Tavern with Mr. Brent, but I assure your Lordship I have neither been there, nor at any other tavern since my commitment. I shall send to Mr. Brent, and state the account betwixt him and your Lordship according to your commands. The story of Mr. Chiffinch's money makes a great noise, and therefore I intreat your Lordship to receive his Majesty's direction as soon as may be for giving that answer you advise, because I may be sure to be warranted by his Majesty's command, which I wish I could receive even to-morrow, I am glad to hear your Lordship is so well, and I hear the utmost malice now designed against you is banishment, which hardship I hope your Lordship will also overcome."

*Postscript.*—Your Lordship may please to remember that Mr. Stephens had directions by letters for issuing any part of Mr. Chiffinch's money, and I think he ought to be spoke with and prepared in case he be sent for.

The SAME to the SAME.

1679, May 24—"It is a great satisfaction to me, to have read what your Lordship was pleased to send me in the enclosed, and your Lordships commands are always of that authority with me as to exact my obedience to them, so that in case I am this day sent for to the House—as I hear I shall be—I determine to confine myself to this short answer, that I should never have lain under the displeasure of the House had I dared to have given any account of his Majesty's secret service without his command, and though his Majesty is so gracious as to indulge me the liberty of repeating those persons Sir Stephen Fox has named, yet considering the general rule he has given me of saying as little as I can, as also that the saying so much will but tempt them to ask other questions which may be prejudicial to his service, I resolve to forbear the owning of it. I hope to present your Lordship with the account of tin in a day or two, Mr. Banckes having received some advices from his correspondent concerning the price, which I must compare with Alderman Backwell's computation. I desire your Lordship to assure his Majesty that I will stand firm to him in the matter he was pleased to intrust to me, and that nothing shall

ever deter me from my constancy of my duty both to him and your Lordship upon whose account I shall glory in my suffering." LINDSEY MSS

The SAME to the SAME.

1679, May 26—"I have discoursed Mr. Stephens in the matter your Lordship recommended to me, and find him willing to deliver up all my letters directing any payments out of that money; but your Lordship may remember that before you commanded my service in that affair, there was a transaction immediately betwixt him and Mr. Chiffinch, who has his receipts for several great sums of money paid him, and Mr. Stephens fears he will not be easily prevailed with to part with those, which are the only vouchers of his payments, and if this can not be effected, all that which your Lordship proposes is rendered ineffectual, besides there is a great sum of this money received of Mr. Chiffinch charged in your Lordship's ledger, as Treasurer of the Navy, and also in the account of the present Treasurer—as I remember—which is impossible to be concealed. I am not at liberty to sound Mr. Chiffinch in this matter and find Mr. Stephens very timorous and diffident of himself in case he should be called, wherefore I have advised him, as the best expedient, to withdraw himself four or five days into the country privately, by which time possibly we may see an end of the sessions and may afterwards gain more leisure to adjust matters betwixt them.

"The Alderman has already shipped off for Amsterdam and Rotterdam about forty tons of tin which may fetch above 3,000*l*. He is daily consigning the remainder thither, I have now an account from Mr. Bancke's correspondent of the price it gives there which I must first compare with Alderman Backwell's, who is this day gone to the interment of my Lady Terringham. Your Lordships letters are burnt as soon as answered.

"Sir R. W. sends you the inclosed and I am told the house will send for me tomorrow."

The EARL OF BATH to [the EARL OF DANBY].

[16]79, June 4—"I have yours by my wife, your other by Mr. Christian and your third this day by the Captain, all which were communicated to the person concerned and I did not fail to say all that was fit for me to say on that subject according to your commands, whereto the answer was as favourable as could be expected, with the usual expressions of the same kindnes as formerly, whereof I cannot in the least doubt the reality notwithstanding the too just cause that you and your friends have had of late to suspect the contrary, which indeed would be a matter more mysterious to others than it can be to yourself who are so well acquainted with the nature of that gentleman. The news of the town I question not but you have from other good hands, and the Court affords at present very little, all things there remaining yet in the same posture and conduct. The office of the Ordnance, as I suppose you have heard, is as the rest are, put also into the hands of committees, and the Lord Ranelagh made a gentleman of the bedchamber in the place of the Lord Sunderland of whom he bought the same with the King's leave. His Majesty and the Court are for Windsor the next week so that if you have any commands for me before that time you may consider thereof and let me receive them, which you may be sure shall be most faithfully observed."

LINDSEY MSS.

LORD FRECHEVILLE to [the EARL of DANBY].

1679, June 9—"The same evening I left your Lordship I went to your Lordship's friend who shewed me your letter and the next day it was perused and considered as your Lordship desired, and though very well received yet there was some further time taken to consider of it. By his leave and consent on Saturday I had a fit opportunity and I seconded the contents of the letter as well as I could, and received in effect the same answer, with a promise that when there was advice taken it should not be understood to proceed from your Lordship but only mentioned as an expedient from himself. Your good friend will this day ask leave to visit your Lordship and make use of it when he may assure your Lordship of a resolution in your affair; but in the mean time I think your Lordship need not doubt of success as you desire."

The EARL OF SUNDERLAND to [the EARL OF DANBY].

[16]79, June 10—A complimentary letter.

The EARL OF BATH to [the EARL OF DANBY].

[16]79, June 15—"Since I last saw you I have had a long conference with our master concerning you, having acquainted him fully with all things you gave me in commission to say in answer to the message I brought you. I find him still confirmed in his opinion that he cannot legally discharge you out prison or take bail before the Parliament meet, and therefore unwilling to do anything of that kind and especially in your case which needs, as he says, no illegal action to justify the same, the law being so clearly on your side wherein he is resolved to stand by you and protect you according to those assurances which he hath so often given you. However he is contented to speak with your counsel privately either in the presence of the Lord Chief Justice or without him as shall be desired, and if a way can be found out for his doing it lawfully he will most readily comply with your desires. Therefore pray advise well with your best counsel before you say any more to him on this subject, and if it be possible, send some prudent and learned person to convince the Lord Chief Justice North where lies your greatest stress in this affair he being supposed to be much your friend, and truly I have reason to believe he is not your enemy, and his judgment will weigh more in your present case then any other, which I thought fit for you to know, and therefore necessary to make your first applications to him and to gain him of your side if possible. The Duke of Monmouth went yesterday morning away early for Scotland post, and this day an express is expected and the council sits this afternoon. I met last night with your brother Secretary who told me he had spoken with an honest judge who was of our opinion, and therefore whether he might not be a proper person to speak with the Lord Chief Justice I leave to your better judgment. The bearer will also acquaint you with some drafts of importance by word of mouth which I forbear to write for reasons she will give you."

[The SAME] to [the SAME.]

1679, June 28—Informing him that he had obtained leave from the Council to pay him one visit.

——— to [the Earl of Danby]. Lindsey MSS.

1679, July 4—"What I have often said heretofore to your Lordship, when you talked of retiring from Court is now amply verified; viz. that I should after that enjoy no satisfaction in being here; yet I wish it had been by your own act and that you had done what was so much your inclination, to have prevented if possible the hazard and inconvenience that has, and is like to ensue upon your Lordship; and though I think I need not apprehend any danger of an impeachment or imprisonment yet since there is so little appearance of any thing but ruin to those who faithfully serve the King; and that he himself is so regardless of his servants as—for ought we yet can hear—to put a present sudden stop to all allowance of wages or board wages to us his household servants; I am in great dispute with my self whether to continue my attendance; which except his Majesty do consider me for, must be my ruin; or desiring his leave—which I am sure he will grant—retire and save that little I have left. The Commissioners of the Treasury and Lords of the Council I hear do all disown the giving this counsel; and certainly it is as dishonorable as anything he could do; and will in a short time leave him not attended like a King. I have little reason to expect any particular favor from his Majesty since what I had at the last suspension was I doubt purely the kindness of a friend, not his Majesty's grace; so that having lost that friend, and all others now in power, for being a friend to him—which I must ever be—I have no hopes of having any thing of that kind; or by my stay here to be able to do that friend any service; for had I that I should never think of stirring. Therefore supposing that you easily guess who I mean, I do before I take any resolution or make any step in it, desire the favor if you think fit to have your advice. I am extremely troubled that I must not wait upon you which had I liberty to do should be as often as usually I did."

The Earl of Lindsey to his brother [in-law, the Earl of Danby].

1679. July 11—A letter of compliments and condolence.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Danby.

1679, August 7. Welbeck—Informing him that he and the Duchess had waited upon the Countess of Danby at Kiveton, and paying him many compliments.

P. Maddocks to the Earl of Danby.

1679, August 8. Treasury Office—Regretting that he had been prevented from waiting on him. *Signed.*

The Earl of Danby to the Countess of Danby.

1679, August 12—"Here is now a man named Jenison who I am told has sworn that Fenich the priest—who is executed—did tell him that I was engaged in the plot at last, but that it was long before they could get me into it; and if they could there are some of my good friends who would fain improve this hear-say from a dead witness, just as they would have done my escape by my son's pistols, which was found so ridiculous a story at Council, that my son was ordered to have his pistols again, and so that matter ended. I know not this

LINDSEY MSS. Jenison, nor they say he pretends not to know me, but I hear he is a loose rascal, and the man who married the Marquess Dowager of Worcester is accused to be one of the four ruffians who should have killed the King at Windsor. My son Latimer is come from Buckingham elected with Sir Richard Temple, but Sir Peter Tirrell intends to dispute the election with my son at the House. My son Herbert goes to-morrow with the writ to Queenborough, and 'tis said will meet another competitor, but he is yet nameless to us."

SIR H. GOODRICK [?] to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1679, August 19. Paris—"I had the honour to wait on his Royal Highness in my way hither and performed your Lordship' s commands. I find the letter you were pleased to shew me was exactly his master's sense; I had much discourse about it, and find my Lord St. Albans and one other Presbyterian not named to me by his Royal Highness have persuaded his Royal Highness that your Lordship made tenders by them to his prejudice for your own advantage to that party, and that the Bishop of London's violence against him, he being your Lordship's friend, confirms the matter; and truly nothing can be expected save a cold indifference till his Royal Highness better informs himself from my Lord St. Albans and that Presbyterian in that point, which he says he will speedily do, and was pleased to own that the observation made, that the advice came from a Presbyterian was of weight with him, especially it being against one who was his friend once. There is little or no hopes of compliance in his Royal Highness. God Almighty grant him a due consideration of the misery all lie under, and your Lordshipp a fair trial to your honour and safety."

CHARLES BERTIE to his brother, PEREGRINE BERTIE, at York Buildings, London.

1679, August 19. Uffington—I entreat you when you see Lord Bath to know from him if he has received his Majesty's pleasure in relation to my troublesome affair, that I may know better how to dispose of myself and my affairs.

The EARL OF DANBY to VISCOUNT LATIMER, at Windsor.

1679, August 22—I "have sent this to desire you that at some conveniency you will ask the King as from yourself what his Majesty thinks to do with your father, and what ever his answer shall be to you, be sure to say, 'Sir I find very many wonder that your Majesty lets him remain a prisoner with your pardon'. Your mother and wife came to town on Wednesday, and your brother Herbert is chosen but by one voice difference. I have sent you some papers which if his Majesty would read over, fit for his hearing, and the book an extraordinary good one, which will serve for your diversion if they do not for his. If you have any news write it by the bearer, but especially send me word if it be true as we are told that the States say they can give Mr. Sidney no answer till the Parliament meets."

The SAME to [the SAME].

Same date—"Though I have newly written to you, I have since received a letter from my Lord Berkeley of his being made an Earl, and I have, upon it, presumed to press the King to bestow the same

ho[nour] upon my Lord Norreys. Pray give the King [the] letter at a convenient time, and if the King do not answer you when he has read it, do [you] tell his Majesty that your father hath hop[ed to re]ceive a gracious answer to that letter; and then let me know what it is. If his Majesty grants it, tell him the name he will desire will be Abingdon."

[The EARL OF DANBY] to the KING.

1679, August 22—"I beseech your Majesty to forgive me, that I presume to beg of your Majesty that amongst others upon whom your Majesty has been pleased to bestow an increase of honour, you would be as gracious to confer the title of an Earl upon my Lord Norreys. His estate is very great, and his family on all sides eminent, both for birth and their services to the crown, and I dare be answerable that none of them will exceed this man if the crown need him. Although I have great obligations to his Lordship I would not be guilty of this presumption, but that he is a man so qualified as he is for your favour; and I am sure I should ask nothing for myself with half that desire which I beg this of your Majesty."

The EARL OF BATH to the EARL OF DANBY.

[16]79, August 25. Windsor—Informing him that Lord Latimer had not been able to speak to the King about his business as it was "his Majesty's ill day of his intermitting fever," and the doctors had absolutely forbidden anyone to say anything of business to him.

GEORGE MONTAGU to the EARL OF DANBY.

[16]79, August 28. Horton — The place of brother of St. Katherine's I have already promised to a person recommended to me by Dr. Outram. The salary is not constantly worth above 10*l.* a year.

My service to your Lady and all your relations with you in the Tower.

K. LADY ROOS to the EARL OF DANBY.

1679, August 30—A complimentary letter.

The EARL OF SUNDERLAND to the EARL OF DANBY.

1679, September 8. Windsor—I have two or three times talked with my Lord Bath of your concerns. He will have told you that I desire nothing more than to shew my desire of serving you.

The EARL OF DANBY to the KING.

1679, September 8—Petition for his release from the Tower. *Copy.*

VISCOUNT LATIMER to VISCOUNTESS LATIMER.

1679, September 13—I believe the King will be in town on Monday as well as I, but I would have none but you and my father know of either of our comings. *Signet.*

VISCOUNT LATIMER to his father, the EARL OF DANBY.

[16]79, September 13. Windsor—"I found the ways so bad that I made it ten a clock before I came here where I found the King

LINDSEY MSS. going to bed, and the Duke with him. As soon as the Duke went from him I delivered him your letter which he put in his pockett and asked how you did and told me would speak with me some other time farther and asked when my Lord Bath would be there. I told him to night or on Sunday. The ignorant part of us here are alarumed at an express that was sent yesternight to the Duke of Monmouth; some are of opinion it is to give him leave to stay; others to make him go away the sooner; but I believe it is in relation to his stay, both because I heard the King say he feared he should not be able to stay till Wednesday and also because my Lord Sunderland came to town to day, and I heard Mr. Bartley ask my Lady Portsmouth if she had any commands and she said she had sent by my Lord Sunderland. My Lord Chief Justice Scroggs is here and has been persuading the King to put this plot off his hands for that he will find it of ill consequence if it be on foot when the Parliament meets. I forgot to tell you yesterday the King would have a brace of your young deer and would have both male deer."

The EARL OF LINDSEY to his sister, the COUNTESS OF DANBY.

1679, September 15—"I am very glad to hear affairs go so well with my Lord. I hope his Lordship will not be now long a prisoner. My Lord Sherard was with me and seems to be of opinion that the House of Commons will be in a very cool temper; and truly I do scarce believe they will attack him. All this country seems much alarm'd and dissatisfied at the Duke of Monmouth's disgrace."

THOMAS BAKER to DONATUS, LORD BRIEN, at the Earl of Danby's lodging in the Tower.

1679, September 22—Upon the undertaking of Lord Danby to prosecute your interest "in the affair of the Aulnage." I have sent for my friends in the country who are interested in the matter.

The KING to THOMAS CHEEKE, Lieutenant of the Tower.

1679, September 25, Whitehall.—Warrant for the release of the Earl of Danby. *Copy.*

The KING to All ADMIRALS, and others.

1679, September 25. Whitehall—Warrant permitting the Earl of Danby to travel beyond the seas and to remain abroad for seven years. *Copy.*

VISCOUNT LATIMER to his father, the EARL OF DANBY.

1679, September 24—Informing him that the meeting of Parliament had been postponed till the 30th of October, and that the Duke of Monmouth had been at the Council that day.

SIR W[ILLIAM] JONES, Attorney General, to SECRETARY COVENTRY.

1679, September 25—"I have received your letter and be the consequence what it will I will give you my opinion in plain terms, which is that a person being committed by a Court of Justice—as the House of Lords is and that the highest—cannot be sent for out of prison unless by a writ of *Habeas Corpus* under seal. And this is the reason, where there hath been occasion to examine prisoners so committed

by the King's Council, they have always sent some of their body to do it. I thinke that if my Lord of Danby should by a warrant countersigned by you, be brought out of prison, it would be an escape and not only be thereby discharged of the commitment by the House of Lords but the Lieutenant of the Tower would be liable to answer for the same."

CHARLES BERTIE to EDWARD CHRISTIAN, at York Buildings, London.

1679, September 28. Creeton—"I have not omitted as much as lies in me to improve my time here for his Lordship's service by visiting in his name all the Peers our friends about us; in the first place, I waited on my Lord Hatton, who is cordially his Lordship's servant, and has promised to be up to attend his Lordship's business in Parliament. My Lord Denbigh was gone out of these parts, my Lord Westmorland I hope to prevail with to be our friend, and my Lord Roos has commanded me to assure my Lord of Danby that his person shall not fail to attend my Lord's business in Parliament and that his proxy shall serve in all other matters; his Lordship has gone for Haddon having received news that his father lies speechless, and 'tis believed my Lord Rutland is dead before this. I intend to be with you the end of the next week for my brother Peregrine advices me to take Newmarket in my way up, and to know his Majesty's pleasure concerning myself. My Lord of Exeter drunk my Lord of Danby's health publicly at his table to Doctor Denham which has surprised all the family here."

[The KING] to [the EARL OF DANBY.]

1679, October. Whitehall—"I think it for my service that you should at this time go beyond sea, and I assure you that I will do nothing in your absence which shall in any kind revoke the pardon I have given you." *Copy.*

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE to the EARL OF DANBY.

1679, October 6. Welbeck—I would do all in my power to serve you, but "I most earnestly desire to stay in the country, for I am so crazy, I am fit for no place but what is very private and retired."

LORD ALINGTON to the EARL OF DANBY.

[16]79, October 15. Horseheath—On business.

[The EARL OF DANBY] to the KING.

1679, October 28—"I will not trouble your Majesty with the hard usage I have received from the Commissioners "about my wages, but they will not pay me what was due to myself at Lady day last, and I find that without recourse to your Majesty, I nor any who have (are) related to me are to hope for justice there." *Copy.*

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE to the EARL OF DANBY.

1679.—November 26. Welbeck—Informing him that he had spoken to the Duke of York on his behalf, during his recent visit to Welbeck.

Lindsey MSS.

## The Earl of Danby.

1679, Nov. 27—The answers of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Lauderdale and Lord Sunderland to Charles Bertie when he was sent to them by the Earl of Danby.

Lord Chancellor "said that he was very sorry that his last attendance on the King had had no better success in relation to your Lordships discharge. That he conceived it was not yet a proper time for your Lordship to present a petition even for your liberty—though with a keeper—because of the late accident in Westminster Hall, to which your Lordship ought to allow some few days to let that report cool: That he feared the Lords of the Council would hardly be brought to appear at this time in favour of your Lordship's petition. That the precedent of my Lord Bellasyse—if truly examined—would rather make against than for your Lordship for several reasons he was not then at liberty to discourse. But in conclusion bid me assure your Lordship that he was your servant to the utmost of his power.

Duke of Lauderdale promised to serve your Lordship with all his power but advised that the petition should by no means be presented till my Lord President had been first attended in it, whom he knew to be cordially your Lordship's friend, and that his Grace himself would take a fitting opportunity to sound him therein. He complained of my Lord Sunderland's usage, who refused him his Majesty's warrant to wait on your Lordship and advised him to address to the Council, on purpose to have a refusal, which his Grace had thought fit to decline.

Earl of Sunderland expressed his dissatisfaction at the late meeting of the Lords and said that some, in whom your Lordship—he conceived—had reposed greatest confidence had not appeared with that zeal for you as was expected, and that he believed they would be as backward at the Council table. However he said your Lordship in justice to yourself, and regard of your own health would do very well to prefer such a petition—whatever the event be—which his Majesty had granted in a case of a higher nature to my Lord Bellasyse, but that he must confess he much doubted at this time the success of it, but that he would pay your Lordship his best services therein.

## The Earl of Danby to Viscount Latimer.

[1679?], November 29—"I desire that so soon as you receive this, you would carry the inclosed to my Lord Chancellor, and deliver it with my humble service. I have told him you know nothing of the contents, nor had anything in command from me but to deliver it to his own hands yourself. When you come from the Chancellor I would have you find my Lord Bath, and let him know that you have delivered my letter to the Chancellor, and if the Chancellor shall say anything to you concerning me of any kind, I would have you acquaint my Lord Bath with it.

"My Lord Bath will inform you whether any Council sits tomorrow or no, because if it does sit, his Lordship will take care of the business of my *nolle prosequi* with the Attorney-General, but if it does not sit, I desire you will attend the King, and pray his Majesty to let you bring the Attorney to receive his Majesty's orders, and to acquaint him what the Godfreys have said to Mr. Attorney, whereupon I doubt not but his Majesty will give his order for the *nolle prosequi*, and you must take care to put the Attorney in mind, that in his warrant there may be a recital of his sending for the Godfreys, and of their answer to him. I would have you make your own apologies to the Chancellor for

giving him the trouble of waiting upon him in visits, but that besides the respect you have for him on your father's account, you have a great honour and esteem for him yourself upon his own merits, and shall be glad of any occasion of showing it in your station, if he has any commands for you."

SIR STEPHEN FOX to CHARLES BERTIE.

1679, December 1—Informing him that the non-payment of the Earl of Danby's "quarter" due at Lady Day was due to his not having sent a proper person to put the Commissioners of the Treasury in mind of it *Signed.*

SIR WILLIAM WALLER to All CONSTABLES and other OFFICERS.

1679[-80], January 28—Warrant for the apprehension of Edward Christian who had been privy to the traitorous design of the impeached Lords in the Tower, for raising an army, thereby to establish Popery and destroy the peace of the realm. *Copy.*

SIR WILLIAM WALLER to the KEEPER of the GATEHOUSE in WESTMINSTER.

1679[-80], January 29—Directing him to take Edward Christian into his custody upon the charges mentioned in the preceding warrant, and also on the charge of suborning witnesses to swear certain offences against the Duke of Buckingham. *Copy.*

The KING to the ATTORNEY and SOLICITOR GENERAL.

1680, January—Warrant for the release of the Earl of Danby on bail. *Copy.*

EDWARD CHRISTIAN to the KING.

1679[-80], February—Petition for his release from the Gatehouse. *Copy.*

SIR CRESSWELL LEVINZ, Attorney General, to CHARLES BERTIE.

1679[-80], March 17—Acknowledgment of the receipt of a letter signed James Nettervile.

JAMES NETTERVILE to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1679[-80], March 22. Marshalsea—Bringing accusations against Mr. Lemar and Mr. Hall. *Copy.*

The EARL OF LINDSEY to his brother[-in-law], the EARL OF DANBY.

1680, September 4. Grimsthorpe—"There is to me no other motive of appearance once more upon the stage but your Lordship's concern and endeavouring to bring your ship to harbour, which I believe the court would expose to tempest and foul weather, and if I be a competent judge at this distance, there is nothing more aimed at, than that you should be the occasion of a breach between both Houses. And I offer it to your consideration, whether it is fit for you to bring your self upon the stage by petitioning, since all your enemies design you the first to be baited, and when they have once entered upon your affair and that there be a breach betwixt both

LINDSEY MSS. Houses and that the King's prerogative is so highly concerned, how seasonably will a bill of banishment be offered as an expedient, which his Majesty will most willingly close with for a sum of money. This was the very case of my Lord Clarendon before your Lordship, and let no man how great soever in England since my Lord Strafford's death and his Majesty's restoration, who is not the most constant Prince in the world, depend upon law for his protection, for it is but a broken reed that will not support him, and the humour of the times like an impetuous torrent shall level all opposition. I will endeavour if my crazy body will give me leave to be at the opening of the session, and I hope your Lordship, though you have been already too long in captivity will not precipitate your affaires to your own ruin."

The COUNTESS OF CARNARVON to her brother[in-law], the EARL OF DANBY.

1680, September 19—A complimentary letter.

CHARLES BERTIE to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1680, November 29 [new style]. Cologne—"What your Lordship discoursed of my affairs before I left England fully comprehends all the events and turns they have had here. For this Elector—who is a Prince mewed up in a convent, and equally divided betwixt his beads and his chemistry—will not touch with us in the condition we are in in England, nor will he trust any neighbour he has in Germany for a farthing, but will see all actually engaged before he stirs. This he has dearly bought—he says—by late experience, having lost his Duchy of Bouillon to the French; next he fears—and with reason—that if he were the first to anger France, he might be totally ruined in his country of Liege, and that so far from engaging the Empire in his quarrel, that he believes they would all be glad to see him humbled and reduced, who first permitted a passage to the French troops into the Empire.

"But suppose they would stand by him—he says—their motions and resolutions are so slow and languid that while the troops of the several circles are drawing together for the common defence, here is Hannibal *ad portas*, and France has already actually put in execution, what the others design to prevent and indeed the Elector of Cologne is so overawed by the French neighbourhood, and the omnipotency of their arms, that he dare not provoke him, who has already ravished the whole Duchy of Bouillon, blown up his citadel of Liege, and may as arbitrarily take the rest of his countries from him—whenever he pleases. And adding hereunto the doubtful estate of our own affairs at home—made ten times worse then they are by the arts of France—it has been impossible for me to make him so much as listen to any alliance. When France is represented formidable then the Elector shrinks, and shews the danger of provoking him; when he is put into any milder shape, then be it far from him to molest the present quiet, or by any kind of noise awake the sleeping lion. Thus his Electoral Highness is contented to jog on, and rather attend any mischief that may ensue than accelerate the evil day by attempts that may, or may not, prevent it.

"The French ministers are in every Court, and here we have Prince William of Furstenburg. Their chief business is to paint us in a thousand ill shapes; they offer alliance where they see any danger of having ours accepted, and money to boot, so that here is Diana of the Ephesians against us. Yet in reality I question whether they desire any alliance

with these small Princes but to preserve a jealousy that they may not confederate, either with strangers or with one another; for it seems to me more the interest of France to have them all exposed to the stroke, as the revolution of affairs shall require, than to have any exempted, and under the protection of their alliance."

The EARL OF PLYMOUTH.

[1680, November?]—Arrangements for the funeral of the Earl of Plymouth in [Westminster] Abbey. *In the Earl of Danby's handwriting.*

The SAME.

[Same date]—Proposed arrangements for the payment of the Earl of Plymouth's debts, and for a provision for his widow.

The EARL OF DANBY to the KING.

1680–1, January 12—"Your Majesty has been graciously pleased, upon my purchase of my Lord Culpeper's consent, to grant me the reversion of the Master of the Rolls his office in the name of Mr. George Johnson after the death of Sir Harbottle Grimston, and I have some reason to doubt that the said Mr. Johnson doth design to take some advantage against me by reason of my present circumstances unless I may have his name changed for some other person whom I may more safely trust. I humbly crave therefore of your Majesty that I may have leave to pass a new grant upon Mr. Johnson's surrender of the old one to your Majesty and that I may have your Majesty's warrant signed for that purpose in the name of my son Latimer, which will be but the same thing to your Majesty as it is already. I must likewise intreat the favour of your Majesty—lest you should be surprised—that you would not grant the reversion after Sir Harbottle Grimston or Mr. Johnson to any other person if they should solicit your Majesty for it lest I should be thereby defeated contrary to your Majesty's intentions and my right of having purchased by your Majesty's consent. I humbly pray that my Lord Conway may receive your Majesty's pleasure in this matter which will be a very seasonable and charitable favour to your Majesty's most dutiful subject." *Copy.*

The EARL OF DANBY to VISCOUNT LATIMER.

[1681, February]—Directing him to use his influence with the King and Lord Bath to assist Sir Richard Stote to obtain a Judge's place in the room of Judge Ellis.

The EARL OF DANBY to the EARL OF LINDSEY, at Oxford.

1680–1, March 18—Asking him to present his petition [to the House of Lords], and also asking him to be one of his securities, with the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Rutland, Lord Norreys, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Ailesbury and Lord Noel, if bail were admitted.

*Endorsed:* "Found August 16, 1742 without the seal being broke or the letter any ways opened. R.H.D." *Seal of Arms.*

[The EARL OF DANBY] to his son [VISCOUNT LATIMER].

1680–1, March 18—"I have only thought necessary to write three of the seven letters I intended, and I desire Bladen may carry those to my

LINDSEY MSS.

Lord Salisbury and Lord Bridgewater. In case I should be sent for to Oxford you must provide me some lodging where I could have conveniency for the Lieutenant of the Tower and three or four of his retinue which will be appointed for my guard, and it will not be amiss to speak to my Lord Norreys as from yourself, to think of some body near hand in that country to be my bail, if the Lords should be excepted against when I come to the bar to name my bail. I will have my son Herbert there, and for that reason if he be not come away I would have you tell him to stay till my petition be delivered. I suppose they will accept you for one, and there is Sir Thomas Spencer nearer the town, who I know will be willing to do me that favour, and you may inquire of my Lord Norreys for one or two more who are men of estates if such an occasion should fall out. You may tell Mr. More that I shall take it as a favour if he will go for me a little amongst the Bishops, and I would have you encourage him, because he may be an useful man, and especially in that place. I suppose my brother Dormer would scarcely refuse to be bail for me. I forgot to bid you present my service to my Lord Conway, and you may let him know what your directions are in my business, and that I do not think fit to say anything of it to the King till my petition be delivered, but that then I shall desire his Lordship to move the King to speak to all his friends in the house, and particularly to the Bishops, and to endeavour to make his Majesty hearty in it. Tell his Lordship also that you have direction to speak to my friends in the Lords house in Mr. Seymour's behalf, if his business should come on, but that you are to take his Lordships directions in it first, how to govern yourself in that affair if there should be occasion. I had written thus far on the 18th when speaking to my Lord Bath I found he did not go till the 20th and therefore, this day being the 19th I have considered to have my petition altered with the words—from time to time left out—and I desire my friends will endeavour to get it to a day certain, viz.: to be bailed for six weeks, or for a month, if longer time cannot be got: because I find the bail from time to time will be greatly prejudicial to me, if it can be avoided. I find also that there will be so many Lords at Oxford on Wednesday night, who will not be there before that time, that unless you see a certain strength for me sooner, I would rather have my petition deferred till Thursday or Saturday; Lady day following the first, and Sunday the latter; neither of which will be sitting days—at least not of the Lords house. I have likewise thought it necessary that you let nobody but my Lord Lindsey, Lord Norreys, and Lord Bath know the certain day when my petition shall be delivered, until either late the night before, or early that morning it shall be delivered; but I would rather have it given out, that my petition will not be delivered till the Parliament have sat a fortnight or three weeks, and let it be said to my friends that I have desired it may be left to my Lord Lindsey and Lord Norreys to take the time for delivering it when they think it a proper time. If an objection should be made which I did not before think on, viz.: that mine will be a precedent for bailing the popish Lords; it may be answered that cannot be, any more than the bailing Chief Justice Scroggs is a precedent for them. For that although his crimes are said to be greater then mine, yet the grounds of bailing him was, because the Lords did not conceive his articles did amount to treason, and—*a fortiori*—mine do not, if his be thought greater, as they were declared to be, by divers in both houses. Any friend of mine may likewise say, they are convinced—both by what they have heard lawyers say without

doors, and by what has fallen from some Lords in the House who have not been my friends—that there is no treason in my articles, neither by statute nor common law; and that even by those who think it doubtful whether there be treason in them or no, it must be a hard case to deny bail, to a Peer who hath suffered two years imprisonment, if at last it should appear not to be treason. I have a good deal more to say, but have not time for it, but shall write by some body on Monday.

"I would not have my letters delivered to my Lord Salisbury and Lord Bridgewater till the morning my petition is to be delivered."

VISCOUNT LATIMER to his father, the EARL OF DANBY, in the Tower.

1680–1, March 20. Oxford.—"We got safe hither on Saturday without meeting any highwaymen though they were so much talked of in town; but if there had been any it was not a fit time for them to be stirring for the road was so full of coaches and passengers that there was going down Stoken Church Hill fourteen coaches and I believe thirty horse at once. We were followed out of town by my Lord Salisbury, Shaftesbury, and Stamford, who went out of town with a considerable number of men but lost them all before they reached Uxbridge. When Shaftesbury came hither he made his entry on horseback to shew his readiness to serve the public and he lay on Friday night at a quakers at Wycombe. We took our horses whilst our coach baited at Tetsworth and rid over to Rycot where we found my Lady Carnarvon and Lady Norreys and presented your Lordships and my Lady's service to them who commanded me to return you theirs. My Lord Norreys they told us was at Chesterton but would be at home that night and here on Monday morning. However I did not leave your letter for him but design to give it him myself when he came to Oxford. I delivered your letter to my Lord Newcastle who presents his service to you and will write to you himself he said he owned he came not up this time on your Lordship's account because you was so kind as not to command him, but that he had proffered your Lordship to be bail for you by a letter before and that he was glad you did him the honour to accept it, and that if you had a petition he would be very proud to deliver it, and that he would be as ready to serve you as if he had come on your Lordship's account alone. I told him nothing who I was to deliver the petition to nor that I had one, he did so surprise me with the offer at first meeting before he read your letter. My brother and I have waited of all the Lords your friends that are yet come to town which are Albemarle, Worcester, Chesterfield, Ailesbury, Conway, Feversham, Windsor, whose coolness to your Lordship I know the reason of, but however he has promised to serve you now, Lord Byron, Wotton, Freechevill, Noel, Maynard, and Northampton. I hear Lord Carbury is in town but I cannot find him yet, Mr. Hyde and his brother make great court more then ever to Lord Conway."

The SAME to the SAME.

1681, March 21. Oxford.—"I ask your pardon that I write upon the back of this list of Lords which I employed Mr. Bladen being here to write out of the Lords books, but I assure you he knows nothing more either what is in my letter or of any other part your business. I have to day delivered your letter to my Lord Norreys who bid me assure you he would be ready to serve you. The Lord Lindsey and Rutland are not yet come to town and as for the letters you promised

LINDSEY MSS.

to send after me for the other Lords they are not yet come to my hands. I hear my Lord St. Albans is come to town since the rising of the house. The King made a very touching speech, notwithstanding which the Commons hummed him and some of them cried 'God bless him' after he had done. Mr. Bladen tells me he has sent your Lordship as much as was taken. I have pressed all your friends to have the petition delivered either to-morrow or on Wednesday at the furthest because you have certainly the advantage of seven besides the Bishops, and we meet to night about it. I told Lord Norreys that since my Lord High Chamberlain was not here I was commanded by your Lordship to deliver the petition to him, but withal told him how desirous both my Lord Newcastle and Lord Winchelsea had been to do it, and he at first thought it properest for the first to do it, but all of your friends asked if the King should not first be acquainted. I told them I had order to acquaint him, but if my Lord Newcastle had done it I believed he would ask the King's leave first, because he said something to that purpose, but he spoke as if he thought himself fittest to deliver your petition as being of the best quality, and also he hoped you would give him leave to offer himself for bail first on the same account. Lord Norreys thought Lord Winchelsea a good man that it might keep him from going from you. My Lord Marquis of Worcester desired me to present his service to you and assure you he would do you all the service was in his power, my Lord Norreys says Lord Lovelace will not be against you and if my uncle Dick had been here he would have been sure he would not."

The SAME to the SAME.

1681, March 22. Oxford—"I have obeyed your commands in delivering your letter to Lord Ailesbury and will take care the two your Lordship has ordered Mr. Bladen to deliver shall be done as you have appointed. Lord Lindsey nor Rutland are not yet come to town but they shall have their letters as soon as they come. Mr. More and my self will take care that there shall be lodgings prepared for you, though I fear we shall not be able to get them very near the Parliament house; and if we take them you will be obliged to pay for them whether you come or no and I fear dear for every thing is so here. I did speak with Lord Norreys about getting some commoners to be bail for you if you were brought down and Lords should be refused and he said he believed Sir Thomas Spencer would be one and I asked him if he did not think Mr. Dormer would be another, and he said he believed he would scarce be one, and besides there were not any he could speak with to do that, but must know your design which must be prejudicial to you, and that there was greater likelihood of their not bailing you at all than that they should refuse you to take Lords, so that I thought he was unwilling to try; but however he said he would think further of it. I likewise delivered your commands to Lord Conway; he presents his service to you and bid me be sure to tell you he would readily do his part when it came to him. My Lord Norreys asked me if I had any instruction what sort of instrument must be sent to the Lieutenant for the releasing you in case they carried it for having you bailed without coming hither, and I found you had given me no instruction as to that and that is the thing they are most inclined to do. They think as yet to have your petition delivered to-morrow or on Thursday at furthest but I believe it will be Thursday because Lord Culpeper and Trerice are not yet come who they have a mind to have here. They wish extremely for Judge Weston to help them with precedents."

[The Earl of Danby] to his son, Viscount Latimer, in Oxford. Lindsey MSS.

1680-1, March 22—"I have this day received yours by my son Herbert, and I conclude you have received mine by my Lord Bath. I fear it may have diverted your getting my petition presented so soon as you would have done, and I have therefore sent this purposely to desire you to defer it no longer than Thursday, if you have not done it already; only I would by no means have it presented by my Lord Winchelsea, who cannot take it ill that it is presented by one of my brothers. Though I told you in my last that I would write some additional instructions to my former, yet I have considered that more resolutions may rather obstruct the good progress of old ones, and am therefore resolved to venture upon the battle as it is already drawn up, without any alterations; and desire my friends will not be diverted unless upon some clear demonstrations to the contrary. Pray send back this messenger or Robin as speedily as you can, that I may know what is resolved, and in order to my journey I have at all adventures sent coaches to lie at Wycombe to-morrow night, but I would not have you say anything of that matter, only if there be no occasion for my coming to Oxford, let the messenger as he comes by Wycombe give order to my daughter Plymouth's coachman to return to London with his horses, and to bid the hackney coach—which is there also—to return likewise to London, or pursue what is best for himself.

Viscount Latimer to his father, the Earl of Danby.

1681, March 23. Oxford—"All your friends are now agreed on to-morrow for the delivery of your petition which I pray God send them good success in. Here are come since the last list I sent you eight Lords which were all sworn to-day namely these Lord Peterborough, Lord North and Grey, Lord Hatton, Lord Conyers, Lord Colepepper, Lord Denbigh, Lord Trerice, Lord St. Alban, but there is yet no news of neither Lord Lindsey, nor Lord Rutland, Lord De La War, Lord Yarmouth President, Privy Seal, Craven is gone again, Devonshire is not here, nor Bristol, Berkshire, Rivers, Thanet, Sunderland, Carlisle, Gilford, Camden, Morley, Lucas, Mowbray, Lincoln, Vaughan, all these are wanting of your friends. Lord North bid me assure you that he would be ready to serve you if any thing in relation to your business came on, and I desired I might remind him of his promise. The Lords have ordered the house to be called on Saturday, and this morning they examined Mr. Brown about the not presenting the bill for repealing of the 35th of the Queen and he told their Lordships that he waited on the King with four bills and a little list of them to know which should pass and which not and the King told him he would only pass three of them and so went from him upon which he went into the house, but presently bethinking himself and came back again to know what should be done with the other, upon which the King being talking with one in a corner of the Prince's Chamber he came and told him he must let that bill alone in the box and not present it but it is referred to a committe and Lord Bridgwater is to bring in his report on Tuesday."

The Earl of Danby to Viscount Latimer, at Oxford.

1680-1, March 23—"I hope you will have known the result of my business before this comes to you, and I am heartily sorry it has not sooner been put to an issue. This is to let you know the very unfortunate news of the death of Baron Weston this morning, and that

LINDSEY MSS. Mr. Chapman is in town, with whom Mr. Longville hopes to prevail to do your business for the money proposed, but is not yet assured of it, and says he will write to you himself. I desire you would speak to my Lord Conway to get Sir Richard Stote to be Baron of the Exchequer, unless they have some better man for the King's interest; and besides, you may tell his Lordship that I would be glad to have one friend amongst the judges, if that would be any argument with his Majesty. You may say the same also to my Lord Bath."

[The SAME] to [the SAME.]

Same date—"I have written the enclosed in a style as finding fault with you, because I must not do so with others, and I would have you shew it amongst them, complaining how unfortunate you are in my thinking it your fault that my business has been so ill managed; but I assure you I do not impute to you, but very much to others and especially some relations. Pray give my thanks to Lord Clarendon, my Lord Hatton, and Lord North, and let me know if Salisbury and Bridgewater said anything upon delivery of my letters. Let me know how the King behaved himself, and what he says since and pray let it be observed to him by Lord Conway and Lord Bath how my Lord Halifax runs the business upon that rock of the house of Commons, which I would have avoided by petitioning only for bail. I have sent for the coaches away from Wycombe, and I hope you have taken no lodgings at Oxford, or if you have pray let them be discharged. When you have heard what others say about bringing on my business again on Monday or not, pray ask my Lord Conway alone, and my Lord Arundell of Trerice by himself what their opinion is, and if my Lord Conway's opinion be absolute any way, I would have his advice followed, and delivered to the rest of my friends as my desire to them. Pray send me word who delivered my petition, and who supported it. The enclosed to my Lord Conway is only to ask his advice on this subject, and I would have you speak to my Lord Bath as from yourself, that you desire he would write to me for your sake, to give me satisfaction in your conduct of my business, and tell him you can send his letter at any time by one of your father's own servants."

VISCOUNT LATIMER to the EARL OF DANBY.

1681, March 24. Oxford—"I can assure your Lordship I have obeyed your commands to every point as both my Lord Bath, Lord Norreys and Culpeper and others of your friends can testify, and it is necessary I should say this to justify myself, for though I have never so firm promises from them both in the House and out of it, yet when they come to it they will neither do what they are desired nor what they promised, for I got both Lord Newcastle, Lord Ailesbury, Berkeley, Chesterfield, Bath, Trerice, Culpeper, Frecheville, and all your friends never to go off the business without a question; and notwithstanding all this, after Howard of Escrick and Shaftesbury and Halifax, Salisbury, Grey of Warke, Essex, Bridgwater—who was not so fierce as the rest—who all spoke mightily how improper it was to deliver such a petition but however at this time. Shaftesbury said that of a man of such parts you had been very unfortunate or the worst advised in the world in two things, the first was in the taking the plea you did, and what is worse if possible your petitioning at this time, and Halifax said it was to ruin all the King's business and make difference between the Houses and that your petition should rather

have been for trial, and that this was improper; after which your friends having answered them three or four times and Halifax and others insisting to have the Commons sent to in the first place to know whether they were ready for trial I could not hinder your friends from agreeing to put it of till Monday, and they then laid the fault on one another, but I could make none of them bring it to the question though I pressed it to the last degree. Your Lordship is obliged to Lord Clarendon for he spoke very handsomely for you two or three times, and for not laying it aside to another day. Your Lordship is likewise obliged to my Lord Hatton, for I got him to get what was entered in their books in relation to the bail of Scroggs; and going to wait on him for it, he frankly told me he was to deliver a petition on Thursday morning for either trying of Scroggs or freeing him; so then I told him I belived your petition would be delivered that day and begged that he would not deliver it before yours was read and he was so kind he did not. My Lord, here is no judges here nor any lawyer, but the attorney and your friends want one extremely, I hope your Lordship will pardon me writing for I am so distracted at this day's work I can scarce write since for fear you should think it has miscarried through me, but I vow to God I have done everything according to your direction and upon that account Lord Bath and I brought it on; for Halifax said he would be for it if we stayed till Monday but I had the King's leave."

The SAME to the SAME.

1681, March 25. Oxford—"This day has passed without anything being done in the House of Lords but reading petitions. But the House of Commons have taken up your business from news without doors, and thereupon ordered a committee to search the Lords books what proceedings did appear against you and to make a report to the house, which accordingly they did, and they have since ordered my Lord Cavendish to carry up a message to the Lords to put their Lordships in mind that he had formerly demanded judgment of their Lordships against the Earl of Danby and now desire their Lordships to appoint a day when they will give it, and this is to be carried up to-morrow morning. Sir Richard Grayhams told me he thought they were but ill prepared for it. Most of your friends think your petition was but ill timed; they say since, but few or none said so the night before. In the morning most were against the delivering it then because my Lord Halifax said he would be against it being delivered then, and for it we stayed till Monday. But I told them that your Lordship was desirous to have it delivered as soon as possible after your friends did appear to be the greater number, which we were considerably if they durst have owned themselves to be so, but the other party has got an art to fright them when they please out of any thing, for nothing I could say or do could ever get them to stick to a question, and indeed I never saw mens hearts so sunk as theirs is yet with that day's opposition, and most of bishops are ready to creep into mouse holes, as I believe your Lordship will find by a letter from my Lord Loudon which I have sent with one from the Duke of Newcastle and another from Lord Ailesbury, with all which I was advised to send an express. My Lord Conway has promised to speak to the King about Sir Richard Stote, but Lord Bath was unwilling, and said I had better speak to the Duke of Newcastle who was his friend and knew him. I forgot to let your Lordship know that my Lord Norreys and Bath had agreed to put off your business till Monday next if the King

LINDSEY MSS. would have promised he would neither have prorogued nor dissolved the Parliament before your petition was read, but the King said that they were likely to be so high that he could not promise any such thing, and that he would not be guilty of making you lose time, but would assist you to all his friends. The passion I was in to see our friends behave themselves so poorly made me forget one thing for which I ask your Lordship ten thousand pardons and that was the bidding Charles send the coaches word to return back, which I would pay for with all my heart if you would but forgive me for it is the only neglect.

"Mr. Secretary Jenkins has been very much under the displeasure of the House of Commons for the refusing to carry up an impeachment against Fitz-Harris for he said it reflected upon the King. This impeachment is to defend him from the proceedings of other courts and capacitate him for the King's pardon, being a material witness. My Lord Norreys wishes that there were some one Lord appointed to direct and govern the rest and every one to obey him through all your business, here are now come down Judge Raymond and Charleton, and Sundet and Ward were sworn to-day."

The SAME to [the SAME].

Same date—"Since my writing the first I am not sorry that I have stopped the coaches, for since your friends are of opinion upon this resolution of the House of Commons to have you in readiness to come down on Sunday, for they are resolved when they come to respite appointing a day till Monday, and you shall have another messenger to-morrow night with an order to the Lieutenant to bring you down and also to let you know what is done, and if you would send word before what day you would have appointed they would be sure to fix on it, only they would have you set a short one for fear the Parliament should be broken."

The EARL OF DANBY to his son [VISCOUNT LATIMER].

1681, March 25—"I have this morning received yours of yesterday by the page, with the worst news it could have brought me, which is the putting off the debate of my business without a question; for I should have remained satisfied with any thing but that. I do not believe you have been intentionally in any fault, but I cannot believe it possible that —the number of my friends then present being much the stronger, and it being in the power of any one of them to have a question—it should not have been brought to a question without a failure in your solicitation. Besides you write me that some—who I did not expect to be friends, and much less to have spoken on my behalf—did both speak and insist not to have had it laid aside without a question. I am now in great dispute with myself whether it were not better to let the debate quite fall, than reserve it on Monday, for what my Lord Halifax did falsely urge as an argument yesterday, viz.—that my petition was improper, and ought to have been for being tried—and that it would obstruct the King's business may perhaps be true by sending to the Commons, which I hoped would not have been needful in a peer's case, when it was not thought so in the case of Judge Scroggs. Besides the intent of my petitioning only for bail was to keep it within the compass of the Lords themselves, for that although the Commons would proceed to my trial, yet the Lords I hoped would have bailed me till that time, and I can scarce doubt but if a question could have been

obtained, they would have done so; but by my Lord Halifax his argument—which has prevailed—they have in a manner gained the point of making my business the bone betwixt the Houses, which perhaps he meant, and could in truth be the only mischief my enemies could hope to do me. LINDSEY MSS.

"As the case stands, I desire you will consult my friends, whether it may not now be worse to stir a baffled business so soon again, for when the weaker party can give a stand to a certain stronger one, it seldom happens but that the weaker one prevails at the next onset; and then the King may perhaps be displeased, as well as I prejudiced yet more than I am already. If you find a great diffidence upon this discourse amongst my friends, pray let them know I desire it may be respited for some time longer, and not renewed on Monday. You must present my most humble service and acknowledgments to them, and you shall speedily hear again."

The SAME to [the SAME].

1681, March 26—"Robin was here with your letters by seven a clock this morning, but I could not answer them till I had spoken to some counsel, which I could not get to me till this time; but I considered that the prejudice could not be great, tomorrow being Sunday, and that you will have this in the forenoon.

"My counsel have considered—by the words of your letter—that as the Commons had formerly demanded judgment against me, so they now desire the Lords to appoint a day to give it; and thereupon they conceive the intention of the Commons to be, only to have judgment pronounced by the Lords against my pardon—being my plea—without being either heard themselves against the pardon, or my counsel for it; and if so, I am advised and shall willingly leave the matter on my part with the Lords without saying any thing, if the Commons intend to do so on theirs; and then their Lordships may appoint as short a day as they please. But if it be intended there shall be a hearing on both sides, I am content—but it must not be known there is any privity of mine in the matter, more than to two or three of my nearest friends—that Wednesday come sevennight may be appointed for the day of giving judgment upon the pardon. You must observe, that the reason why the naming of a day in my absence ought to be supposed to be the act of the house, and not by my approbation, is because I am to be at liberty, when I am brought to the bar, to demand a further day or not as I shall see occasion.

"In case the Lords shall appoint a day before my coming to the bar—which the lawyers do not think they will do—great care must be taken in wording the order, viz.:—In case the Lords intend to give judgment without hearing either my accusers or me—then the order to be.

"That the Lords do appoint such a day—which may be as short as they please—*to give judgment upon the pardon of the Earl of Danby* and not as they did on the 7th of May 1679, viz: That Saturday next is appointed *for hearing of the Earl of Danby to make good the plea of his pardon.* Note the difference of the words in italics.

"But in case it be intended, that both my accusers and I are to be heard—and that Wednesday sevennight be appointed for the day—then counsel is to be assigned—which it is supposed will not be but when I am present to desire them—but if any order should be made of that kind before my coming to Oxford, that order should be,

LINDSEY MSS.

"That the Lords do appoint such a day, and do order counsel to the Earl of Danby to answer all objections which shall be made at that time against the pardon of the said Earl.

"And not as before to appoint counsel for the making good of the validity of the pardon. "Because I nor my counsel have nothing to do but to demand that my pardon should be allowed, until some objection be made against the validity of it; and then the business of my counsel is to answer those objections, and not to say any thing till then.

"I have not time to write to my Lord Newcastle, nor those other Lords from whom I had the honour to receive letters, but you must present my humble service and thanks to them, and I suppose I shall be sent for so speedily as to do it at Oxford myself.

"I am glad you stopped the coaches."

VISCOUNT LATIMER to his father [the EARL OF DANBY].

1681, March 26. Oxford—"I received both yours by Mr. Charles and likewise that for my Lord Conway, but I could not yet deliver his for he was not to be found, though I intend to go again about ten at night. I am glad since your Lordship has been so kind as to assure me you do not think my fault that your Lordship has sent that letter wherein it appears as if you had thought it was, for I have shewed it to most of your speaking friends and I hope it will make them carefuller for the future and stick better to you, though since I am of opinion that all the Bishops would have been for laying aside the debate till Monday and that you would have lost some of your court friends if it had come to the question, and among the rest my Lord Norreys says, Lord Conway and Lord Chesterfeld and Lord Culpeper was wavering and I believe is much changed in his opinion since his coming from London, though I must do him the right to own he made one very good speech in your behalf that day; but I fear Lord Halifax power at this time works a little on his Lordship. As to the account your Lordship would have about who held up the debate and who declined it, the best way I think is to let you understand who spoke in it. First Lord Norreys delivered the petition, opened it, and spoke to it, then Lord Ailesbury he spoke how great a hardship it was that you had lain so long there without relief, and quoted precedents which were to shew you might be bailed and pressed for a question Lord Newcastle thirded it and desired to agree, Northampton fourthed, Berkeley fifthed, Trerice sixthed, Lord Howard of Escrick was first spoke against it on their side then Shaftesbury then Halifax, Gray, Essex, Salisbury, Bridgwater, but moderate. Then Culpeper answer them and spoke very well. Shaftesbury answered and said how unparliamentary it was, and Halifax speaking after and saying it looked as if it was designed to make a dispute between the houses and to ruin the Kings business, upon which the court Lords and Bishops run so in to the motion of adjourning it till Monday that Lord Arundel, of Trerice thought we should lose it if it come to a question and so agreed to put it off. Mr. Bladen delivered both the letters but first my Lord Bridgewater's, he said what my Lord puts in a petition, and B answered him yes. He said he had no enmity to your Lordship and that he did not know what to say to it till he heard it, but he would then serve you as far as the thing would bear. My Lord Salisbury would have put up the letter when he had read it without saying anything to him but he asked him if he had any commands. He asked him if he knew what the business was, and he answered yes,

and my Lord told him he feared it was not practicable public; in concerns they must go according to justice, and that he would serve you as far as that would give him leave. My Lord Cavendish came up from the Commons to day to desire their Lordships to appoint a day to give judgment against you, and Lord Clarendon—who I waited on to give him thanks for his kindness on Thursday—desired the consideration of that might be adjourned till Monday which he did at the desire of your friends, and it is appointed to be the first thing on Monday. There came a message also from the Commons to desire a conference upon matters of great importance relating to the constitution of Parliaments in passing of bills. An impeachment brought up by Secretary Jenkins much against his will for he refused it yesterday so long that he had like to had him to the bar, but the Lords have rejected the impeachment and have left him to the common law, at which the Commons are so angry that they have voted they have an undoubted right of impeaching either Lords or Commons, and that the Lords rejecting the impeachment is arbitrary and illegal and tends to the encouraging popery. The Duke of Monmouth reports from the conference for passing bills in which a committee was desired to be appointed of both Houses for to consider of the punishment the Lords clerk Mr. Brown. After this Mr. Attorney read the examination of Fitz Harris which is the damnablest thing I ever heard. I have spoke to my Lord Bath to take notice to the King of my Lord Halifax behaviour and will do the same to Lord Conway. I am told that Sir William Jones says that the Commons have caught themselves in demanding judgment against you; for that unless you demand to be heard they must be forced to acquiesce in that judgment. I forgot also to tell you that the Commons have voted that any judge that shall dare to condemn Fitz Harris shall be guilty of murder. The Bishops gave their votes to have him prosecuted at law notwithstanding he was impeached."

LINDSEY MSS.

### The SAME to the SAME.

1681, March 28—"What I have all along feared is now come to pass for the King has dissolved this Parliament; notwithstanding which the Lord Norreys moved your business, and the Duke of Monmouth to put it off desired an answer might be given to a petition of one Mr. Saintlegers which was appointed for the same day but after yours, so that it was only designed to put it off; but my Lord Norryes still pressing for your business the two had some words and my Lord Norreys would have brought it to the question. In the mean time the King went out and came in again in his robes and presently sent for the House of Commons and dissolved the House with these words. 'My Lords and gentlemen of the House of Commons I think the world may be sufficiently satisfied whose fault it has been that we have not had a better agreement when you fall into such heats, or to this purpose, and therefore my Lord Chancellor I command you to do as I bid you, and Lord Chancellor dissolved them. After this was done Lord Rutland—who is now come to town and intends to write to you from Belvoir and presents his service to you, now bid me assure you he should have been glad to have obeyed your letter but that there was no occasion—and Lord Bath and Lord Ailesbury, Lord Norryes and myself desired the King that since your Lordship had for fear of disturbing his business only petitioned for bail and likewise that they had deferred the first day they bring it to a question whether you should be bailed or no for his service, that his Majesty would please to find some way to do it himself, which he promised he would and told us we need not

LINDSEY MSS. doubt it. I dined with twenty Lords all your friends who all drunk your health and to your enlargement."

The Earl of Danby to Viscount Latimer.

1681, April 3—"I would have your brother Dumblane to go on Tuesday to see my Lord and Lady Carnarvon from me, if they be at Eythrop, and to return my humble thanks to both of them for my Lord's being so early at Oxford, and pray remember me kindly to Mr. More, and tell him that I hope I may live to make some return of his kindness to me. The King gives me some fresh hopes of his favour for my liberty, and because I would not let that good humor fall, is the reason of my sending the sooner for you."

Lord Norreys to his brother-[in-law, the Earl of Danby].

1681, April 5. Rycote—I am glad to hear of the King's kindness to you, though it is no more than he promised me and others of your friends before he left Oxford. I hope it may hold out to restore you your liberty.

[The Earl of Bath] to [the Countess of Danby.]

[1681], April 7—"I hope mine of yesterday with the enclosed book came safe by the page. Since that the King called me to him and asked me when your papers would be ready, which he desired to see as soon as possible, and had stayed some days only for it but could no longer than the end of this week or the beginning of the next at farthest, and bid me to signify so much to you and bring your answer, which pray send to me as soon as you please and what else I shall say on that subject. Afterwards when his Majesty had ended the Earl of Conway spoke to me to the same effect, I then asked him whether he had written any answer to your last. He told me he had not because he was in daily expectation of coming about that business you know of; and a personal conference would be best, however he said he would omit writing to you no longer, so that I believe you will have a letter from him this day if you had not last night. The Chancellor of Exchequer promised to be with you yesterday afternoon and give you an account of your commands which he performed very well."

[The Same] to the Same.

1681, April 12—"I would have no time lost especially since you hear of the new Chief Justice Pemberton in the place of Scroggs to our admiration, as yet not comprehending the mystery, but when I know you shall. Sergeant Street is designed the other new Judge. I had forgot to speak to you about the return of the papers and the journal book which are desired to be sealed up in a cover as they were sent, and if you please to send them to me I shall see them carefully delivered back again; about which I have been spoken to already two or three times pretending the said papers and book were borrowed of another. If that Lord doth not intend to give you a speedy meeting, which I wish might be, you ought I think to defer no longer writing to the King, which letter I conceive necessary to go before your petition."

[The Earl of Danby] to Lord Latimer, at Whitehall. Lindsey MSS.

1681, April 13— Requesting him to ask Lord Bath to come and see him the next day.

[The Earl of Bath] to the Earl [of Danby].

1681, April 20—Excusing himself for not having been to see him.

The Earl of Danby to [Viscount Latimer].

[1681,] April 27—"I had sent to you sooner but that I have been all this morning in expectation to hear from Mr. Northey who I employed to get me the opinion of another counsel concerning the matter of my discharge, being desirous to have fortified the former opinions in that case as much as I was able; but I have not yet heard from him, so that I am not able to say any thing more to you, than I have done already, saving that I have given order by advice of my counsel to have a petition drawn to the King to pray his Majesty to give directions to his Attorney General—in case his Majesty shall not think fit to release me—to acquaint the Court of King's Bench, that his Majesty does consent—by reason of his pardon—to have me bailed till the next Parliament.

I think it necessary, because of the King's going out of town to morrow, that my said petition should be presented to his Majesty this afternoon in Council, but that the King should be acquainted with it before hand, for his leave to do it.

*Postscript.* I would not have you say any thing at all to the King concerning the petition, if you shall find any probable appearance of his putting any other way in execution for my release.

If there shall be any thing said against the validity of the pardon—as you hinted to me last night—I desire the King may be informed that in what other point soever counsel may have differed in their opinions, yet they have all been unanimous that the pardon was not at all the less valid for not having passed all the offices, and I hope his Majesty will not endeavour to make his own power—abstracted from his officers—less then all other men agree it to be; insomuch that if any body have made use of that argument to his Majesty it hath been but an artificial pretence to make him the more backwards in adhering to this present pardon."

The Earl of Lindsey to [the Earl of Danby].

1681, May 14—"It is unfit for me to make any reflections upon the politics. But, I am the greatest admirer in the world and it pleases me sometimes to guess at the present transactions. I have a cock and a hen pheasant that often lie under the weeds or nettles in my bowling green, and though every person sees them they believe themselves invisible; I will leave the application to your Lordship. And I cannot believe, knowing so much as you do, but if you were at liberty you would really think your self happier at Kiveton than in the highest sphere of Court preferment. The news books informed me this morning of Fitz Harris his trial; and I am sorry to observe that law by which property and life is tried is as blind a science as physic, for I perceive Judge Holden is so prudential a man as to differ from the rest of his brethren. It were happy the laws were less intricate or the judges so learned as to be unanimous, for when they are of different opinions it makes law a nose of wax, no longer a protection

Lindsey MSS. for mens lives and fortunes, and the humour of the people and the violence of the times shall run down and ruin persons of the greatest integrity and honour-law is our only rule and when it is one thing to day and another thing tomorrow, how shall we know how to act."

Viscount Latimer to his father, the Earl of Danby.

1681, May 17—"I waited on Mr. Attorney, where I was forced to wait till my Lady Yarmouth and Peterborow came out, which was three hours, so at last I spoke with him both about the patent, which I delivered him, and afterwards about getting you a copy of the indictment against you, which he has promised to send for as for him self, and will send you a copy which he says shall be ready to morrow with the bill if you write for it, and the patent to be returned of Mr. Johnsons and therefore if your Lordship send John Langwith with your letter he may have them and then they may be delivered to Lord Conway so as to be signed by Thursday night at Hampton Court. I met with Courtney my Lord Bath's solicitor who told me that Sir Edward Godfrey's brother says that you sent Sergeant Ramsey for him after the death of his brother and you told him you would do what you could to get him his brother's estate and that you believed the King would make search after him, but you would not have him press the King too much upon that, he having very great affairs on his hands at that time. Mr. Longueville desired me to send his remarks on Fitz-Harris'es accusation. When his first narrative was given not one word of the E. D. and though he knew positively to speak against the E. D. and only by hearsay against the Queen or Duke. What sort of evidence will Fitz[Harris] be in respect of what he pretends Lord D. said to him self and what Depuie told him of you. Much that Kelley at Callis Depuie here you at Windsor should vapour or be so free in talk of so horrid a thing however intimate with Fitz. Whether an impeatchment in Parliament for treason and other crimes may be indicted in interval of Parliament and how may it be proved the days Fitz named to have heard your Lordship in his evidence and how material will time be, and whether waving the pardon pleaded may be of prejudice if there be in it such words as pardon murder."

The Earl of D[anby] to Viscount Latimer, at Windsor.

1681, May 18—"I have written the inclosed to the King to pray for a speedy trial, and intend to send a petition to the same purpose to the Council tomorrow. Deliver the letter as soon as you can, and get his Majesty's promise if you can that I shall have a speedy trial granted me. You must not fail to be at Hampton Court tomorrow before the King, that you may speak with my Lord Bath before the Council sits, who will be there for that purpose. I would have you to deliver my petition in Council yourself at the sitting down of the Council, and I will send the petition to you to Hampton Court to meet you there. I know of no other instructions that are necessary for you, but if there be, you will receive them by my Lord Bath. I received your letter, but shall let those matters rest, till I speak with you, which I would do tomorrow when you come from Hampton Court.

The Same to the Same.

1681, May 31—I have enclosed "the petition which I will have you deliver to the King in Council on Thursday; but you may do well to

shew it and the papers to his Majesty before. I would have you also to show the petition and papers annexed to it to my Lord Conway and to my Lord Chancellor when you see him, with my humble service to them both. I have sent you also a copy of my narrative which I sent to the Council; but I send you that only to shew those who desire satisfaction in that matter; and the rest of that story and the intercepted letter of Magrath's I hope will be made public by the Council. Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer has promised to send you this as soon as he arrives at Windsor which is to be tomorrow."

VISCOUNT LATIMER to the EARL OF DANBY.

[16]81, June 29. Windsor—"Your Lordship had before this had an account what answer I had to your letter, but that yesterday came down Mrs. FitzHarris to petition the King about either saving or reprieving her husband, and her maid with her, that have both of them delivered two petitions, but I do not yet know what their taste were, and therefore I waited till now to have informed myself whether any mercy would be shew'd FitzHarris, but I find by my Lord Conway there will be none. Your Lordship knows as well as I—by this—that Haines is taken, and the King told me he was sure to have him when I delivered your letter. When he told me this morning, which he did in bed at the tennis court, that Haines was taken, I told him in his ear that if he was well examined I believed my Lord Howard would not have much occasion to be pleased with what I had heard reported he should say, which was that he would not now go out of the Tower if could, except the King commanded him; for if the Parliament sat he was sure it would send for him and he durst not refuse letting him come out. The King bid me assure you that you should see this matter prosecuted. Lord Halifax and Conway are very great and Seymour. They have been very diligent in their attendance and are in his closet twice or thrice a day. We go for Hampton Court tomorrow."

B. COUNTESS OF DANBY to her son, VISCOUNT LATIMER, at the House.

No date. Cockpit—"Remember our friend. Tomorrow is the day, and his wife begs to know what is done. I stay here to speak to you from my Lord as soon as you can."

[VISCOUNT LATIMER] to [the EARL OF DANBY.]

[16]81, July 1—"According to my information in my last, Fitz Harris has found no mercy for all his wife's importunity here; and the King says that the rest of those that he can find to be in the same villany shall find no more than he has done, and that it shall be looked into as far as is possible. Mr. Seymour and Lord Hyde came along by his command hither from Hampton Court, and went for London today."

[The EARL OF DANBY.]

1681, July 5—"Mr. King told me that there was great endeavours used to make some of the witnesses against Lord Shaftesbury deny what they had said against him and particularly that there was a young man who had been with Secretary Jenkins this day or yesterday who intended to confess himself to have been suborned to swear against Lord Shaftesbury. He told me that the said young man did wear his own hair.

LINDSEY MSS.

He saids also that if Justice Warcop was not employed by the Secretarier or that he gave them information he must needs be a rogue, for that on Sunday last in the afternoon he saw him with Whittaker and with one of the Irish witnesses at the Garter tavern near Charing Cross from whence he went with one of them.

Dr. Hawkins said also this night before the Lieutenant of the Tower and me that Mrs. FitzHarris had said that Mrs. Whittaker had been with her from the Earl of Shaftesbury the day before Mr. FitzHarris suffered, to assure her that she should have the three hundred pounds intended to her husband if she would prevail with her husband to say nothing at his execution against any body.

To send notice of Colonel Scott's pretence of speaking with some of my servants."

The EARL OF DANBY to VISCOUNT LATIMER, at Windsor.

1681, July 6—I would have you put Sir E. Floyd or Sir John Nicholas in mind of reminding the Council "of the paper endeavouring to suborn one Bung to swear against me."

VISCOUNT LATIMER to the EARL OF DANBY.

1681, July 14. Windsor Castle—"Having this from this King's mouth and not hearing it from any before, I ventured to send it you —and I believe it will surprise you as well as me—and that is that the Prince of Orange will be here as soon as the wind will serve him."

The EARL OF DANBY to the COUNTESS OF DANBY, at Wimbledon.

1681, July 14—"The custom of finding a dinner ready at the Tower is grown so habitual, and to so many, that I find it impracticable to continue it but with the same expence as when the rest of my family was here, so that I begin on Saturday next to put my whole family to board wages, and bespeak only what you and I have a mind to ourselves.

I desire that whatever is yet to finish at Wimbledon may be done, that all sorts of workmen may be got out of the house."

SIR J[OHN] RERESBY to the EARL OF DANBY.

[1681,] July 18. Thriberg—Giving an account of a great feast at which he had been present, given by the Earl of Lindsey at Grantham. *Signet.*

The EARL OF DANBY to the KING.

1681, July 22—"I did formerly presume to give your Majesty a trouble on the behalf of my Lord Norreys, begging that amongst others who have not so well deserved that favour from your Majesty you would be pleased to confer the title of an Earl upon his Lordship. I know your Majesty will be solicited by others to do him that honour, to whom perhaps your Majesty will not refuse it, and it would be a greater hardship then I hope I have deserved, if your Majesty should let so near a relation see, that you are willing to shew him such a mark of your favour, but only that I should not be the instrument of procuring it. I confess I wish that every man might own such obligations to nobody but yourself, and that all who receive them might make more dutiful returns to your Majesty than many have done. I dare

answer for my Lord Norreys his gratitude and faithful services, and if your Majesty would give me leave only to send him your commands to wait upon your Majesty, and that you would acquaint him your self with your gracious intentions to him, I am sure he would be over-joyed with the manner of your Majesty's doing it, more than with the thing it self."

VISCOUNT LATIMER to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1681, August 14. Windsor Castle—Giving news from the Court.

[The EARL OF DANBY] to SIR HENRY GOODRICKE, Envoy at Madrid.

1681, September 11. The Tower—Your Lady "will give you the best account in what posture things stand here at present, but they change so often, and upon such small appearances of good or bad fortune, as it is construed by the Court or the factions against it, that it is beyond the wisest man's understanding to ground more than a conjecture upon any thing.

"I conceive one of the greatest dangers of discontent would be if so great a misfortune should happen to us—though all this part of the world must be concerned in it—as the exchange of the Spanish Netherlands to the French, which is not only reported generally, but is industriously given out by Don Pedro Ronquillos and all his domestics. But as it is not ill policy in him to hold such discourse—whether true or no—so I hope it may possibly work some good effects amongst us if any thing can make us sensible of those dangers which are really greatest. I beg to hear what you discern into that matter of the exchange because it can hardly be so carried but that something of it must appear in the Spanish Court if it be really intended by them. I should be glad also to know whether Sir William Godolphin intend speedily for England or no because a relation of mine hath some money concerns with him."

LORD NORREYS to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1681, November 8. Chesterton—Dissuading him from a marriage suggested between Lord Latimer and one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Chamberlaine, on the ground that "their aunt—who governs all—was Prideaux's daughter and is my Lord Shaftesbury's kinswoman."

The EARL OF LINDSEY to the EARL OF DANBY.

1681, November 19—"I have been very busily employ'd this summer in promoting that which I thought would be for his Majesty's service in these parts. But Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy was of a different opinion from me, and I fear he hath too much credit with his Majesty, who according to his usual method seems to cut a feather between us. I wish he may find the effects of his great moderation, and then I shall rejoice who have no other ends but conscientiously to perform my duty to God and my Prince."

The COUNTESS OF DANBY to her daughter [in-law], VISCOUNTESS DUMBLAINE.

1682, July 14—"Pray let no melancholy thoughts take any place in your mind, as to occasion the least disturbance to you. I hope in God a

LINDSEY MSS. little time, and your patience will through his mercy, let us see all these clouds blown over, both to you and my dear son's joy, and my comfort, that so God Almighty may bless us in rendering this happiness to us all."

The EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to [the EARL OF DANBY].

1683, April 13—Promising to lend him 5,000*l.* on the security of his bond and that of Mr. Charles Bertie and Mr. Peregrine Bertie, and also promising not to mention the matter to anybody living.

ANTHONY ETTRICK to the EARL OF DANBY.

[16]83–4, January 9—I this morning asked one of the two dissenters, desiring him very seriously to tell me what he thought in the business of bailing the Lords in the Tower. He told me he thought they would not be bailed.

[The EARL OF DANBY] to the KING.

1683–4, January 17—"The term being very near and very short I beseech your Majesty give me leave to address again to you for your gracious assistance in relation to my liberty. I have made it my business to inform myself what both I and the other Lords here are like to meet with from the Judges of the King's Bench if they be left to themselves, as also by what influences they may be disposed to do us justice, and I beg leave to let your Majesty know it. As to my Lord Chief Justice he has done me the favour to let me know that he is not only of opinion that I ought to be bailed but he thinks the refusal of it thus long to have been against all law. He has sent me word also that although a greater man then himself of the long robe be of another opinion, it is apparent that opinion proceeds from other reasons than the law, but that he has desired of your Majesty and you have been pleased to grant his request in it that he may not at any time be brought to open disputes with that great man, but that he may privately give your Majesty his reasons when he differs from him in opinion, and since your Majesty has allowed him this liberty in your own concerns he says he hopes I will not expect his appearing upon the open stage against that man's opinion in my affair otherwise than in delivering his single judgment upon the bench when it comes judicially before him. For this reason also he says I am not to expect from him that he shall say any thing to the judges beforehand, but that if your Majesty would yourself please to let them understand your mind the work would be very easy; and he gave me further to understand that if he should but seem to concern himself for me so far as to speak to the Judges about me he should presently be looked upon as a solicitor for me which might do him hurt and me no good, for that I know his circumstances very well and how his obligations at Court stood. I hope I shall not do the Chief Justice any prejudice by letting your Majesty know this, but I am sure the conditions of your innocent subjects are so sad under those circumstances that I cannot but let your Majesty have the knowledge of it whose nature and justice is to have your subjects to enjoy their liberties according to the truth of the laws, and not by the tricks and artifices of those who should disgrace them. The other three judges of that Bench are all in their private discourses of opinion that all the prisoners here ought to be bailed, but my Lord Keeper's influence is so particularly great upon

Judge Holloway as makes him insist more strongly than the rest to have the opinions of all the twelve Judges in our cases, by which my Lord Keeper hopes to get a judgment from the majority of the twelve that nothing but a Parliament can relieve us, and then if there shall be no Parliament within the time limited by the Act—as my son told me your Majesty was pleased to say to him there would not—there might be a foundation laid to keep us here all our lives; and though that foundation were never so false yet we should be without remedy whilst that doctrine should continue to be imposed upon your Majesty for law. Judge Wythins and Walcott I believe are much at the devotion of his Royal Highness who I doubt not but considers the conditions of those Lords here who look upon themselves as his martyrs. And now as I have presumed to lay before your Majesty this true state both of mine and the other Lords conditions and the only remedy which my Lord Chief Justice himself seems to believe there is for us, I most humbly beg to receive your Majesty's directions which way will be most suitable to your pleasure in the conduct of my self in order to my liberty; and if your Majesty will please to extend your grace so far as to speak yourself to the Judges—as my Lord Chief Justice Foster's warrant shows you did in the case of Lenthall—the best opportunity of doing it would be before the term begins, which will be on Wednesday next and continues but little more than a fortnight and will be a long time before there be another so that I hope your Majesty will give some speedy relief to your most dutiful subject." *Copy.*

### CHARLES BERTIE to the EARL OF DANBY.

1683–4, January 24—Lord Weymouth told me two days ago that the Marquis of H[alifax] intended to move the King in favour of all the Lords in the Tower, this morning. He acquaints me that was done accordingly and that it would appear ere long that he had endeavoured to serve you in particular. He assures me that the King discoursed with my Lord Keeper last night after Council in the matter, and that all your Lordships will be out in very few days. There are great wishes made for your reconciliation with Lord H[alifax].

### The EARL OF DANBY to VISCOUNT LATIMER.

1683–4, February 1—"I know you will attend the King as I directed, and I am certainly informed that my Lord Lumley having happened to tell the King in what a fumbling manner Mr. Attorney delivered his Majesty's consent in Court, the King seemed to be angry at him, and said he knew very well that he had his full consent to my bail. I am further informed that it has startled some of the Judges to hear so unwilling a consent given, and particularly Judge Wythins, so that it will be fit to let his Majesty know this, and how necessary it is that the Attorney should shew the King's willing consent on Monday next, if his Majesty be so pleased. I understand also that his Highness has an expectation of some application to him, and therefore it will be convenient that you attend the Duke purposely to present my humble duty to him, and to let him know that as I have received that gracious message from the King which he sent me by you, so that I begged his Highness's favour also in the procuring of my liberty, and hoped I should live to deserve it from him."

LINDSEY MSS.

[The EARL OF DANBY.]

[1684, *c.* February.]—A rough draft for a speech or letter to be addressed to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir George Jeffreys, upon the question of his being admitted to bail. *Twenty pages.*

The EARL of DANBY.

1683–4, February 4.—The Heads of Mr. Pollexfen's arguments in the Court of King's Bench upon the case of the Earl of Danby.

[The EARL OF DANBY] to the KING.

1683–4, February 4.—"The proceeding of the Court of King's Bench this day did show artifice so manifestly in my affair that it was taken notice of by the spectators. The particulars my son will acquaint your Majesty and I presume to let you know the prologue I have had to this day's work, which, as I could not believe when I was told it, so I do from my soul think your Majesty to be a total stranger to what has been acted.

"The last week my Lady Scroop—whom I had not seen a great while before—gave me a visit and told me how necessary it was for me to make application to some of your ministers for my liberty; and upon my saying I would owe it to nobody but your Majesty and to justice she answered she believed your Majesty had good intentions towards me, but I would find that was not sufficient, and she offered me her service to speak to some of them, but not being willing to give her Ladyship that trouble she told me I would then find my endeavours to be in vain.

"Having also intelligence near some of the Judges, I had notice last night and again this morning that I should certainly not be bailed this day for that the two last Judges viz. Holloway and Walcott would desire longer time to consider, and that besides my Lord Keeper's influence upon them, Mr. Guy—who is their pay master—had been twice with some of them to wish them to be cautious how they too suddenly delivered an opinion in a case wherein so many Judges had already declared their opinions against my bail, and that surely they could not take less time than till another term to consider of it.

"My information is also that neither my Lord Privy Seal nor Lord Rochester have been concerned in this negotiation of Mr. Guy's but one who your Majesty knows to have had no small obligations to me heretofore and if so Machiavelli's maxim has been made true by him, that there is less hopes of forgiveness from that man who has been obliged and is fallen from his freindship without cause than from one who has been injured.

"Upon the whole all I could obtain this day was not to be positively concluded to be put off to the next term, but that if I pleased I might move again for their judgment this term, so that if your Majesty will please yourself to let these two Judges know your mind and not let them be left to be informed by others I shall have relief this term, otherwise I must remain here at least till the next term, and in the mean time if any Judge shall die or be removed the next Judge who shall supply that vacancy will have the same cause to say he must have a term also to consider, which—now that there appears no law to confine me—will serve as well for an expedient to keep me here all my life as the pretence of law has done hitherto, for I can do no more than—as I did

this term—which was to move in the beginning of it, and though they took the whole last week of this short term to consider of my case and for that reason did appoint me this day to come to the Court again, yet to tell me now that they have not still considered but must take further time to the next term does surely too manifestly show the ill practices which are against me.

"As I never have nor never will depend upon any thing but your Majesty so whatever you please to do with me shall be cheerfully submitted to and if your Majesty think it for your service that I should stir no more this term I shall acquiesce without the least reluctancy, but if otherwise, the way to my liberty is very obvious and I hope I shall receive your Majesty's assistance to him who will unalterably live and die your Majesty's most faithful and most dutiful subject." *Copy.*

The EARL OF DANBY to VISCOUNT LATIMER.

1683–4, February 5—"I thank you for the care you have taken, and am very glad of the intelligence you have sent me. I will lose no time in moving for a day, but I am informed that the trial of Mr. Hampden will so take up the day, that I shall scarce be able to get any motion heard tomorrow. Mr. Neale was with me this morning about nothing to any purpose, and my brother Charles Bertie told me that you spoke to him to let me know that you thought it might be convenient for me to send some compliment to my Lady Portsmouth; but unless you have some good reason for it, I should rather desire not to be over hasty in that ceremony. If you know any thing which may make it necessary pray send me word, for I would not lose any thing which may be substantial for such a shadow."

[The SAME] to the SAME.

1683–4, February 7—"I have just now received your letter, and have commanded Bloome to let you know what is done at Westminster, and what was done there yesterday. I would have you go and present my humble service to my Lady Portsmouth, and let her know you sent me word how favourably she had been pleased to speak concerning me to the King, and that I had commanded you to return her my humble thanks for it, and to let her know that I was glad to find I was not under her disfavour. Just when I had writt thus much, × information was brought me from Westminster, that my counsel had moved again this day at the side bar, for fear of not getting a better opportunity—there being a great trial this day—and my Lord Chief Justice had again put him off with bidding him move in Court, which he knew could scarce be done, so that although my counsel will try again when the trial is over, yet he despairs of success this day, and he is informed that some other business will keep the Chief Justice from being at the hall to morrow; so that my counsel suspects foul play, having never been used to be thus put off from having a motion answered in any case whatever. I must get you to acquaint the King with this proceeding, in case the motion do not succeed at the rising of the Court, which you shall then know, and the King must likewise be informed that as the motion was put off yesterday because Judge Walcott was not in Court, so the same Judge took care not to be in Court again this day till the trial was begun, as it was yesterday; so that there cannot be greater appearances possible of some trick designed if nothing be done this day."

LINDSEY MSS.

*Postscript.* "If you have occasion to speak to the King of the inclosed matter, I would have you say, 'Sir if you please that I may be the more certain in my relation I will read my fathers letter,' and then begin at this mark in the letter × at the word information; but if the King say 'let me read it,' you may give him the letter, for I suppose he will not be offended at my civility to my Lady Portsmouth."

The EARL OF DANBY to VISCOUNT LATIMER.

[1684], February 7—"I have sent a bottle of the water, but am afraid of tricks in the usage of it; for she may either pretend it has done her harm, or some ill thing may be put into it by her people, and it may be then shewed to the King what a medicine I sent for her to have taken, so that it will be either necessary for you to take some of it before her, or you must find some other expedient with the King to prevent any ill design, which the French women are very dextrous to invent. Bloome shall attend you again in the morning to bring you word what is done at Westminster about me."

The EARL OF DANBY.

[16]83–4, February 8—An account of the proceedings on this date in the Court of King's Bench, in the case of the Earl of Danby.

The SAME.

1683–4, February 12—Recognizance of the Earl of Danby at the King's Bench. The sureties being the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl of Chesterfield. *Copy.*

[The EARL of DANBY] to the KING.

1684, March 27.—"That which made me submit without regret to my unjust imprisonment was not only my innocence but because it was so plainly visible to all the world that my crime was only for my obedience to your Majesty's commands. And that which enabled me to undergo that imprisonment with patience so many years was the frequent testimonies of your Majesty's favour and constant good intentions towards me though hindered by those pretences which your Majesty has since found to be as illegal as they were false.

"I cannot doubt but common justice does suggest to your Majesty that if I had deserved anything before my sufferings, those sufferings cannot have lessened but must have made my claim to your favour much the stronger unless some act during or since my imprisonment had forfeited my pretensions; and as your Majesty hath been so gracious as scarce ever to dismiss any of your servants—unless such as were under your displeasure—without a recompense or leave to sell their places, so it was your goodness to give me an addition of title together with a pension for my life in recompense of that great employment with which I was honoured by your Majesty, and I am confident your Majesty did not intend me to be the only example who should reap no benefit for quitting such a station at your Majesty's command and with your favour.

"Your Majesty also knows that the bounties given me were confirmed to me by your Majesty not only by promise but at least by warrant under your Sign Manual and some of them by Great Seal, and if your Majesty please to reflect upon your goodness to all others I believe

your Majesty will not find an example since your restoration where any man hath had your Majesty's warrant for any title of honour of which he hath not had the effects, although they have not served your Majesty in such places of trust as I have had the happiness to do and which to the best of my skill I discharged with that zeal which your Majesty knows was the principal ground of creating the number of those enemies I met with in Parliament.

"By some words which fell from your Majesty to me I observed an objection to have been raised that although I was very innocent yet I was but under bail; but I suppose that argument will need little answer, because it will appear to be both against reason and against your Majesty's constant practice, as in the cases of Mr. Seymour and Sir William Scroggs, the first not only having leave to sell his place for 15,000*l.* but being then made one of your Cabinet Council during his impeachment, which he never was before; and the other had his pension continued to him till his death.

"Nor has your Majesty been diverted by the extravagant votes of Parliament from placing those men in the greatest employments who were rendered as black to the people by those votes as they could be by impeachment.

"And with great reason has your Majesty done so because it was suitable to your justice to give the world public testimony how scandalous and false you thought the accusations against them, and it was no less suitable to your prudence to let the world see that those who serve you should be both protected and rewarded, notwithstanding the malice or greatness of their enemies.

"I hope therefore that your Majesty will not suffer me to be distinguished from all others for such a man as must either have deserved very ill from your Majesty or should certainly have found equal favour under the same circumstances. As to the warrant of the Rolls, although the alterations mentioned will lessen the value of the place from being worth 10,000*l.* not to be worth 2,000*l.* and although I have received none of the compensations granted me by your Majesty instead of my place, yet whatever your Majesty's pleasure is shall be obeyed with willingness, only I beg leave to remind your Majesty that having had a grant thereof for life already in one man's name and a warrant since for life in another man's name it is but the continuance of an old grant to a new name and consequently not under your late rule of not granting for life, being at first intended for my life before that rule was made, and for what is said by my Lord Keeper against a deputy is as much without law as what has been said by him against bail.

"But I submit all to your Majesty's good pleasure, being able to undergo anything but the thoughts of your Majesty's unkindness which can be recompensed with nothing in this world, and without which I would desire nothing which can be given to me. I must acknowlege that after my long sufferings I should have been to the greatest degree ambitious to have carried some public mark of your Majesty's favour with me into my country but if the time be not suitable to your Majesty's pleasure I shall not now move your Majesty either about the title or pension which your Majesty has been pleased to grant me under your Sign Manual and Privy Seal, but hope your Majesty will give me leave to put you in mind of them hereafter when your Majesty shall think the time more seasonable; and in the mean time I only pray to know what your pleasure shall be concerning the draught of the warrant which is now with the Secretary concerning the Rolls.

LINDSEY MSS. "And above all I pray I may never be rendered uneasy to your Majesty, there being nothing further from my intentions nor nothing I covet so much in this world as to retain your Majesty's favourable opinion towards me." *Draft.*

[The EARL OF DANBY] to VISCOUNT LATIMER, at the Sign of the Garter at Windsor.

[16]84, April 19—Lord Chesterfield told me yesterday that business of Dean Forest and that he had acquainted Lord Rochester with it, which may much alter the state of the affair, but I find the value will extend to twenty or twenty-five thousand pounds, so that there may be the more room for obliging the lady.

JOHN TAYLOR to VISCOUNT LATIMER, in Soho Square.

[16]84, April 23. Suffolk Street—On the same business as the preceding letter.

[VISCOUNT LATIMER to the EARL OF DANBY.]

[16]84, May 15—An urgent request for money to prevent his being arrested.

The EARL OF DANBY to the COUNTESS OF DANBY, at Wimbledon.

[16]84, July 31—"The King is, just as formerly, very kind in words but nothing more, and the Duke very civil in appearance, who is gone this morning to the Duchess to Tunbridge. The Queen extreme kind, and I excused you not waiting on her upon pretence of indisposition in the health. I have taken care to place the Musquetoons so as cannot possibly do any prejudice, but I thank you for your dear care, which has never been wanting, and you have a return of love suitable to it."

The EARL OF DANBY to [the COUNTESS OF DANBY]

[16]84, September 6. Kiveton—"All you write of taking away pipes on Putney Common and laying them down since I came away, is news to me, nor till I come to see it can I imagine what it means if it be any thing betwixt Wimbledon and the great road which crosses betwixt Wandsworth and Kingston; but whatever it be, I am sure nothing shall be done to the prejudice of Wimbledon which the law can prevent. I have been visited by all the country to a very great distance, except my Lord Castleton, from whom I have not heard though he be at Sandbeck, and amongst others I have had Mr. Montague with me—my Lord Sandwich his son—who lives at Worthey, and calls himself by that name, and is really a very fine gentleman, and told me he was sorry that any of his relations—much more of his name—should have carried themselves so unjustly towards me, and he hoped I would not have the worse opinion of him for their ill behaviour."

The EARL OF LINDSEY to the EARL of DANBY.

1684, October 26. Grimsthorpe—Concerning a difference between himself and the Earl of Rutland.

The Earl of Danby to Viscount Latimer, in Soho Square. LINDSEY MSS.

[16]84, November 10—I am desired by Mr. Headley to get you to put the Lord Chief Justice in mind of the business of Leeds when it comes before him; and that it may do so, you may conveniently say to the King, when Mr. Headley presents his petition, that you conceive it would be most proper to let the petition be referred to the Lord Chief Justice.

Martin Headley to Viscount Latimer.

1684, November 11, Furnival's Inn—The business about the Leeds Corporation is now at hand to be done, for the charter comes in tomorrow to be surrendered.

The Earl of Danby to Viscount Latimer, at Whitehall.

1684, December 27, Wimb[ledon]—"I have just now received notice that the Master of the Rolls did awake speechless this morning, and that it was thought he could not live to this time. To the end therefore that the King may be minded of his gracious promises and my pretensions to that place, I would have you acquaint his Majesty with what I hear—which I suppose by this time is known every where—and let him know that I presume to put him in mind of his favour to me in this particular, and hope that his Majesty will not suffer any body to deprive me of this, his so long intended goodness to me."

[The Same to the Same.]

[Same date]—"The best way of delivering this message to the King will be by shewing this letter itself, and whether the Master of the Rolls be dead or not, I would have the letter shew'd him, to see what answer will be made to it." *Enclosed in the preceding letter.*

The Same to the Same.

1684, December 28. Wimbledon—"I thank you for your care in delivering my letter, and I am of your opinion—and have been so for some time past—that I shall lose it; nor do I think that my attendance would alter the matter, for I am certainly informed, that my Lord Sunderland owns himself engaged, and to have spoken to the King for another; but however my health will not yet permit me to stir, so that it must go as pleases God, only I desire you will watch the old man, and if he dies, beseech the King that he will please to do nothing in it before he gives me leave to speak with him; which is all you can do in this matter for your most affectionate father."

*Postscript.*—"I have received the bill which is signed by this Attorney for the office to yourself."

The Same to the Same.

1684, December 30.—It is so probable that my Lord Chief Justice is the man for whom Lord Sunderland is engaged, that I will not trouble him with a letter, but I will venture, though I am very unfit, to come to town myself. If the old man's death happens before my coming, pray remember to desire the King, as from me, that he would please to let me speak with him before he disposed of the place.

LINDSEY MSS.

The SAME to the SAME.

1685, April 5. Kingsey—The enclosed to my Lord Chief Justice will let you see my advice in the matter, which is to be governed by his direction entirely, as being the best of a bad game.

The SAME to the SAME.

1685, April 9—I wonder that my Lord Chief Justice should think me any way concerned if my son Herbert himself or his tenants should appear for Mr. Wharton, Mr. Herbert being under his own government and not mine. But in this particular my son Herbert is misunderstood by my Lord Chief Justice, for he has been so far from being for Mr. Wharton that he positively refused him, and would have appeared against him openly but he was desired by some, to whom he has great obligations, not to do that. I do not know what answer he will give about keeping his tenants at home from the poll, but I am confident it will be against his will if any poll for Mr. Wharton; and for any reflection on myself, I hope my Lord Chief Justice knows me too well to believe I shall promote any Whig's interest.

The EARL OF DANBY to the COUNTESS OF DANBY, at Wimbledon.

[16]85, May 13—My Lord Chief Justice, who is now "Lord Wems," yesterday invited himself to dine with me. "I find the King and Ministers outwardly very civil, and there will be no danger of my going to an old quarter."

The SAME to the SAME.

[16]85, June 22—"For the satisfaction of your folly I have done so foolishly myself as to command Dunbar away from my son Dumblaine, although he be the only man with him that knows what to do in an army.

"I have had the opportunity of doing it by an express from my Lord Sunderland's office, which goes away this night at ten a clock, and goes through Salisbury where your son stays.

"I am assured that they give no passes, and that there needs none, the way being clear from all enemies betwixt Salisbury and Chard, where the King's forces lie, who disturb nobody, unless upon examination they find them going to Monmouth.

"I have sent you this to satisfy you—if any thing can—that what you have desired—though very unreasonable—is done, but for my own quietness I intend not to lodge at Soho this night; and since I can never be a moment in peace where you are, I must be content to get it as well as I can elsewhere, that being all that is aimed at in this world by your unfortunate husband."

VISCOUNT LATIMER to his mother [the COUNTESS OF DANBY].

1687, August 29. Lincoln—On the 25th I supped at Uffington where my uncle Charles has built himself a noble home, and I wished that my Lord who was the largest contributor to it had built as good a one at Kiveton, and one would think the master might if the man could.

On the 26th I waited on the Lord Chamberlain. My Lady was very obliging both to my uncle and myself, but for all her carriage "she

"seemed to be very much out of countenance at the table to have my "Lord talk as he did against the Papists."

The EARL OF DANBY to the COUNTESS OF DANBY, at Kiveton.

1688, October 2. Ribston—"The King's proclamation—which I send you here inclosed—has given us an happy opportunity of arming for defence of our country, and upon it the gentlemen of this county have resolved a meeting at York to consider how to do it in the best manner. When they have appointed their day—which will be known this afternoon—I intend to be there amongst my countrymen, who have many of them desired my assistance amongst them, and this prevents my present return to Kiveton, which otherwise I had designed with my brother Charles to morrow morning and had all things prepared for it. I have sent Woodnott to bring my horses and chace mares to me to be here on Friday night, and I have appointed him to bring my chariot hither—my coach beeing too heavy for the ill ways—but I cannot send back the coach because I shall have use for all the horses. I have directed Woodnott what servants to bring with him, and I am sorry to leave you so slenderly attended, but I know you will dispense with the greatness of the occasion.

"I have also sent you my will, in which you are my sole executrix, but I hope to come and open it myself at Kiveton, where I have thoughts to winter if there be no Parliament, which it looks as if there would not. I doubt not but you will take care to make every thing as safe as you can, and I desire you will use some means—and if you have no other—that you will send a man purposely upon pretence of seeing your brother Lindsey or Lady Rutland to bring you notice when any horse or dragoons pass by Newark, and what number they are, and by whom commanded, and to inquire what more are following them, and at what distance; and I think Mr. Gutterige would be best for this purpose, whose charges I desire you will defray, and call for money to Robinett. Pray bid Robinett call for what money he can get from my Lord Darcy, and although the sum be not so considerable as I could wish, let him take for the present what they will pay for your own use. My Lord Devonshire came to Wetherby on Saturday, and goes to Ripon to morrow; he was here yesterday, and I hear Mr. Wharton—my cousin Wharton's husband—came to him last night. Divers of the Yorkshire gentlemen have been so civil as to give me visits, and my Lord Fairfax has sent me word that he intends me a visit this night. You shall constantly hear from me by all opportunities, and your brother Charles intends to see you to morrow."

CHARLES BERTIE to the EARL of DANBY, at Kiveton.

1688, October 27, London—"On Thursday last I came to town with a quartan ague on my shoulders which I am endeavouring to get rid of by the powerful operation of the Jesuits powder. I wish your Lordship could find out as good a specific for your distemper, and indeed I long to hear how your Lordship has found your health since your return from Knaresborough to Kiveton, and whether your Lordship has found any relief by those waters. Last night about two a clock arrived an express from Holland, upon which his Majesty summoned the Council. He brought news that the Dutch fleet sailed out of the Maes on Friday sennight with the Prince of Orange on board; that on Saturday following they met with a great storm of hail and bad weather which so disordered their fleet that they were fain to put back with

LINDSEY MSS. the loss of four hundred horse flung over board, and that the Sunday following they were all at anchor off Scheveling; that three of the Deputies from the States had been on board his Highness, who resolved to prosecute his voyage without coming on shore or losing the benefit of the light nights, so that his Majesty expects them on our coast with the first fair wind, and some think they will steer towards Burlington, others for Norfolk—the duty and service to him of which he said he never doubted and should be glad to hear your health was better. Your Lordship will have heard how all the Lords and Bishops about the town were summoned to attend the King in Council to hear the proofs concerning the Prince of Wales's birth, and this day the same evidence was given in Chancery and entered upon record. My Lord Halifax kissed his Majesty's hand that day he was summoned, but little conversation passed betwixt them. Treby and Summers are said to have refused the accepting of being Recorder of the City, and they have now made a new choice of a young man of the Temple. Sir William Turner declines also acting as Alderman and some are of opinion that the franchises and privileges which the City held by prescription can not be restored but by Act of Parliament. Judge Wright and Jenner have passed their pardons and those of the Bishops of Chester and Durham are also passing with the word —— inserted. Sir John Jennings came to me inquiring after your Lordships health and told me he would be glad to have your Lordship's advice whether hee ought to accept of being Sheriff of your county, if it were offered him; I replied, that he himself was best judge thereof. This night came out a Proclamation against writing, speaking or spreading false news. My Lord Dartmouth continues with the fleet in the gunfleet. William Harbord is said to be on board the Dutch in the office of Commissary, my Lord Shrewsbury is said to have been seen in Holland, and one Rigeley Hands committed for having received great bales of goods supposed to be his Lordship's. Cherry Russell is also reported to be in Holland. I shall on Monday settle your Lordship's account with Child, who is so called upon that he has hardly time to spare for such an affair, but as yet about Temple Bar they stand firm."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1688, October 30, London—Mr. Vernon has delivered me your commands to receive your balance of Mr. Child's account, which he says is 967*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*, and lodge it with my own money. I must acquaint you that I keep my own in the Tower as the safest place. On Sunday last my Lord Chancellor's new daughter-in-law, upon some disgust, ran away from his home and put herself under the protection of the French Ambassador, who immediately acquainted the King with what had happened, and my Lord Chancellor came in his coach and fetched her home. Yesterday being Lord Mayor Show, some boys attempted the new Mass house in Bucklersbury and rifled the altar; they were preparing to do as much to the other house in Fenchurch Street but were prevented. Since Lord Sunderland's removal he has withdrawn to Windsor and thence to Althorp. They say he designs speedily for France.

### The SAME to the SAME.

1688, November 3, London—Reporting the supposed movements of the Dutch fleet.

The SAME to the SAME.

1688, November 6—Reporting the events of the day and the arrival of the Dutch fleet in Torbay.

The SAME to the SAME.

1688, November 8—Reporting the movements of the King's and the Dutch troops.

The SAME to the SAME.

1688, November 10—Giving further news of the armies.

The SAME to the SAME.

1688, November 19—Giving a list of persons supposed to have joined the Prince of Orange, and mentioning that it was reported that Lord Dunblaine had also done so, but that he had denied it emphatically.

The EARL OF DANBY to the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

1688, December 1. York—"I congratulate your Highness's happy arrival in England and should have been very sorry it was not in the north but that I hear you are very successful in the march you have made. I was ready to have attended your Highness's landing in these parts with many very considerable persons who are with me and I have had the good fortune to seize this city for your service where I have taken prisoners three companies of foot, and have since seized upon the castle of Scarborough where I have taken a very good magazine both of cannon and ammunition and have put a garrison in the place to secure it. I am in some hopes of making myself master of Hull but dare not assure myself of it. These successes and hopes of more makes me delay marching to your Highness with my Lord Devonshire and those Lords who are at Nottingham, but my Lord Houghton, Mr. Vane and several others who were with me here will attend your Highness with those Lords from Nottingham. My son Dumblaine, my Lord Lumley, my Lord Willoughby, and Lord Fairfax stay with me here at my request till I have made trial of my design against Hull and if your Highness shall think fit rather to have me with my friends to march to you rather then to prosecute any thing further in these parts I will upon receipt of your orders immediately obey them. I have been so unfortunate as not to receive any commands from your Highness since your landing, but hope I may now, by the means of my nephew Phillip Bertie, to whom I beg your Highness's favour. I sent an express to your Highness ten days ago to receive your orders but have not heard whether he has arrived with you." *Copy.*

The EARL OF DANBY to [the COUNTESS OF DANBY].

1688, December 5. York—"I send this by my daughter Dumblaine's footman to let you know the good news that on Monday night Colonel Copley, Deputy Governor of Hull, and Sir John Hanmer, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of Montgomery, with some other Protestant officers belonging to the garrison, did seize upon the Governor, the Lord Langdale, the Earl of Montgomery, and all the Popish officers, and declared for the Prince of Orange, and I have this night received

LINDSEY MSS. a letter from Sir John Hanmer of his coming hither to give me an account of the particulars. I received letters yesterday from the Earl of Devonshire and Bishop of London, which brought me an account of the Princess being at Nottingham, and to desire we would send them some horse to help to guard her towards the Prince of Orange, but I sent an express immediately to excuse it by reason of our designs upon Hull—which we did not know then to be taken, and to show our reasons why we thought it both more safe for her Highness and more for the Prince's service that her Highness would please to come to this place; but the express is not yet returned therefore we know not what her Highness's commands will be, but whatever they are they will be obeyed upon the return of the express." *Draft.*

WILLIAM JONES to PEREGRINE BERTIE, in York Buildings, London.

[16]88, December 6. Doncaster—"I suppose you have sometime since heard that the Earl of Danby with some other Lords and gentlemen had seized York and taken a company of foot which was there in garrison; since which his Lordship who commands there in chief has taken two companies more, one of foot and the other Grenadiers who were marching towards the south from Tynemouth. He hath since taken the castle of Scarborough wherein he found two and twenty pieces of cannon and great store of other arms and ammunition and hath put a garrison into it under the command of one Captain Tocketts. These successes of his Lordship did so encourage the Protestant officers in the garrison of Hull that on Monday night last they secured the Lord Langdale their Governor, and the Earl of Montgomery with the rest of the Popish officers, of which they have given an account to the Earl of Danby, and are sending an officer to adjust all measures and to settle a correspondence with his Lordship at York. As this is the news on the north side of us so on the south side we understand that her Highness the Princess of Denmark is come to Nottingham attended by the Bishop of London from whence an express passed through this town to the Earl of Danby on Tuesday last, and it is reported that it is either to command away the Earl and his forces to attend her Highness at Nottingham and to join the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Northampton, and those other Lords there or otherwise that it is an order to her Highness's remove to York. The Lord Dunblaine, the Lord Houghton, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Fairfax, and a great number of the most considerable gentry are with the Earl of Danby at York. The Lord Lumley went from thence yesterday to bring some forces out of the Bishopric of Durham. The city of York have chosen the Earl of Danby to be their High Steward and have desired that his son, the Lord Dumblaine, may be one of their burgesses in the approaching Parliament."

[The EARL OF DANBY] to the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

[16]88, December 7. York—I have sent so many expresses to your Highness without an answer that I know not to what to impute the miscarriage of them. I have now sent one of my lieutenants [Pullen] of horse, who I hope will get to your Highness, and I desire you will be kind to him for he deserves it. He will give you an account of the seizing of Hull by the Protestant officers in that garrison, but they have let go both the Lord Langdale—who was governor—and the Lord Montgomery, who commanded one of the regiments, and all the rest

of the Popish officers and are not so free in their declaration as I could wish. I think it for your Highness's service if you would please to send me a commission with all speed to be governor of Huli, and if you would honour me with another commission to be Lieutenant-General over the five northern counties, viz., Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Bishopric of Durham—which is what my father had many years ago—I am sure I shall be able to add considerably to the service I have already had the good fortune to do in these parts, of which this bearer will give you a true account. I desire I may also have blank commissions sent me both for horse and foot regiments to be disposed as I shall find necessary, and commissions also for commissioners to manage the revenues in the said five counties and Berwick-upon-Tweed—which is a single place distinct from the five counties—with a power to them to depute receivers and collectors and other officers under them for that service. When Lieutenant Pullen shall have given you an account of this place I shall expect your orders by him what you think fittest for us to do who are in this place, that is whether you think it more for your service that we secure the whole north—which I shall do by staying here—or that we shall attend you and join the army. *Draft.* LINDSEY MSS.

CHARLES BERTIE to the EARL OF DANBY, at York.

1688, December 10. London—"I presume to give your Lordship an account of the dismal and tragical catastrophe of this Court. Yesterday very early in the morning the Queen conveyed herself with the Prince of Wales privately on board a yacht ordered to receive her in the Hope, and this morning as early his Majesty withdrew himself, and is supposed to be gone by land to Margate accompanied with Sir Edward Hales and de Puy, where Captain Macdonnell in the *Assurance* will take him on board and waft them all over either for Dunkirk or Newport, as the wind best serves, so that at this time we have no King in Israel nor any face of Government left us. This morning as soon as it was known his Majesty was gone, all the Lords spiritual and temporal about the town went to Guildhall to settle matters with my Lord Mayor, and appointed all the trainbands to be in arms, and to disarm all Papists, and made my Lord Lucas Lieutenant of the Tower in Skelton's place. The general officers of the army also drew a petition to the Prince of Orange—which they have sent by my Lord Ranelagh—acquainting him that they would keep in arms till they received his Highness's further order. The Queen Dowager resolves also to be gone for Portugal thinking it dishonourable to stay after his Majesty's departure, to whom—she says—she was so particularly obliged, and intends to demand a passport of the Prince of Orange. This evening the Sheriffs of London with their guard went to search Salisbury house; the Nuncio, my Lord Salisbury and Peterborough went away altogether. Last night I waited on his Majesty when he went to bed, and he called to me and asked me whether I thought the Lords and gentlemen in the north would afford him their protection, I answered that I verily believed they would do no manner of hurt to his person. But the Papists and priests prevailed with him to quit his kingdoms to make their fall appear more glorious. Judge Jenner, Graham, and Burton are all run away and so is my Lord Chancellor and the two Chief Justices; the former is said to be gone with the King, and my Lord Chief Justice Herbert writt a book before he went in vindication of his opinion given in Sir Edward Hales's case. The

LINDSEY MSS.

rabble this evening have burnt the mass house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and also demolished the chapel at Wildhouse, and threaten all the other Popish chapels in town. The French Ambassador is not gone as it was thought he would with the King. His Majesty had once commanded me with a message to your Lordship and the rest of the Lords and gentlemen at York, and my instructions are all signed and ready in the secretary's office but I think providence has luckily prevented it. My Lord when your Lordship was reported to be in arms at York, and Mr. Skelton—who is none of your friend—was made Lieutenant of the Tower, I thought it prudence to take your money out of the Tower which I put into my Lord Latimer's custody who still keeps it and have also obeyed your Lordship's commands in receiving 220*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* from Child which I have also paid to his Lordship.

"The Prince of Orange lay yesterday at Sir Thomas Dolman's house near Newbury. My Lord Godolphin is expected with the rest of the Commissioners up this evening. We hear some of the writs were recalled for the summoning the Parliament. Dover is taken, and Bishop Ellis secured here. All the Papists are scampering, with a resolution never to see us more. What my Lord Dartmouth will do himself is not known, but the fleet has declared for the Protestant religion and refused to carry over the Prince of Wales. I hope we shall now shortly see your Lordship this way whom we all look upon as a great instrument towards our settlement."

[The EARL OF LINDSEY] to the COUNTESS OF DANBY.

1688, December 10—"I had your letter by the messenger, and certainly you are much in the right of it. My L. H. sent my friend down into the north to fight whilst he and Nottingham intended to be the great men in the south. There will be in my opinion three factions at Court, Halifax and Nottingham: Rochester and Clarendon; and my Lord Danby with others. I look upon it as an impossibility to save the King by any other hand but my Lord Danby's, but his condition is too desperate for the city will certainly desert at last. What my friend advises I shall if possible put in execution. I need not write you the news for you will have it before this arrives, but you may observe the Prince of Wales his journey is stopped for France, for Dartmouth will not carry him with the fleet. The Queen is not with child as was reported. The Prince hath refused to treat with the commissioners in person, which I like very well, but treats with them by other commissioners. Thursday we meet the gentry who I believe will act conformly with the gentry of Yorkshire. Castleton stays all this time out of the county, and I guess will not act against the court, for we shall be divided into two factions again, Presbytery and Church of England. My Lord has the better side for the Church of England is the most considerable, but look to Parliament men; for as great as the Prince is he can do little here without that tool called Parliament, my opinion is the King will be deposed and the Prince's favourites will push him on to a crown. My wife hath been a fortnight at London to which place I shall shortly repair myself or if not there somewhere else. I have intelligence certain to day that Halifax and Nottingham act for the King. Thus you see how affairs go. I also understand that the confederacy have brought the Prince in without any conditions. When I write to you, you know both my hands, the print hand, and this hand I now write in and whensoever you see this knot you may be certain it is my letter."

The EARL OF DANBY to the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

[16]88, December 10. York—"This is the fifth letter which I have presumed to write to your Highness since I appeared in arms which was the 20th of November and I possessed myself of this city on the 22nd and of Scarborough Castle the 28th, where I got some store of arms and ammunition by which we have been enabled to arm most of those which are now with me. My first letter was by my nephew Peregrine Bertie, my second by a messenger I sent habited like a country fellow, my third by my nephew Philip Bertie—who has the honour to be one of your domestic servants—my fourth by a lieutenant of horse who cannot yet be got to your Highness, and this fifth by my Lord Lumley but I have never heard one word in answer to these. I have written so at large by my lieutenant—who I hope is with your Highness long before this will come to your hands—that I shall now only trouble you with knowing that I had a letter this day from the Bishop of London who writes me word that he is sure your Highness would have me come to you with what horse I can spare so as to leave these parts in some security, whereupon I have ordered six hundred horse to be in readiness to march in two days, and will not fail to attend your Highness with them as soon as we can. I shall have three days march from hence to Nottingham and five days march from thence to Oxford designing to quarter at the same places the Princess of Denmark has done if there be occasion. I hope your Highness will order some party to meet us in the last days march, or if you shall not approve of our coming to you your Highness will please to send some body to meet us with your orders." *Draft.*

The EARL OF DANBY to the COUNTESS OF DANBY, at Kiveton.

[16]88, December 12. York—"Your brother Charles is coming to York sent by the King with a message to me and the gentlemen here. I know not yet what his commission imports but expect him here tomorrow or next day at farthest. The writs for electing Parliament men came to my hands last night and my son Dumblaine's election for this city will be on Monday next but those for the county not till Monday sevennight. The Knights of the shire will be Lord Fairfax and Colonel Darcy, and I know not whether these elections may not retard my march three or four days, in which time I expect to hear again from the Prince. The general pardon is expected to follow the writs in a post or two, but without a cessation of arms we cannot see what either writs or pardon will signify, and there is yet no appearance of a cessation, the Prince advancing daily nearer the King's army, and having refused all treaty until the King shall have dismissed all his Catholic officers and soldiers, which is not likely he will do."

CHARLES BERTIE to the EARL OF DANBY, at York.

1688, December 15. London—"Since my last to your Lordship with the account of his Majesty being stopp'd at Feversham and the repairing of several Lords &c. to him there, we are all transported this evening with the news we have received that his Majesty designs to-morrow night to be back at Whitehall where his presence was already wanted to supply the failures the Lords already met with in the Government. The Prince of Orange sent Monsieur Zulystein with a letter to his Majesty on this subject and 'tis hoped all will yet end well. My Lord Chancellor was this day interrogated by my Lord Chandos,

LINDSEY MSS. Lord North and Osulstone, and confesses the King took the seal from him Saturday last and that he two days carried the purse without the seal, that several of the writs were issued out and others delivered back to his Majesty, that all the Sheriffs patents were sealed and that he was transporting himself with the King's leave and the Secretary's pass, saving also the French and Spanish Ambassadors passes along with him. The Queen is supposed to be got safe over, but my Lord Salisbury, Peterborough, and Sir Edward Hales are all under custody and some believe the Pope's Nuncio with Bishop Leybourn and Chester are also secured with a brave gang of Jesuits though we can not hear Father Peters is among them. The Prince of Orange lies at Windsor this night and intends on Wednesday next to be here. I hope your Lordship is hastening up also, which everybody much desires."

The EARL OF DANBY to the MAYOR OF PONTEFRACT.

1688, December 16. York—I have just now received yours of this morning and having received the same alarm from divers other places I am doing all I can for the security of this county. I have already sent a troop of horse to Ferrybridge, and two troops more to Wakefield. There are three troops more upon their march to Leeds, and I intend to march with five troops more to morrow towards the west of Yorkshire as I shall find by my intelligence to be most necessary.

If all the gentlemen of this county had been as forward to serve the interest of their country and nation as they ought to have been and as some have done—who will deserve to be distinguished—we had not now wanted forces both to have preserved our own country and to have revenged ourselves upon those bloody villains, and I hope you will make such distinction in the elections of Parliament men to serve for your borough that you will not choose any who have only looked on whilst others have ventured their all to preserve you, or if you do I am sure you will not have deserved your preservation. I cannot but say this to you for the honour of your corporation as well as for the encouragement of the deserving country men on like occasions, and I can speak it with the greater freedom having no design to prefer any but such in general as have showed you that they deserve it. Your honourable resolutions in that affair—if I can understand them—will much encourage me to pay you my more particular services. However, as I have had the honour to begin in this country so I will persevere to the end for the safety and preservation of it." *Copy.*

The EARL OF DANBY to VISCOUNT LATIMER.

1688, December 17. York—"I have very little time [to] write being just upon a march. The occasion of it, and for all the news here, I must refer you to my brother Charles Bertie's letter; but since that was written I understand by an express from Sir John Lowther of Lowther, that he has intercepted an express from the Lord Tirconnell to the King, wherein he presses most earnestly to have arms sent immediately to him from Carlisle, by which it appears they are doing all they can to defend themselves against the Prince in that kingdom; and it seems my Lord Feversham took what care he could to send them formed troops, by disbanding all the Irish with their arms, which is the occasion that gives us also our present trouble. If the Prince of Orange be come to London, be sure you attend him to give him an account of this matter, and let him know that I writ by the last post to acquaint his

Highness with the consternations which these Irish have put these countries into, which is the cause I am not able to obey his commands in attending him at London so soon as I would have done."

[CHARLES BERTIE] to the EARL OF DANBY, at York.

1688, December 18. London—"Understanding from John Robert that your Lordship was still at York the 15th instant I presume to acquaint your Lordship with the revolutions that have happened here since his Majesty's return on Sunday last, when it was hoped all matters would have been adjusted betwixt the King and the Prince, for on Sunday evening Monsieur Zulystein was dispatched with a message to the King, which his Majesty returned by my Lord Feversham, who upon the delivery thereof was immediately secured by his Highness's command to the great surprise of his Majesty and the Court, and his Lorship yet remains a prisoner. Yesterday order was given to all the King's guards to march out of town, and all the night the Prince's army marched in, and took their several posts, which being done, immediately my Lord Halifax, my Lord Shrewsbury, and my Lord Delamere about two a clock at night brought his Majesty order to withdraw forthwith out of Whitehall and remove to Ham, but his Majesty desiring he might rather go to Rochester it was condescended unto, and accordingly about eleven this morning he was guarded by the Count de Solmes, Lieutenant General and Colonel of his Highness's guards with several musketeers down the river to Gravesend where his coaches were ordered to receive him and carry him to Rochester, and about three this afternoon his Highness came himself to St. James, which had been ordered to be prepared for him, I observe your Lordship has been alarmed with the Irish as we were also in town, which made us all rise out of our beds on Wednesday last. My Lord Chancellor—they say—will make a frank confession, and others say Sir Nicholas Butler will inform before him. We expect my Lord Abingdon in town to morrow, Sir Roger L'Estrange was taken yesterday, our friend Pen is likewise in custody, the persons who have accompanied the King are my Lord Ailesbury, Lord Dumbarton, and the Privy Purse, the Duke of Beaufort was this evening at St. James's.

The SAME to the SAME [at Stamford].

1688, December 20. London—The Prince of Orange earnestly desires "to see you in these parts, several of the Lords being come to town—among the rest my brother Abingdon—who all wish you would hasten up with all possible diligence; and I am sorry to find your Lordship marching with thirteen troops of horse, and four regiments of foot to Rochdale against the Irish. His Majesty continues yet at Rochester, and has sent for a blank pass for four persons to go over to the Queen, which the Prince has granted, and many believe he will take that opportunity to go himself. Many are the thoughts how this tough matter will be hammered into some accommodation, and I find at the Prince's Court most of our nobility are inclined to waive his Majesty and to set up a new face of Government. Our two Secretaries of State are dismissed their attendance; tomorrow a great number of Peers meet his Highness in order to some grand deliberation. I wish your Lordship a happy journey up, and all manner of prosperity. God Almighty settle us upon a lasting foundation that peace and truth may flourish among us to the worlds end, though some foreseeing men are afraid that the

LINDSEY MSS. methods designed to be put in execution will not long secure us. We hear the French begin to seize our ships and mariners."

The SAME to the SAME, at York.

Same date—"I reply to the honour of your Lordship's of the 17th instant from York, and am sorry to find that the same groundless fears that distracted us here last week have conjured up again such a body of Irish in your parts to prevent your Lordship's journey southward, which Monsieur Bentinck—with whom I dined this day—assured me the Prince of Orange expected with all impatience. My brother Abingdon came this evening to town in hopes of finding your Lordship here and tomorrow the Prince has desired a meeting of the several Peers in town. Some are of opinion that the Parliament ought not to proceed on the writs last issued because several counties want theirs, and only three Lords, viz., Bath, Huntingdon and Griffin have their writs of summons to meet the 15th of January in Parliament. What council will prevail is not yet known; for my own part I am obliged to my Lord Sunderland for recommending me to Stamford, which has entirely lost my interest in that corporation, and I can not blame them for their jealousy of me. His Majesty sent for a blank pass for four persons to go with some letters to the Queen, and most are of opinion that the King will take that opportunity to transport himself. The two Secretaries of State are said to be dismissed their attendance. My Lord Halifax I saw this day in a deep conference with Burnett, who is the Prince's clerk of his closet and chaplain, and a great man of State. I am glad among the rest of your Lordship's intelligence to find no complaints of your ill health, but that you are able to undergo all the fatigues of a march in this cold season. I congratulate my Lord Dunblaine's success at York. My cousin Bates presents his humble service to your Lordship, and thinks it a bold act to hold correspondence with a person who has raised seven thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse without the King's commission. I wish your Lordship a good journey up, and hope this letter will not find your Lordship in York."

The MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN to his wife [the MARCHIONESS OF CARMARTHEN].

1689, December 3—"For news here is none, but I fear a little time more may produce too much, from the ill humors which seem daily to increase in the body politic. Your brother Abingdon has this day asked leave of the House to go into the country. He neither takes leave of the King nor comes at Court, but is in great favour with the Princess of Denmark, where I and my family find as little."

BRIDGET, DUCHESS OF LEEDS to her daughter[in-law], the MARCHIONESS OF CARMARTHEN.

[1694] June 12—We have much to acknowledge to Almighty God that he has been pleased to give your husband his life, for he never was in more danger. "We have been beat off of our design with the loss of four or five hundred men, and General Talmash is wounded in the thigh with a musket bullet. Your husband led them with great courage and his one ship had one of the bombs broke upon her. The shell killed one man, wounded others; shot through three decks. I hope Mr. Frisk and you will go to prayers to give God thanks. I have sent you the news they are coming for Spithead."

BRIDGET, DUCHESS OF LEEDS to the MARCHIONESS OF CARMARTHEN. LINDSEY MSS.

1695, October 19, St. James's—Forgive your husband and myself that neither of us have seen you these five weeks; we have been so busily employed in the Duke's and my son Herbert's affairs.

The SAME to the SAME, at Mimms.

1696, September 22—My son is so busy at the Admiralty fitting his vessel that I fear he will hardly get time to see you. I may have to go to Yorkshire as my Lord Duke is very ill. I wish my son had time to see his father. It would be taken very well, "better than I am afraid he thinks of."

CIPHERS.

No dates—A collection of ciphers used by the Earl of Danby in his correspondence with Lord Orrery, Sir Leoline Jenkyns, Mr. Brisbane, Lord Sunderland, Charles Bertie and others. *Many of them are endorsed by Lord Danby, but there is no key given to any of them except one to Charles Bertie.*

Onslow MSS.

# A MANUSCRIPT BELONGING TO THE EARL OF ONSLOW.

The following extracts have been made by the kind permission of Lord Onslow from a manuscript volume in his possession which bears the inscription:—

"Anecdotes and other Miscellaneous Pieces left by the Right Honorable Arthur Onslow, late Speaker of the House of Commons, &c. and now copy'd into this Book, for the sake of their being the better preserv'd in his family, whose greatest Honor will be in future ages, as it is in this, the being descended from him. Copy'd, for their instruction and entertainment, as well as my own, by me his only son, who admired his character when living, and shall to the last Hour of my Life feel and lament his Loss.

"George Onslow, 1769."

## On Opposition. Cap. 1.

We have often heard of men who have left one party to join another, without any change of principle or inclination, avowedly, and only to force the Crown, by distressing the Administration in Parliament, to bring themselves back to, or to obtain, those seats of power they had lost or quitted, or sought after, and without designing to continue any longer with their new friends than should be sufficient for that purpose. A practice that has tended more to corrupt and debase the minds of men that use it and to distress and confound the affairs of the public than any other public evil this age has produced. And however strange and offensive such tergiversations must appear to men of strict minds, and of little acquaintance with the world (for to such only they can appear strange) yet there is nothing more certain than that by some fatal darkness of understanding or imbecility of heart many persons otherwise of great probity and honour have suffered themselves to be made instruments and supports of these factions, and have been brought to believe, what is in truth the common band of all party unions, and only justifiable where the Constitution is really in danger, from the settled plan of an Administration for that purpose that they might very honestly act against their conscience in particulars, in order in general to pull down one man they did not like, and to set up another they did, nay to make it a point of honour and fidelity to their friends so to do.

Upon this foundation, I mean of distressing the Administration, I have reason to think it was that Mr. Walpole (afterwards Sir Robert) exerted himself so eminently and effectually against the Bill to restrain the making of Peers. I have told you, before, the nature of this Bill, and that it was much approved of by very many of the Whigs. What occasioned them to like it so well was the recent memory of the extraordinary creation of twelve Peers at once and of a sudden under the Administration of Mr. Harley, Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, done as it was supposed to save him from some disagreeable attack he expected in the House of Lords. It was I remember universally disapproved of, and by the Whigs so much detested, that it was one of the principal subjects

of their clamour against him and afterwards one of the articles of his impeachment.

When this Bill therefore which had the plausibleness of preventing such an abuse for the future was first brought in, the opposing of it so looked so like a contradiction in the Whigs to what they had said and done on the former occasion, that it was thought by the malcontents to be too strong a point and would be of too much reproach for them to set themselves against (the Lords among them perhaps somewhat biased by the advantage the Bill brought to their body), and at a meeting of the most considerable of them, it was the opinion of all except Mr. Walpole to give in to it; but he dissented so vehemently and passionately to the so doing, that, after much altercation and heat, they yielded to his opposing it in the House of Commons, or rather because they found that he resolved to do it, whatever they had said or should do upon it. He told them it was the most maintainable point they could make a stand upon in the House of Commons against the Ministry. He was sure he could put it in such a light as to fire with indignation at it every independent commoner in England; and that he saw a spirit rising against it among some of the warmest of the Whigs that were country gentlemen, and not in other things averse to the Administration. That the first discovery of this to him was from what he overheard one Mr. ——— member for ——— say upon it, a plain country gentleman of about eight hundred pounds a year of a rank equal only to that and with no expectations or views to himself beyond what his condition at that time gave him. But this person talking with another member about this Bill, he said with heat and some oaths (which was what Mr. Walpole overheard and catched at)—"What, shall I consent to the shutting the door upon my family ever coming into the House of Lords!" This Mr. Walpole told the company struck him with conviction, that the same sentiment might easily be made to run through the whole body of country gentlemen, be their estates then what they would. And so it proved, to a very thorough defeat of the Ministers in this instance. His performance in this debate, I have heard, for I was not then come into Parliament, was very great, and had as much of natural eloquence and of genius in it as had been heard by any of the audience within those walls. His topics were popular and made for those he hoped to bring over, from the story I have just now told you. He talked of the honours of peerage as the constitutional reward of great qualities and actions only in the service of the Commonwealth, and to be kept open for that purpose. That the usual path to the Temple of Honour had been through the Temple of Virtue; but by this Bill it was now to be *only* through the sepulchre of a dead ancestor, without merit or fame. In this strain he bore down everything before them, even against very able performances by many very considerable persons who spoke on the other side of the question.

The debate for the Bill was managed and principally supported by Mr. Craggs the younger, then one of the Secretaries of State, with parts and every other ability proper for the subject and his own station; and this I have been told to the wonder of everybody, who heard him that day and who did not imagine his talents to have been at all equal to such an undertaking, and to me it is still more amazing, who have very undoubted authority for saying, that no man in England was more against, in his own judgment, this measure than he was, or opposed it more any where than he did in the private consultations of the Ministers upon it. I have spoken of him before and therefore shall say no more of him in this place, but that I have often wondered at and been sorry

ONSLOW MSS.

for the contempt Sir Robert Walpole used always to express of him. It was plainly affected and therefore unworthy of him, and did arise as I have been told from some private personal insults he had received from him, to which indeed the other was too much given, and which I know was among the few things Sir Robert Walpole never forgave in anybody; as scarcely any man does, it perpetually bringing to his own breast a disgusting proof of his want of natural courage, which every man hates to think of himself, and therefore very naturally hates those who occasion that reflection in him. And I must also here say a few things to you on another particular I have mentioned of Mr. Craggs—the defending and supporting in public what he was really against and opposed in private—I know it is the common practice among Ministers.

I know it is said that Ministers cannot otherwise be kept together or the business of a Government be otherwise carried on, and that one man's scruples ought to yield to the judgment of the many, and he to suppose himself in the wrong. I know also that this practice has been sanctified by very good men conforming to it, and particularly by the example of that great and excellent Minister my Lord Chancellor Clarendon (except in one remarkable instance, which however contributed to his ruin. See the history of his life, pages 246, 247, 248, 249), than whom a wiser or a more virtuous man never was in power. I know likewise that the not doing this, brings upon a man the disagreeable imputation of intractableness and obstinacy and of being impracticable in business, and draws often not only odium but contempt on those who do it not. Yet what shall a man say where conscience is concerned, or what will he be able to say when he is to answer for every action of his, not by the conscience of others but by his own, and how miserable is all worldly business, take it for a course of time, that is not carried on by men who make a conscience of what they do in it? And is there anything so likely to make men lose all conscience at last as to be deluded out of it in some perhaps very few particulars at first by the speciousness of worldly wisdom, convenience and complaisance? I don't say nor would I be thought to contend for this strictness in trifles, they are not subjects of conscience, nor where the matter is doubtful, though where I doubt I would rather not do. But I mean it in points of great importance, where conviction is clear and where the error may be dangerous. In such cases, advised as I am, I think he cannot be an honest man that does not use all the talents and means he is master of everywhere to oppose and prevent the thing he even singly disapproves of, be his station and bindings with others what they will. How much evil to the public may not one just man properly situated be able to stop by his resolution and perseverance? If he cannot do it in private consultations, he may in public councils and thither he ought to follow it.

The Cabinet, the Privy Council, and the Parliament are all of them the King's Councils, and I can see no reason why a man's conscience is to govern him in one or two and not in all; why he may be allowed to differ with his fellow ministers in the Cabinet and not in Parliament; why difference of opinion there should break Ministerial union more than in the other, provided decency and proper deference be observed in the one place as well as the other. But Ministers seldom love Parliaments; never bring business there for counsel, but to carry points that must have the authority of the Legislature; and in order to carry such points must previously strengthen themselves there by collecting all the force they can for it. This polity I own requires the firmest connexion among the Ministers; but then it is a polity that I have ever found to produce far more evil to the State than good, and to the Crown too.

The Crown and Ministers also have been always most safe and strong when they have had the free and fair determinations of Parliament for their direction, and I know nothing is so likely to procure this and all that a Court almost can wish to have done there, as to let the Parliament see the Ministers are not in a combination to force things upon them, and nothing can demonstrate that more than Ministers allowing one another the leave to differ in their actings there according to the real difference of their opinions. If the difference of opinion be not real, it is faction, and the Crown ought, in a proper way, to check that among the Ministers; but that is not what I am speaking of. I mean the conscientious difference of sentiment that may happen among honest men, and when it is among such only, it will not be so frequent as to confound or disturb business. The general difference among Ministers is not from this, but from envy, emulation, jealousy and lust of superiority, and from thence arises disorder and confusion in counsels often fatal to the Government. Good men bear with one another, it is the bad only who ruin because they differ. But it may be said, what shall an honest man do in company with those who are not so? Few Ministries are constituted only of honest men, and the good yield sometimes to the others to prevent greater mischief; but nothing is more false, specious as it is, or more dangerous. The best men have been corrupted by this, and seldom have answered the good design they had in it, and by it have often ruined their characters and their ability to do any future good. Daguesseau, the Chancellor of France, one of the most upright men of his time and by that a very troublesome check on the Councils to the Regent, was as it is said undone in his reputation by one false compliance the Regent drew him into. As soon as the Regent found that, he ventured to lay him aside, which before that he was afraid to do. How miserable was the case of this great man? He was disgraced because of his virtue, but lost the benefit of that in his own mind and in the opinion of the world too, by this one false step he had made, and the advantage the Regent took of it. By which the one got the character of a weak man and the other the credit of over-reaching him.

And now the answer will be very easy to the question—what shall an honest Minister do who is in office with those who are not so? pursue his conscience. If it removes him from power, his disgrace will be his honour and if he be wise man his comfort too. If he still remains in his public employment, it will be generally a mark of virtue in the Government, will do honour to his Prince and may reform a bad age by bringing disinterestedness and integrity into fashion. As to the case of my Lord Clarendon, I have only to say, where he did it, he did wrong, and that the best men are often ensnared into errors by the false appearances of right, which I am satisfied governed him whenever he was wrong; but I have the best authority for saying that in a very trying and difficult instance he did not do it, but strenuously and effectually withstood in Parliament a very favourite Court measure much pressed by the King himself but which the Chancellor thought destructive of his and the nation's interest. And the Lord Treasurer Southampton at that time did it often, and when he even differed in judgment from his great friend the Chancellor, it was indeed much disliked by the King who bore it only in him because he feared the scandal of removing such a man, and to whom he had been so much obliged, and was besides in constant expectation of his resigning of himself, or of his dying through the violence of a distemper he had some years laboured with. To the Chancellor there was not so much complaisance, for the design of his ruin seemed to be fixed by that opposition.

ONSLOW MSS. And who does not now revere the memory of both the one and the other of these truly great men, in the particulars I have last mentioned? And who does not now wish my Lord Clarendon had ever done in this what he once did at least, and what his colleague in power my Lord Southampton always did. Men should not act for the sake of fame alone; but it is a very justifiable and useful ambition to desire it, not only whilst men are alive but after their deaths and fame after a man's death is never but for real virtue. Be therefore of the first Duke of Ormonde's opinion, who used to say "However ill I may stand at Court, I am resolved to lye well in the Chronicle."

### ON OPPOSITION. CAP. 2.

A remarkable event happened at this time (1722) which contributed very much to the fixing Mr. Walpole's interest and power then with the King, and manifesting fresh proofs of his abilities and usefulness as a Minister. It was the management of a discovery made by the Regent of France to the Government here of a plot in favour of the Pretender, formed and carried on principally by Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, a man of great parts and of a most restless and turbulent spirit, daring and enterprising though then very infirm, and capable of any artifice; but proud and passionate and not of judgment enough for the undertakings he engaged in. His views were not only to be the first churchman, but the first man also in the State, not less than Wolsey, whom he admired and thought to imitate; and found he could only succeed in this by the merit of his overturning the present Government and advancing that of the Pretender in its stead. He had been long projecting this Revolution; but went now upon the foundation of the discontents in the kingdom arising from the South Sea Transactions in the year '20, which were still fresh in the minds and hearts of the people, especially the sufferers, many of whom imputed their losses to the Government, as designing by a fraud to deprive them of their property, and propagated this notion with too much success among the people in general.

When this intimation was given from the Regent (who it was said did it on condition that no one should die for it) the difficulty of getting to the bottom, and fixing the evidence, of it still remained, but when that was effected, in a great measure by Mr. Walpole's dexterity, who had the chief part in unravelling this dark mystery, the prosecution was as difficult to manage as the other, from the want in most of the cases of legal proofs to convict the criminals at law, and from the necessity not to let them go without some degree of punishment that might be a security to the Government against the like attempts for the future, and worthy of the notice the Government had taken of this. This he also undertook and carried through in Parliament with great skill and clearness and made it serve another purpose too, he always aimed at the uniting of the Whigs against the Tories as Jacobites, which all of them gave too much handle for on this and many other occasions, and making therefore combinations between them and any body of Whigs to be impracticable; and it had that effect for some time.

In the proceeding in the House of Lords against the Bishop he appeared as a witness for the Government; to some things which had been solemnly denied by the other, the Bishop used all the art his guilt would admit of to perplex and make Mr. Walpole contradict himself,

but he was too hard for the Bishop upon every turn, although a greater trial of skill this way scarce ever happened between two such combatants, the one fighting for his reputation the other for his acquittal. The expectation of people in it as they were differently inclined to the parties and the cause, and the solemnity of it from the place and the audience it was in, made it look like a listed field for a combat of another sort, and the joy of victory as great as there. To say the truth the Bishop sunk under the weight of his guilt, and indeed the whole of his defence as made by himself was not adequate to his real abilities. He grounded also upon this what was more politic, as I thought, than just, the subjecting the estates of the papists in England to a tax of 100,000*l.* under the name of a composition for their recusancy, although it did not appear that any or at least but very few of them were engaged in this design, but he did it to terrify them from giving any countenance to such undertakings and to make them to stop, which they were most likely to be able to do, all such from proceeding by shewing them that let what would happen they as a body of men should pay for it, and although the levy fell very short of the sum imposed, yet it has, with the since mildness of the Government towards them, very probably been the means of keeping these people quiet from this time. He answered the objection of injustice in it, not by contending that they were in this particular conspiracy, but this 100,000*l.* was but a part of what they had already forfeited which was a third part of their estates, from the time of their recusancy and therefore due to the Government, though not taken, and as the Government now took but this small proportion it would rather be a favour to them to let this compound for the whole; and a provision was inserted in the Act for that purpose. But all this appeared farce and false to me and some others (who wished as well to the King and his family as he did) and which I shall shew you in what I shall say elsewhere upon this subject.

Another thing which arose from this last did not do the Government so much service as this. It happened by accident; but he took it up and pursued it with his usual party spirit, and it was this. Somebody in the debate of the other matter said it ought to go to protestant non jurors as well as to Papists, and the rather because they were both already liable to a double of the common land tax. This appeared so plausible that it was generally given in to; but then to do it with any justice, everybody was to have an opportunity of swearing to the Government, and to do it with effect everybody was to be obliged to swear. That thus the real nonjurors might be known and register their estates for this or any future imposition of the like sort or to keep them in dread of it.

I have mentioned this last to you, not so much for the sake of the thing itself as for the extraordinary effect and operation it produced. People in general were so terrified with the apprehensions of not only forfeiting their estates in possession if they did not take the oaths, but also what they had in reversions, limitations ever so remote or the least relation to or expectation of any, nay with regard to their money or effects of any sort, that the whole nation almost, men, women, and children capable of taking an oath flocked to the places where the Quarter Sessions were holden, that they might by swearing to the Government free themselves and their families from the danger as they thought of losing their fortunes to it. I saw a great deal of it and it was a strange as well as ridiculous sight to see people crowding to give a testimony of their allegiance to a Government, and cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, and for the fright they were put into by

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it, and I am satisfied more real disaffection to the King and his family arose from it than from anything which happened in that time. It made the Government to appear tyrannical and suspicious, than which nothing can be more hurtful to a prince or lessen his safety upon this occasion, which indeed was one of my reasons for relating this fact to you.

I cannot help observing of what little use to a Government the imposition of oaths to it has ever been. It is very true that nothing in the constitution is more ancient. It was the practice among our Saxon ancestors, continued after the accession of the Norman race, and enforced often by particular oaths under several of the following kings, but never prevented any revolution that either reasons of Government or ambition could bring about. To come nearer our own times, oaths were made to Charles the First, but did not save him. Oaths were taken to the Parliament and Commonwealth, but the same people forgot them or broke them under Cromwell, and all of the Restoration swore allegiance to Charles the Second. They swore the same to King James, and the success of the Revolution made the same persons almost take the same oaths to King William and Queen Mary, and to Queen Anne; many in the rebellion of 1715 had sworn to King George the First and more who wished it success. After all this, who can think these bindings of any security? It may torture the minds of people but never influence their actings. A Government is never secure of the the hearts of the people but from the justice of it, and the justice of it is generally a real security. A good Government therefore does not want these oaths to defend it, and a bad one, the casuists say, frees subjects from the obligation of them, and is a doctrine the people in all times have given into; some particular men may possibly be influenced by them, but I speak of the generality of the people, and with regard to them it has ever been found at least useless. But this practice is in many respects generally very dangerous. Princes are apt to trust too much to it in evil Government and are too much encouraged to that by it. Charles the First was deceived by it, and it deluded his son James into the extravagant attempt he made upon the religion and liberties of his subjects. Besides the minds of men are often corrupted by this to a slight of the obligation of an oath in general, either by taking these oaths unwillingly, many times against their consciences and only by compulsion. Others swear what they do not comprehend, as was the case of nine in ten of those who took the oaths on the occasion I have been speaking of, and then the evil is, as was observed by a great man at that time, that when men habituate themselves to swear what they do not understand, they will easily be brought to forswear themselves in what they do understand. The like danger is from the frequency of oaths that is here required, which always take off from the awe of them and consequently their force. Indeed no oath should be imposed where it is possible that the interest of the person taking it should induce him either to break it or swear falsely; and in my opinion no oaths at all should be appointed but in judicial matters, which as they are necessary in those cases, should be kept for them only, that they may thereby be the more solemn and consequently the more forcible there, where only they are really wanted, or can be of any true use in society.

To conclude this digression, I have often wondered that men do not see the unreasonableness and danger of making people swear where there may be an interest to tempt them to forswear or afterwards break their oaths, from that uniform practice of Courts of Justice not

to suffer anyone to be put upon his oath in judgment, where he is either to get or lose anything by the event of that cause in which he is brought to be a witness. But to return notwithstanding the imprudence and folly of thus swearing the whole nation in the manner I have described, yet was the same thing continued by a subsequent Act of Parliament deliberately made against the advice and admonition and to the great scandal of many very wise men who wished the best to the Government and saw the prejudice it would do to the King and his family; but as parties are generally factions and the chief business of factions is to annoy one another, those men have always most merit with their party who contribute most to this humour, and to that, as this was designed to affect the Tories, must this silly zeal of the Whigs then in Parliament be imputed; and it is most certain that on too many occasions it has been thought he was the honest Whig friend to the Government who did most to make the Tories enemies to it which many of them, from resentment to the Whigs and being deprived of power, did but too much incline, and give in to. But however distasteful this was to several serious men among the Whigs Mr. Walpole enjoyed and encouraged it all, as pursuing of his plan of having everybody to be deemed a Jacobite who was not a professed and known Whig. When he had thus by the unravelling of this plot and punishing the principal offenders established his own credit with the party in general and as he hoped with his master too, he believed himself to have a fair prospect of establishing his own power, which as he built upon a Whig party bottom only, he laboured all he could to unite those to him who had been peculiarly dependent on my Lord Sunderland, some he succeeded with, but not with all, and of them several remained in their employments whom he could not remove, or did not dare to attempt because of the interest they had with the King through the means of the Germans; and this body of people small but of considerable rank remained his enemies to the time of the King's death waiting and watching for every opportunity to ruin him, which however it is most undoubted, they could not have done without ruining at the same time the Whig cause and party; but they thought otherwise; and now began something of the Whig opposition to his power which grew afterwards to be so troublesome and formidable to him. It was at first made up chiefly of such of my Lord Sunderland's creatures as he could not attach to him, but it had very soon the addition of some others from various motives and views; and since that opposition to him makes so great part of his history and from whence so much of his character arises, it will not be improper for the better illustration of that, to give you some description of the persons who undertook or had the principal management of it. He who first endeavoured to form this opposition into a system or regular method of proceeding with a view only to ruin Mr. Walpole, and for that purpose to unite people of every character and principle, and in which he took the most indefatigable pains, was Mr. Daniel Poulteney, in all other respects almost a very worthy man, very knowing and laborious in business especially in foreign affairs, of strong but not lively parts, a clear and weighty speaker, grace in his deportment, and of great virtue and decorum in his private life, generous and friendly; but with all this, of most implacable hatred where he did hate, violent, keen and most bitter in his resentments, gave up all pleasures and comforts and every other consideration to his anger, and fell at last a martyr to it in his quarrel with Mr. Walpole; for his not succeeding in it preyed upon his spirits, which and with his living much with the Lord Bolingbroke (as an enemy to Mr. Walpole) threw him

Onslow MSS. into an irregularity of drinking that occasioned his death, to the great loss and regret of those who were now joined with him, to whom he was as a sort of magazine for all the materials necessary to the work he principally had engaged them in. His animosity to Mr. Walpole arose from his intimacy with my Lord Sunderland, to whom he was brother-in-law by having married the sister of my Lord Sunderland's last wife. He was in the depth of all that Lord's political secrets as far at least as he trusted anybody, and was designed by him to be Secretary of State in the scheme he formed of a new Administration if he had lived long enough to have once more overset Mr. Walpole and my Lord Townshend. But my Lord Sunderland's death putting an end to the other's hopes, so soured his mind that from the moment of his disappointment, I verily believe he scarcely thought of anything else but to revenge it in an opposition to him who had been the chief opponent of his friend and patron. This was at first carried on in whispers and insinuations and raising private prejudices against Mr. Walpole; for he still continued one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty and so still voted with the Administration; but resigning that office which he had great joy in being disentangled from, that he might as he soon did act openly and without reserve against the Ministry in everything; and was the person chiefly who settled his kinsman Mr. Poulteney (aftewards Earl of Bath) in this opposition, though they little agreed or indeed conversed with one another before, nay rather personally disliked one another even to the last; and they were in truth of very different characters. Whatever suspicions Mr. Daniel Poulteney might lie under of entering into some dark and dangerous designs against the Government itself, it is most certain the other had never any thoughts that led to Jacobitism; and if there was anything relating to the public that he was constant to, it was his fears of the Pretender, his abhorrence of that cause, and his attachment to the King and his family. And it was from this, and not a little too, because of his great fortune which might be at stake, that he had often some checks of conscience and very melancholy apprehensions, lest his violence against the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, and joining for that purpose with those supposed to be enemies to the Government, might not weaken the foundations of it, and give too much advantage to them who were thought to mean its destruction. He was without dispute a person of very eminent endowments, rather natural than acquired, although not without the last, but with a mixture of such natural defects and weaknesses too that no time I believe can produce an instance of a man of so variable and uncertain a mind, who knew not that he was so, and never designed to be so. I am persuaded he thought his life was one continued scene of uniformity in principles and actings, and as those who knew him best wondered at the popularity he once had, so he who knew himself least wondered as much that he ever lost it. He had indeed the most popular parts for public speaking that I ever knew, animating every subject of popularity with the spirit and fire that the orators of the ancient Commonwealths governed the people by, was as classical and as elegant in the speeches he did not prepare as they were in their most studied compositions, mingling wit and pleasantry and the application even of little stories so properly to affect his hearers, that he would overset the best argumentation in the world and win people to his side, often against their own convictions, by making ridiculous that truth they were influenced by before, and making some men to be afraid and ashamed of being thought within the virulence of some bitter expression of his, or within the laugh that generally went through the town at any memorable stroke of his wit. And

although this never got him a majority in the House of Commons yet he usually had the occasional hearers that were there; and to that audience he generally spoke and by them established his general fame, as long I mean as his talents were employed against Ministers, Courtiers, Power and Corruption, he certainly hurt Sir Robert more than any of those who opposed him. What his motives were to this opposition, and what happened to him afterwards, I leave to other accounts of him, which are various. He was undoubtedly a very extraordinary person; and in his private life free from common vices, with a sense of religion even to devotion.

Another person who acted a very considerable part in this opposition was Sir William Wyndham as a leader of the Tories or such of them at least who were not averse to come with their party into power and offices under the present Royal Family. In the latter part of Queen Anne's reign he had been Secretary at War and Chancellor of the Exchequer though a very young man, raised so high in the world, against the opinion of it, by the favour of my Lord Bolingbroke with whom he lived in an intimacy of pleasures and gallantries as well as business; and from his attachment and gratitude to him (which he ever preserved) and from party violence and the heat of his youth had engaged in the Rebellion of 1715, but escaped any punishment, except that of a short confinement, by the consideration then had of the noble family he had married into, and who had great merit with the King and his family. He continued however in all the measures of his party against the Government, and by frequent speaking in public, and great application to business, and the constant instruction he still received from his friend and as it were his master, especially in foreign affairs, he became from a very disagreeable speaker and little knowing in business to be one of the most pleasing and able speakers of his time, wore out all the prejudices of party, grew moderate towards the dissenters, against whom he once bore a most implacable hatred, studied and understood the nature of government and the constitution of his own country, and formed such a new set of principles with regard to the public, and from them grew to think that the religion and liberties of the nation so much depended on the support of the present family on the throne, that he lost all confidence with the Jacobites and the most rigid of the Tories, and it is thought would have left them entirely if he could have stood the reproach of that in his own county, or could have maintained a prevailing interest there without them; and upon that footing would willingly have come into a new Whig Administration upon the exclusion of Sir Robert Walpole, with whom he would never have acted, and with the admission of some few of his Tory friends who in company with him would willingly also have left their party for such a change, swayed not a little perhaps in this by observing that no other road would lead them to those honours and preferments in the State which it was just for men of abilities to expect and a folly to exclude themselves and their families from, when they could take them as they thought without hurt to their principles and their character. But he did not live long enough to have this happen to him. He was in my opinion the most made for a great man of any one that I have known in this age. Everything about him seemed great. There was no inconsistency in his composition. All the parts of his character suited and were a help to one another. There was much of grace and dignity in his person and the same in his speaking. He had no acquirements of learning, but his eloquence improved by use was strong, full, and without affectation,

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arising chiefly from his clearness, propriety and argumentation, in the method of which last by a sort of induction almost peculiar to himself, he had a force beyond any man I ever heard in public debates. He had not the vivacity of wit and pleasantry in his speeches so entertaining in the former person, but there was a spirit and power in his speaking that always animated himself and his hearers, and with the decoration of his manner which was indeed very ornamental produced not only the most attentive, respectful, but even a reverend, regard to whatever he spoke. He was besides generally serious and always decent, never positive and often condescending, though sometimes severe and pointed. There was indeed great decorum through his whole carriage, and no man ever contributed more than he did to the dignity of Parliament. Had he been a minister in his latter days I am satisfied he would have had the same decorum in office as he had in Parliament and he had that civility and good breeding in his demeanour that made him as fit for a court as any other situation, and his abilities would have made him equal to any. He had certainly great notions and appeared to have a high regard to the principles of honour and justice. It has been said that he was haughty and passionate and would have carried his power too high, and I am afraid it was the weakness he was most liable to fall into; those who spoke most of this took their thoughts of him chiefly from what they remembered of him in his younger days, when it is very true he had too much of this temper, but as far as I could observe he was much changed in this as he was in his principles and other things; and surely no man in general was ever less in his advanced age of what he had been in his youth, than he seemed to be; but as he was not without his fears too and some desire of fame, they from his knowledge also of the world would have been some restraint upon the other, and if so, his state might only have procured that respect which is always due and necessary to Government. What his firmness in great trials would have been I cannot say. He was certainly of a very high spirit and that with power well managed might have supported him under any difficulties. If I have spoken too highly of him it must be imputed to the great opinion I conceived of him in the House of Commons, where I never saw him fail of being a great man.

These three were the principal opponents Sir Robert Walpole had in the House of Commons. There were others too in that place who bore their parts in the same work, but were far inferior to those I have mentioned. Some in point of abilities and others from their youth and want of experience: although among the latter some were young men of great natural and acquired endowments, and from the training they had by their opposition to the Court, came afterwards to be of considerable figure and rank in public office and business. It was indeed from the applause for speaking which these had acquired, that it became a fashion for most of the then young men of birth and fortune to set themselves against the Court and to endeavour to obtain seats in parliament for the sake of the fame they hoped to get, as the others had done by popular declamations there, against the evil power and corruption of the Administration, which they chiefly or rather only applied to Sir Robert Walpole, and too often in a language that by no means became their youth to give or his years to have it given to him. But for this also they had their applauders; and it is scarcely to be imagined to what a height it arose and how much general mischief he received from this spirit and licentiousness of speech in these young patriots. It went the farther, because in them it was deemed native

virtue, and disinterestedness, the result of untainted minds and hearts too young to be corrupted by envy of power and profit (the usual motives of older men in faction), and in many or most of them indeed I am persuaded in the beginning at least they were made to believe they were saving their country from destruction and that they only could do it. But they were the fools and instruments of those who meant no such thing, and who were in opposition only because they had not power, and made use of the virtue of these younger and better men to the quicker obtaining of it for themselves. Which when they had done, and manifested by their after actings what their former motives had been, many of their young followers soon discerned the cheat and showed their resentment accordingly. Some however who were older and grown wiser, saw the prospects the change had opened, and made as able an use of it as the best experienced of their principals had done: but, alas! with a change too of style and behaviour, that has made me often mourn over them and reflect how very wary young men should be of what they say and do in their political outset, lest the language and actings they then hold should not be able to last them through their whole journey; and I have found also that nothing can be more unfortunate for any man than to begin his public life in the schools of faction and defamation. It is unhappy enough to begin it in a servile and implicit compliance with power; but the other is far more dangerous. The middle track between those two extremes is the path that honest and wise men will take, and is the true character of a parliament man.

The next person in the House of Commons whom I shall mention and who gave much disturbance there to Sir Robert Walpole and his administration was one of the members for the City of London and the most eminent man among them, not for fortune which he seemed to have no appetite for, beyond a competency for his rank and fashion which was that of a merchant by profession (though of no extensive dealings) and of the great offices in the city all of which he had passed through; bu his consideration arose from his own intrinsic worth and abilities, unassisted by any collateral advantages whatsoever, for he had neither birth, alliances, riches or stations in the Government to forward him, but was himself if ever any man was, the worker out of his own true fame. Nor had he the advantages of learning, language, or manner to ornament or set off his natural or acquired endowments, the latter of which lay chiefly in the knowledge of trade, its foundation and extent, and of the whole circle of taxes, funds, money and credit. In all which he had more sagacity, acuteness, force and closeness of argumentation, better and more practicable notions, than almost any man I ever knew, with a disinterestedness as to himself that no temptation of the greatest profit or very high stations (for such he might have had) could have drawn him from, or from the very retired and humble life he generally chose to lead, not only for the sake of his health but the content of his mind, in a moderate habitation in a neighbouring village to London from whence he only came, as he was occasionally called, to any business of importance in the city or in Parliament, in the first of which he was a great magistrate and in the other of true weight and influence. He was besides of a very regular and religious life without show or affectation, as in his public deportment he seemed to have made the best principles of both parties to be the guide of his political actings; so that he was in truth one of the greatest examples of private and in general of public virtue that this age has produced; and had a popularity arising from that which though he did not court or cherish in the way it is usually got and kept up, was more universal and lasting than that

Onslow MSS. of any man of his time, manifesting itself in calm and real instances of esteem, and not in noise and riot, which he himself would have been the first to suppress. (1764) He is lately dead in full possession of this true fame.

After so much of the character of Sir John Barnard it cannot be supposed that in his oppositions to Sir Robert Walpole he was at all actuated by the spirit of faction; nor do I believe he was, or that he ever entered with the others into any formed design to ruin or remove him, however he might wish the latter from the then dislike he seemed to have of the principles of his Administration, especially after the famous attempt of Sir Robert Walpole to turn the collection of some of the Inland duties into an Excise, which Sir John Barnard had much contributed to defeat; and Sir Robert Walpole's manner of debating a scheme the other had proposed to reduce the interest of the Public Debt to 3 per cent., of both which I shall speak more particularly very soon. And here it must be confessed that his opposing the measures of the Government was more constant and settled and had more of intemperance in it towards Sir Robert Walpole than can seem well to consist with the description I have before given of this gentleman. But among all his great qualities he had some blemishes, rather from his constitution, however, than his will or design. He was of a very warm temper, too soon wrought up to passion, and when under that operation was often deprived of his judgment and even of his usual discernment. He was likewise too persevering and tenacious of his opinions, and when in the wrong would shift and refine and subtilize so much to save himself in his disputing, that, in some instances, with those who did not know him well, it created some unkind suspicions of his sincerity; but all that I am satisfied was more owing to the narrowness of the company he kept, and the lead he always had in their conversations, which usually begets an impatience of contradiction and a love of disputing for the sake of victory, than to any fixed intention of imposing upon or deceiving his audience. He had also that regard for the City of London and the profession of merchants, and that warmth for their interests and indeed for every person he undertook to serve that on some occasions it has thrown him into partialities for them that he himself might not perceive though everybody else did. He was not perhaps without his vanity too, and that might carry him into a desire of trying his skill with Sir Robert Walpole in those matters in which he was thought to have no equal, and to be sure he had none, unless Sir John Barnard was the man, I mean in the business of money and credit. And in this it was that he chiefly affected and hurt Sir Robert though seldom with any real superiority.

There was one person more in the House of Commons (Sir J. Jekyll) I will mention here, though he was not in a set opposition to the Ministry, and was sometimes with them, and never against them from the motives the others were thought to have, I should rather say the three first, yet as he most usually differed in the House of Commons from those who were in power, and had much dislike to Sir Robert Walpole in many things and bore no great reverence to his character in general, and being also much known and talked of in the times of Sir Robert's Ministry, and being likewise of a very particular turn in his public and private actings, it may not be improper—but this hereafter.

There were two other persons who in different ways contributed very much to the keeping up the fire of opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's Administration. The late Lord Bolingbroke and the Lord

Carteret afterwards Earl Granville. But as I know not enough of them to be very particular in their characters I shall only describe them as they were generally spoken of. They were universally esteemed of the greatest genius for parts and knowledge of any men of the age. The latter thought to be the better scholar and to have formed his eloquence more upon the Ancients and to have more of their spirit in it than the former, but the first was far the better writer, and had been a very lively and able speaker in both Houses of Parliament. He was thought too to have more knowledge and skill in the affairs of Europe from his long experience abroad and intimacy there with men of the first rank for business and capacity. But neither of them were thought to know enough of the real temper and constitution of their own country although Lord Bolingbroke wrote much on that subject. They were both of them of unbounded spirit and ambition, impatient of restraint, contemning the notion of equality with others in business and even disdaining to be anything if not the first and highest in power. They were not famed for what is called personal courage; but in the conduct of affairs were deemed bold if not rash, and the Lord Bolingbroke was of a temper to overturn kingdoms to make way for himself and his talents to govern the world; whilst the other in projecting the plans of his Administration, thought much more of raising a great name to himself all over Europe, and having that continued by historians to all posterity, than of any present domestic popularity or renown whatsoever. He thought consulting the interior interests and disposition of the people, the conduct of business in Parliaments, and the methods of raising money for the execution even of his own designs was a work below his applications, and to be left as underparts of Government to the care of inferior and subordinate understandings, in subserviency however to his will and measures. But much of this perhaps was owing more to his never having been of the House of Commons than even to the natural height of his spirit, although the last had but too well formed him for those disregards. They were both I believe very incorrupt as to money. It was not their aim to aggrandize themselves that way. Lord Carteret's was all glory, even to the enthusiasm of it, and that made him rather more scrupulous than the other in the means he used for his greatness. But Lord Bolingbroke's was merely power, and to be the leader of it, without any other gratification but what the present enjoyment of it might give him. In a word they were both made rather for the splendour of great monarchies, than the sober councils of a free state, whose liberty is its chief concern. Although upon the whole Lord Carteret seemed much the better man and a safer minister than the other.

With these talents and temper it will not be wondered at that they should be enemies to Sir Robert Walpole, and he to them. But his apprehensions of what they might do against him were not the same with regard to both, nor of the same sort with those he had of the other persons before mentioned, because they were of the House of Commons where he was, and where the chief scene of business lay, and if he got his affairs through that place he was not very solicitous as to what might happen in the House of Lords where the party against him was very small, and a speech or two from Lord Carteret and from two or three more, was all he had to fear. But his apprehensions of hurt from Lord Carteret lay another way. It was at Court he feared him most, as the most likely person to supplant him with the King and Queen, who disliked Lord Carteret less than any of the others who carried on this opposition. For he had very early in his life applied

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himself to the affairs of Germany and the northern Courts, had been a Minister at one of them, and had made many connections of acquaintance and intimacy with the persons that came from that part of the world hither, and especially with the Hanoverian Ministers (none of whom ever loved Sir Robert Walpole), by whose means he had some communications with the Queen if not with the King, and she at least had certainly no unfavourable opinion of him; and when he did come into power, upon the removal of Sir Robert Walpole, had more of the King's favour and opinion than any of the other Ministers, partly for the reasons before mentioned, but chiefly, that his politics made very much for the interests of Hanover, which he always laboured to unite with those of his country. But Lord Bolingbroke did not molest Sir Robert Walpole in this way. He had no hopes of coming into business and power under the present King at least, but by forcing his passage to it, and making as he thought, even the King's safety to depend upon it. He had by his almost weekly writings, in which he was very able, so irritated and inflamed the nation (who eagerly read his invectives) against Sir Robert Walpole and the measures of the Government in which he often personally involved the King and Queen, that at some times there was too much reason to fear the rage he had wrought the body of the people up to might have produced the most desperate attempts. But he meant not that I believe (whatever has been the suspicion) but only to terrify the King into a change of his Ministry and for himself to be thereby restored to his honours, which would, as he always flattered himself, soon put him at the head of affairs. And seasons there were in the course of this opposition that if it had succeeded might possibly have procured him a restitution of his peerage (his estate was given him by Parliament before) though by what has fallen out since one may doubt even of that.

There was besides these two, another person of great rank who came to have a considerable share in the design of ruining Sir Robert Walpole, I mean the Earl of Chesterfield. He was esteemed the wittiest man of his time; and of a sort that has scarcely been known since the reign of King Charles the Second, and revived the memory of the great wits of that age, to the liveliest of whom he was thought not to be unequal. He was besides this a very graceful speaker in public, had some knowledge of affairs, having been ambassador in Holland, and when he was engaged in debates always took pains to be well informed of the subject, so that no man's speaking was ever more admired or drew more audience to it than his did, but chiefly from those who either relished his wit or were pleased with seeing the Ministry exposed by his talent of ridicule and the bitterness of jest he was so much master of and never spared, and this made him so very terrible to the Ministers who were of the House of Lords that they dreaded his wit upon them there, and his writings too, for he sometimes as it was thought furnished the weekly paper of the Opposition with the most poignant pieces it had.

Sir Robert Walpole continued in his fulness of power till 1741, fortified as he believed by his triumphant defeat of his principal opposers in their motion for an Address to the King to remove him from his presence and council; that success rendered him too secure in his own mind, and it is said, made him remiss in his means to obtain the next Parliament. But be that as it will, he could not support himself in the new House of Commons, at least his best friends thought so, although he himself thought otherwise, and reproached them for it, and therefore after many attempts to save himself but in vain, he yielded at last although with

much reluctance; resigned his employments, and was made an Earl, with every private favour he desired of the King. His retreat was entire from any concern in the business of Government, but not from the following and estimation of almost every man of those that had surrounded him when in the height of his power. He lived but a very few years afterwards, and died, as I have been told, with a great seeming composure of mind, even under excruciating pains from the stone. I will end this account of him with saying, that he was in general a wise and able Minister, and the best man from the goodness of his heart, which was characteristic in him, to live with, and to live under, of any great man I ever knew. ONSLOW MSS.

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[AN ACCOUNT OF THE ONSLOW FAMILY.]

Disce puer—ex me—laborem:
Fortunam ex aliis.

TO MY SON,

IT is necessary to tell you that you may know it, to make a decent use of it (which a very wise man said was only when a person is reproached with the want of it), that you are descended of a gentleman's family, equal in its antiquity to most of the best families in England, seated in the county of Salop at a place called *Onslow* near Shrewsbury; and we have undoubted evidence of an immediate ancestor of ours who in the reign of Henry the Third was styled Roger de Onneslowe. It is mentioned also in Doomsday and there written *Andesloe*. It continued in the name to the time of James the First as we conjecture. The family had very large possessions in the same county and spread itself into several considerable branches and intermarried with most of the best Houses there. The estate now belonging to Onslow is at present very small, little more than the ancient park, and owned by one ——— Townes Esq. who has it as I have been informed by descent from the Onslows.* The house is now pretty large, but there are about it the remains, as I have been also informed, of a very great structure. From a second son of this House named Roger settled in Shrewsbury and very likely the owner† of the castle there, came ——— and Richard, of whom we are descended. The first was from the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, through the rest of the Parliaments of her reign, Clerk of the House of Commons, had the great parsonage of Hatfield in Hertfordshire as a lay estate for his own and his wife's life by free gift from his brother our ancestor, who had purchased a long lease of it, resided and died in the parsonage house there (a very large building) and lies buried in the parish church of that place. Relating to him a very particular circumstance is mentioned in D'Ewes' Journals of the House of Commons, 407.

Being then Clerk of the House and so indisposed that he could not attend his duty there, he, by the Speaker, desired leave of the House for his kinsman, one Mr. William Onslow, then a member, to officiate in his stead, which the House granted, and Mr. William Onslow did accordingly supply the place of Clerk during the indisposition of his kinsman.

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* Now owned by — Murrel, Esq., Sheriff in 1771.

† Whether Roger was lessee of the castle under the Crown or not we have no evidence to determine, but in the 7th year of Queen Elizabeth she committed it to his son Richard our ancestor for the term of 31 years at a rent of thirteen shillings and fourpence, as appears in the Office of the Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer

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Richard, who was the younger brother, and from whom we are lineally derived, was bred to the profession of the law, and became of great rank and character in it. He was first, Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster, then Recorder of the City of London, afterwards made Her Majesty's Solicitor General, and whilst he was so, viz. in the 8th year of Queen Elizabeth, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and lastly advanced to the honorable and profitable office of Attorney of the Court of Wards. He did not live many years after that, and died leaving very considerable possessions, as appears by his will, in the 44th year of his age at Shrewsbury, and lies buried there with his wife, under a very large and fair monument in St. Chad's Church: upon which there is an inscription in good Latin, that concludes thus: Qui fuit staturâ procerâ, fronte gratissimâ, voce gravi, linguâ facundâ, veritatis studiosissimus, omnium virtutum thesaurus, sincerus, liberalis, incorruptus. In the year 1559 he married Katherine daughter of ——— Hardinge of Knowle or Knoll in the parish of Cranley in the County of Surrey, Esq., and by her had that estate which was no small one for that age and settled his family there: and it remained the principal seat of the family till the year 1653 or 4 when my great grandfather removed to West Clandon, though purchased some years before. Knoll is still part of the estate of my Lord Onslow: and here I cannot omit the doing justice to the memory of our ancestor, against an injurious reflection upon him by Sir Simonds D'Ewes who says in his Journals of the two Houses of Parliament, page 121—That he, Mr. Onslow, when he was presented by the House to the Queen for their Speaker, did against all former and latter precedents petition Her Majesty on behalf of the House for freedom of access only, and did very ignorantly omit or carelessly forget the two other petitions for freedom of speech and freedom from arrests, &c. To this I have to say that he was chosen Speaker not at a new Parliament but upon the death of the Speaker who died during a prorogation of this Parliament. That whatever the former or latter precedents might have been, he was certainly right and shewed he judged better in the case than others had done, for as he was elected upon a vacancy and the former Speaker had made all the petitions as usual it was needless to renew those which belonged to the House and which had been granted before to this Parliament. What he requested was peculiar to himself, first that *he* (see page 98 in D'Ewes) might have free access to Her Majesty, and this he did for two reasons, first because the former Speaker in the petitions he made had desired free access to Her Majesty for *himself* in the business of the House, and did not say free access *for the House*, see D'Ewes, 66. Secondly, that in those times the applications to the Crown from the House were generally made by the mouth of the Speaker and therefore it was not improper to ask this privilege again as having some particular reference to himself though in general belonging to the House too. The other request he made was certainly relative to himself, viz. for excuse of, and leave to correct, his mistakes, &c. And upon this precedent I suppose it was that Mr. Edward Seymour (afterwards Sir Edward) at his being confirmed Speaker the second time, May 6th 1678, did not make the usual requests, but only that for excusing his own mistakes, &c. When he was first chosen Speaker it being upon a vacancy he should have done no more, but he then made all the petitions, in which he was wrong. But this point is now settled and proves how right Mr. Onslow was, for on Mr. Paul Foley being chosen Speaker in the room of Sir John Trevor, he desired the sense of the House as to the petitions he should make if he was confirmed by the King, and

the opinion of the House was that the usual petitions for the privileges of the House should not then be renewed, and that they were but once to be made and at the beginning of the Parliament, March 14th 1694, and he accordingly did only petition the King to excuse his failings, &c. There is another circumstance relating to this ancestor of ours which perhaps you will not dislike to know.

During a prorogation of the Parliament being then a member of it he was made Solicitor General in June 1566, and had his writ of attendance in the House of Lords as usual. When the Parliament which was on the 30th of September following and had Her Majesty's direction to elect a new Speaker, Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller of the Household, took notice that Her Majesty's Solicitor General was a member of their House and that it would be proper to use some means to restore him to them, who was then attending the House of Lords, to join with them in the election of a Speaker, and notice thereof being given to the Lords, upon consultation had among the Lords the Solicitor was sent down to shew for himself why he should not be a member of the House of Commons, who, as it is said, alleging many weighty reasons as well for his office of Solicitor as for his writ of attendance in the upper House was nevertheless adjudged to be a member of the House of Commons, and thereupon he was chosen speaker. D'Ewes 121, Original Journal Book of the House of Commons, 1st October 1566. I mention this as being the first instance of the kind. It pursued afterwards in the case of Popham, Solicitor General in the 23rd year of Elizabeth, who was chosen speaker upon a vacancy also and it was upon this distinction chiefly that the Lords consented to the sending these two gentlemen to the House of Commons, as appears in the case of Popham, viz., that they were members of the House of Commons, and the House possessed of them as such, before they were made solicitors, and had their writs of attendance in the House of Lords, D'Ewes 280, Original Journal Book of the House of Commons, 16th and 18th January 1580. And this distinction seems to be confirmed by what passed upon the Commons demanding of the Lords to have Egerton, then Solicitor General and attending the Lords, to be sent to them, and the Lords refusing to consent to it, returned for answer that he was called by Her Majesty's writ to serve and attend in the House of Lords before he was elected, and returned a member to serve in the House of Commons, D'Ewes 441, 442. But this distinction has ceased for some ages, and indeed I know of no instance where it ever was made but in those above mentioned*, for as to the other attendants upon the House of Lords, such as the †Master of the Rolls and the other Masters of the Chancery‡, King's Serjeants and Counsel, they have been for many ages back, as since the time of Queen Elizabeth the Solicitors General have been, chosen members of the House of Commons although they were in those offices before their elections, without any objection from the Lords as far as I can find. The Attorney General has been but of late§ time thought capable of sitting in the House of Commons, but the objection to his sitting came from the House of Commons itself and not from the Lords.

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* Except in the case of Sir Henry Hobart, Attorney General. See the Journal of the House of Commons, 8th and 11th April, 12th James 1st.

† See Journal of the House of Commons, 8th and 11th April, 12th James 1st.

‡ See D'Ewes Journal 249, for the case of Serjeant Jefferies.

§ Since the Restoration, that is, since Sir Heneage Finch became Attorney General, for Sir Jeffery Palmer, his predecessor, never sat in the House of Commons after he was Attorney.

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Sir Henry Hobart, whilst Attorney General, was suffered to continue a member, though it was said by a member, as entered in the Journal of the House of Commons, 8th April, 12 James 1st, that it was because he was a member when made Attorney, and on the 11th of the same April resolved upon a solemn debate of two days that the Attorney General (who was then Sir Francis Bacon) should remain of the House for that Parliament, but it was also resolved that no Attorney General should serve for the future, and upon this determination it was that a new writ issued for electing a member in the room of the Attorney General (Sir Thomas Coventry) who was returned to serve in the House of Commons, see the Journal of the House of Commons, 8th February 1620 ; and Sir Robert Heath, Attorney General, was not suffered to sit, and a new writ ordered for the choice of another member in his stead, Journal of the House of Commons 9th and 10th February 1625. A new writ was also issued for a member in the room of Herbert, Solicitor General, upon his being made Attorney, Journal of the House of Commons 29th January 1640. But since the Restoration the Attorney General has as before mentioned sat in the House of Commons, though in the year 1692, 14th January, there was an address (but it came to nothing) and see the first volume, page 382, of my written calendar of the Journal of the House of Commons, to the King from the House of Lords that the Attorney General might for the future be an assistant there, and his being an assistant in the House of Lords as the judges are seems to have been the reason, as is before mentioned, for distinguishing from the Solicitor and others who are but attendants.

To return, this Richard Onslow left a numerous issue, two sons, and five daughters, one of which we conjecture was the maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth, mentioned in the second volume of the Sydney Papers, page 156–159–201, but his eldest son Robert dying without children, the second son Edward who afterwards became Sir Edward, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, enjoyed the estate and lived at Knoll. He was a person of eminent virtue and piety, and of that truly religious set of men called Church Puritans as appears by the extract number 1. I don't find he was ever in any public station, he married one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Shirley of Westenston in the county of Sussex (by which we are founders kinsmen of All Souls College in Oxford) and had by her two sons and several daughters.

His eldest son dying without issue the estate came to his other son afterwards Sir Richard Onslow Knt., the first of the family who was chosen a Knight of the Shire for the county of Surrey and was so from the year 1627 to all the Parliaments of King Charles the 1st, and laid the foundation of that interest both in the County and in the town of Guildford that our family have ever since kept up to a height that has been scarcely equalled in any county by one family, having been chosen for the county to all Parliaments, except five, from 1627 ; and for Guildford to every Parliament from 1660 except once for two years upon a vacancy for a friend by our family interest, and sometimes for Haslemere, Gatton, and Bletchingley, in the same county, once two of our family together for the county, and several times two of them for Guildford. He was a man of high spirit, of a large fortune and of great parts, knowledge and courage, with the gravity and sobriety of the times, was much esteemed in his own country, where he bore the principal sway in all business and interests. He lived in a very close friendship with most of the considerable men, who at the breaking out of the troubles took part with the Parliament. He raised a regiment for the service of the Parliament

and was at the siege at Basing House. His officers were most of them gentlemen of his own county and the private men were of it too and freeholders; but upon the passing of the self-denying ordinance, as it was called, in the year 1645, by which no member of Parliament was to hold any office civil or military, he left his command in the army. He was among those in the House who were not for carrying things to extremities against the King but only to restrain his power, and to preserve the constitution upon its true basis; and was besides a great enemy to the wild and enthusiastic principles of religion that prevailed during these times. He suffered much upon this account, and was always ill treated by the sectarian part of the army and by those who were for a republican scheme of, or for otherwise overturning the, Government, as appears by the justice the House of Commons did him against a libel of George Withers written on purpose to traduce him; and by his moderation he also exposed himself to the resentments and calumnies of violent men of the contrary principles, who endeavoured to defame him in a particular that he laboured to serve them, as may be seen in the annexed printed paper number 2. And as to Withers' libel you will see the proceedings thereupon in the transcript of the Journals of the House of Commons * number 3. I cannot better describe to you than these proceedings do the design of the charge, the importance of the person charged, and of what complexion he was, especially by the characters of the tellers, who were the principal men at that time in the House, and the leaders of the two chief contending parties, and who would not have been appointed to this office if the matter had not been of a more than ordinary nature; and it is very observable to the honour of Sir Richard Onslow that it was a victory for him against Cromwell in person. This Withers was in himself a low fellow, well known however in those times for his fanatic poetry and ribald writings almost innumerable. He is celebrated by Butler in his Hudibras. He was an officer, and then quartered or otherwise residing in or about Farnham, as I have heard, and, after this matter was before the House of Commons, seems to be trying to get evidence to support his charge, by enquiring of a man, one John Chaloner, if he knew anything against Sir Richard Onslow. A certificate of which is among the Clandon Papers, and signed by this Chaloner. My great-grandfather having thus opposed and defeated these contradictory animosities towards him, steadily pursued his own principles and was one of the secluded members in the year 1648, and among them who were treated with most severity, because of their strenuous opposition to the designs against the King's life, not that he was for restoring him by arms or force upon the Parliament (and therefore came into Surrey, upon the insurrection by the Earl of Holland, to oppose that weak and wild undertaking there); but by treaty and compact, that there might be a fair settlement if possible between the Crown and the people. By his being thus secluded, I do not find that he sat any more in that Parliament till those members were brought back to it by Monk a little before the Restoration, and from the time of this seclusion till Cromwell's third Parliament constituted a House of Lords, he acted in the country upon frequent occasions with great zeal and resolution against the then powers, but with so much prudence too (which his enemies called by another name and reproached him for) that he never subjected himself to any prosecution or public censure, though he was more than once very near it. It is true however that he was again colonel of the

* See *post*.

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Surrey Regiment in the year 1651 and was ordered to join Cromwell at Worcester, but he had no good will towards the service and did not come up to the army till after the fight, which Cromwell imputed to his not being hearty in the cause and said in a passion that he should one time or other be even with that fox of Surrey, though Whitelock in his memorials, page 508, says he marched hard to come up to the engagement, yet by a paper in his own handwriting (among the Clandon Papers) it appears that he was put upon this service to try him and ruin him, and that he hovered about with his regiment till the battle was over, and that Cromwell said afterwards in the House of Commons that if he had come up before the fight, it would have been uncertain which side he would have taken. Cromwell said of him upon another occasion sometime afterwards, that he had Charles Stuart in his belly, and it is not improbable that Cromwell knew that he had engaged to assist in Penruddock's insurrection at Salisbury, which he owns in the before mentioned paper of his, containing also many other instances of his regard to the royal family, and of Cromwell's jealousy of and animosity towards him.

When Cromwell opened his design of making himself King, Sir Richard Onslow was one of the Knights for Surrey in that Parliament which offered him the Crown, although Colonel Pride then Sheriff had instructions to put him by from being returned. He was very earnest for making Cromwell King, whether from his regard to monarchy in general which he imagined was the only way of recovering the peace and settlement of the nation, and was indifferent as to the person who wore the Crown, or whether he intended by it to facilitate the restoration of the Royal Family, and ruin Cromwell, the last of which especially as to Cromwell has been said of him, though the other may be collected from the turn of a speech of his which I shall mention presently; or whether Cromwell had won him over by the promise of his being a lord under this new establishment. He I say was very earnest and active in it, and was one of that committee composed of the most eminent persons of the Parliament who were appointed to attend the Protector to prevail upon him to accept of the title of King, and was one among those of the committee who debated the matter with Cromwell. This conference is printed, and his speech is there * and it shows him to have been a very able and artful man. He was also (as he seems to hint in the aforementioned paper) for this measure as the means of setting up the civil and abating the military power; but Cromwell, how much soever he had laboured to bring this design about, was yet afraid at the last to put it in execution at that time, deterred from it by some of his own relations and those who were in his closest confidence, and who upon this occasion threatened to desert him; and it is said that one of them the very morning that he was to give his answer to the committee, with great fierceness said to his face that if he took this title that he himself would shoot him through the head, and it is most certain that after having failed in this attempt, in which his genius seemed to have left him, he never appeared the great man he was before. Whether he would have been able to have sustained this new character, and to have supported his authority under it, has been a question much disputed. I am † inclined to think he would not, chiefly through envy in those who had helped his rise from being their equal; but others

* See *post*.

† See my papers relating to the Act for establishing a Regency, which passed in the year 1751.

have thought [he would have] established his power by it, that he would have united the nation to him, who wanted a settlement, and would have liked that best which they had been most used to. The wisest men among the Royalists were of this last opinion, and looked upon his refusal of the Crown as the most fortunate thing which could on that occasion happen to the King, as the unsettledness of the Government was the most likely means to bring the King back; and it must be acknowledged that whoever considers well the temper and disposition of the nation, but a few months before the Restoration, will impute that event to the uneasiness of the people at the various and uncertain powers they were forced to submit to and not to any real affection they bore to the Royal Family.

Had there been a King, there would have been a regular and legal Government, and the body of the people it has been said would rather have been content with the quiet they enjoyed under Cromwell and his family than have brought home the King and his under the dread they very probably might have of severe revenges being exercised upon them, for what had passed, and under the fear too of having the same things in time perhaps to be practised upon them again which had happened in the former King's reign. Nor did the private character of the King or the life he led much favour his return; though all *that* was afterwards sunk for a season in the joy of his Restoration, a joy indeed that I own was general, but what as I have said before, was, though then unperceived, more owing to the nation being delivered from the confusions that had been in the Government, than from any true zeal for him and his family.

And here let me make one observation to you of what has often occurred to me, as a most extraordinary thing, that notwithstanding the frequent and sometimes very wild changes of Government that happened especially from the dissolution of the Long Parliament by Cromwell to the time of the King's being restored, yet the Laws had their free course as to all private matters, and in which justice was as strictly administered under them, as in any age either before or since; and this, to give Cromwell his due, he always encouraged, and ever laboured to get, the ablest and the most upright men of the law to fill the great stations of it, and many such he had, as Whitelock, Rolle, Hale; of the last of whom I have heard this story from undoubted authority. That Cromwell having a desire to make him one of his judges, went himself to Mr. Hale's chambers to make him an offer of it, which he being much inclined to the King's cause* at first refused and was free enough, upon the encouragement Cromwell gave him so to do, to own that his reason for refusing it, was his scruples as to the authority he was to take a commission from and to act under. Cromwell told him that he did not come to dispute with him about his authority, he had got the power, and he was resolved to keep it, but he was resolved also to exercise it well if he could, and to distribute justice to the people, and if you, Sir, says he, and such men as you will not suffer me to govern by Red Gowns, I must and will govern by Red Cloaks. Upon which Hale accepted the office and continued one of the judges to the time of Cromwell's death, with some restrictions however as to his sitting upon criminal cases which Cromwell gave into.

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* Though he had taken the engagement, and I doubt not but upon reasons that then satisfied his conscience. *See* State Trials, Vol. I., page 712.

Onslow MSS.

This was the famous Sir Mathew Hale, who was after the Restoration, first, Chief Baron of the Exchequer and then Chief Justice of the King's Bench; the greatest man, for the stations he was in, that any age in any country has produced. He was so superior in the learning of his profession to all others of it (though a very learned age for lawyers too) that it was said* there was but one man, Serjeant Maynard, that could even hold a debate with him upon a subject of law. He was a clear and very good writer, and what has scarcely ever happened, was so upon records and matters of the most abstruse antiquity of the law, in which he was most eminently knowing† and made a greater, a more accurate and a more judicious use of them in his writings than any man that ever was of the profession. For his character as to learning in general, his great and unaffected piety, prudence, moderation, integrity, resolution, and contempt of riches, read and consult his own works; and for a view of his great qualities together, you may read his life, as it is written by Bishop Burnet, which though not a perfect history of him will yet be entertaining to you and may be much better relied on for a true drawing of him, than what has been lately given by a malevolent writer as to him at least, in the life of the Lord Keeper North. Hale as far as it was consistent with justice countenanced the poor and the oppressed against riches and power, and this under all the Governments of his time, the Cavaliers before the Restoration, and the contrary men afterwards; and is a strong proof of his courage and greatness of mind, and not of the weakness imputed to him by this author. Thus much I could not forbear saying of this excellent man as he came in my way. His name is one of the honours of this country, and if you are of the profession of the law, which I hope you will be, let his great example and deserved fame be ever before your eyes. However to show that human nature cannot arrive at perfection, this wise and good man had some weaknesses, and there are three things of him which one would be amazed should take place in his true mind. He was against a general naturalization of foreigners, against a public register of titles to estates, and gave in to the sottish belief of witches, a superstition that age had been much addicted to. He condemned some persons at the Assizes for the County of Suffolk and suffered them to be put to death, who had been convicted before him, for witchcraft; but it appears by the account of the trial that though he declared his belief of witches he had some uneasiness about him and did not sum up the evidence to the jury (a very unusual thing); and I have been told that he was afterwards much altered in his notions as to this matter and had great concern upon him for what had befallen these persons. There is one thing more which may be imputed to him as a weakness, and from his authority might have done infinite mischief to the Commonwealth in our times at least, I mean a strange doctrine of his relating to Kings de Facto et de Jure contained in a noble work of his compiling (lately printed but without those offensive passages) called the History of the Crown Law; but as I shall have occasion to mention this more at large hereafter I shall say nothing farther of it in this

* This I had from Sir Joseph Jekyl (Master of the Rolls) who told me he had it from Sir Edward Northey as the common saying in Westminster Hall, when he Sir Edward first came to the Bar, which was in Lord Chancellor Hale's time. Lord Chancellor Hardwick told me, that he had heard the story of two men that only could hold an argument of law with Hale, and they were Finch (Lord Chancellor Nottingham) and Maynard.

† And without some knowledge of which no man can be a lawyer and was very much the study of the lawyers in that age.

place, and should now return to my principal subject, but after having spoken of some imperfections in this extraordinary man which savour of too narrow a spirit, I cannot, in justice to his memory, omit the notice of two eminent instances of the largeness of his mind in other things. The one is what he did with respect to the marriages of Quakers to prevent the bastardizing of their children, and the other in admitting Jews to be received as witnesses, who had been refused as such because they could not be sworn *tactis Evangelistis*. He said to that, although they (the Jews) did not believe the contents of the New Testament, they believed the contents of the Old, and that was as much an Evangelium as the other, and they might be sworn upon that, and from this determination of his it has been so practised.*

Cromwell having failed in his design of obtaining the Crown, got almost the same power under the title of Protector confirmed to him by this Parliament, and being enabled to constitute another House of Parliament which was to resemble in some sort what the House of Peers had been, he sent writs of summons to persons, some of whom were of the old nobility, others of gentlemen of the best families of that rank in the nation, and the rest were officers of note in the army and some lawyers of great stations,† as may be seen in the list printed in Whitelock's Memorials. My great grandfather I have been speaking of, was one of them ;‡ his interest however still remained very great in his own country: and was of that consideration otherwise, that I have some reason to believe Monk named him in a paper to Richard Cromwell as one of four or five persons whom he recommended to Richard to be a sort of Cabinet Council to him. I have seen this paper of Monk's to Richard, and he there speaks of the Lord *Onsloe*, which I take to be my§ great grandfather. The paper is very sensibly written and contains very salutary advice to Richard upon the whole of his affairs, with the appearance of great attachment and sincerity to

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* Now persons of all religions are sworn as witnesses by their own Gods and in their own manner of solemn swearing. There is a particular provision by Act of Parliament for the Quakers, as to their giving their testimony in all civil cases.

† With some Scotsmen of considerable name and my Lord Broghil of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Orrery.

‡ And Ludlow, in his Memoirs, vol. 2, page 595, reckons him among those of them who, he says, had considerable estates derived to them from their ancestors ; and in a libel printed in 1658, upon those who had been made Lords by Oliver, he is thus charactered :—Sir Richard Onslow, a knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Surrey of good parts, and a considerable revenue ; he was of the Long Parliament, and with much ado, through his policy, steered his course between the two rocks of King and Parliament, and weathered some sore storms ; was not his man taken in his company by the Guard of Southwark, with commissions of array in his pocket from the King, and scurrilous songs against the Round Heads? Yet by his interest he rode it out, till Colonel Pride came with his purge ; then suffered loss, and came no more in play till about Worcester fight, when by the help of some friends in Parliament, he was empowered to raise and lead as Colonel, a regiment of Surrey men against the Scots and their King, but came too late to fight, it being over being popular in Surrey he was of the latter parliaments, is fully for Kingship, and was never otherwise, and stickled much among the seventy Kinglings to that end, and seeing he cannot have young Charles, old Oliver will serve his turn, so he has one ; so that he is very fit to be Lord Onsloe, and to be taken out of the House, to have a negative voice in the other House, over Surrey if they please, and all the people of these lands besides whether they please or not.

§ As to Mr. Arthur Annesley who only could be the person if my grandfather was not, he had then no pretence to be, and was nowhere at this time styled *Lord*, his father the Lord Viscount Valentia of Ireland being then alive. *See* Collin's Peerage.

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him. It is in Clarges' handwriting, very likely of his composing, and is now printed among Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 7, page 387.

After the Protectorship of Richard was dissolved, I find no traces of anything he had to do in public affairs, till Monk restored the secluded members to their seats in the old Parliament which had now reassumed its former power, and here he acted again on the same principles he had always held of bringing the Government back to its ancient and legal foundation, and for this reason, as the only means of doing that, he was very earnest for the return of the King. He was now esteemed among those of the first rank in the Parliament, was appointed Custos Rotulorum of his own county and was chosen one of that Council of State, which was appointed with a design to prepare the way for the Restoration of the Royal Family and therefore composed chiefly of such who were supposed to favour it. Among them were Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Mr. Crew afterwards Lord Crew, Mr. Swinfen, Monk himself, Colonel Norton of Hampshire, Colonel Morley of Sussex, Sir Harbottle Grimston Speaker of the next Parliament, Mr. Annesley afterwards Earl of Anglesea, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards the famous Earl of Shaftesbury, and Mr. Denzill Holles afterwards Lord Holles, with the two last of whom he had always a very particular intimacy though they were men of very different characters from each other, and from these friendships it was joined with his own consideration as to fortune and otherwise, and because the rank he had been of in that Council of State, as appears by two letters to him now among the Clandon papers, the one from my Lord Broghill afterwards Earl of Orrery, and the other from Admiral Montagu afterwards Earl of Sandwich, and of his earnestness there to have the King invited home, that he was not without hopes of some mark of distinction at the Restoration, but he failed in it. He had failed also in another matter, which went very near him, in being chosen to the Convention a Representative for the County of Surrey, which he lost by building too much upon his interest there, and very imprudently insisting upon the choice of his eldest son with him. They both stood and by that neither succeeded, and which perhaps might be one reason among others that he did not succeed in other expectations, the party violence of the Royalists in his own county with a mixture of envy being then very strong against him; as appears by some family papers I have by me which I have before called Clandon Papers; and indeed he seems to have taken a part sometimes, especially in his unhappily accepting to be one of Cromwell's Lords that might give a pretence of severity towards him in those of the King's old party: with whom others joined to ruin him at this time, of whom he deserved better treatment, and who had before made much court to him.

Having mentioned the party violence at this time against him it will be proper to take notice here that it might be owing to it that he was not content with being included in the general Act of Indemnity, but took out a special pardon after that under the Great Seal, bearing date the 25th of November 1660, three months after the general Act had passed, and almost in the same words, not knowing perhaps whether the next Parliament would confirm that Act, and so leave it doubtful at least whether it was valid or not by being passed in a convention irregularly called; but his apprehensions were soon at an end for that Act was confirmed by the next Parliament; however he took the safest way, and some others I imagine did the like. Both he and his son too were after the disappointment of the county chosen for the town of Guildford (the town keeping back their election for that purpose) as they were also to the next Parliament after the Convention. They had both been elected

for the county in one or both of the last Parliaments under Cromwell, and it is very likely that he piqued himself upon showing that his interest now in his own country was as great as it had been at any time before. He lived about five or six years after this in considerable reputation in Parliament and in his own country, particularly at Guildford which place had been remarkably firm to him, and for the sake of his friends there it was, that he got himself to be one of the Commissioners for regulating that corporation under the Act of the 13th of the then King, for new modelling Corporations and did thereby hinder his enemies from ruining his interest in that town. See the Town Book of Guildford for 1662–3. He died by some hurt, as it is said, that he received from lightning. He was without doubt a person of great spirit and abilities, very ambitious and much set upon raising his family; but seems to have had a sort of art and cunning about him, which by no means deserves imitation, and can only be justified by the uncertainty and confusion of the times he lived in, which made it very difficult for a man to act in them, whose principles did not lead him to the extremes of any party; and this must be his excuse.

He married the only daughter of Arthur Strangways Esq., who brought him a very considerable fortune and by her had many children of both sexes. His daughters were all married to gentlemen of considerable families and fortunes, and of the six sons he left, my grandfather whose name I bear was the eldest, the second was Sir Henry Onslow, Knight, the grandfather of our kinsman, Denzil Onslow of Drungwick in Sussex, Esq. The third named Richard was bred a Turkey merchant; and he and the fourth and fifth died without issue, as did also the sixth and youngest named Denzil, of whom I shall have occasion to speak something hereafter. The eldest Arthur Onslow Esq. afterwards a Baronet by a limitation in the Patent to Sir Thomas Foot whose eldest daughter he had married, was a man of great plainness and sincerity and of most remarkable sobriety of life, not anyways formed for the business of the State, nor do I find him at all engaging in Parliamentary transactions, although he was a member of the House of Commons in all Parliaments from the year 1640 till that of King James the Second, which was in the year 1685, and was one of the secluded members in 1648 although not imprisoned as his father was. He was first chosen when he was but nineteen years of age (which then might be) for Bramber in Sussex, by the recommendation of the famous Earl of Arundel who was lord of that borough, and with whom by his residing very much at Albury (now the seat of the Countess Dowager of Ailesford), my great grandfather being his neighbour, had the honour of a very particular friendship and intimacy, and upon that account as I have heard my grandfather was chosen for this borough, and here I must not omit to mention to you that my great grandfather from his great interest in the House of Commons did many signal services to that noble family during the time of the troubles, especially with regard to the easy composition of six thousand pounds which he procured for the then Earl of Arundel's estate, and in all their affairs both he and my grandfather were always consulted as their principal friends, and made use of as trustees for them in all their family settlements; there was also a very close friendship between Mr. Henry Howard of Norfolk (as he styled himself), afterwards the second Duke of Norfolk since the Restoration, and my great grandfather and grandfather, and whose protection was of singular service to them after the return of the King. In one or both of the last Parliaments under Cromwell my grandfather was chosen as I have told you before with his father for the County of Surrey, and that they

Onslow MSS. both lost it at the election of the Convention which preceeded the Restoration, but that they were both chosen at that time for the town of Guildford, and for the same place to the next Parliament, which was called the Long Parliament and sat seventeen years. Upon the choice of the following Parliament my grandfather and Mr. George Evelyn of Wotton in Surrey (the great uncle of the present Sir John Evelyn) were after a mighty and very expensive struggle elected for the county of Surrey by what was then called the country interest in opposition to the Court, and likewise to the two succeeding Parliaments but not with the like difficulty or expense. They both stood again at the election of King James's Parliament, but, through the arbitrary and partial proceedings of the sheriff, and the violence used towards them and their friends, they gave up the poll, though the majority of the electors was visibly with them; and about three years afterwards my grandfather died, a few months before the Revolution. His death was as much lamented and regretted as perhaps any man's ever was, of his rank; and his funeral was attended by such a concourse of people of all conditions, as even to give some umbrage to the King, then at Hampton Court, as though something else was meant than a bare funeral ceremony. I have been told by some who saw it, that the train of people who followed his hearse, in coaches, on horseback, and afoot, held from Clandon almost to Guildford near three miles. He was buried at Cranley where the ancient seat of the family had been, and Mew, then Bishop of Winchester, sent to desire he might bury him, which he did; foreseeing as it was thought a change of the times, and being for that reason desirous to compliment the family and their friends on this occasion. No man was ever more truly and more deservedly popular in his country than my grandfather was; for besides the plainness and sanctity of his life, which drew much reverence towards him, he had all the qualities which make men useful to and beloved by their neighbours and countrymen. He was hospitable, generous and very charitable to the poor; knew more of the law and the constitution especially what related to the administration of justice in the country, than perhaps any country gentleman of that age, and he employed all his knowledge in the duty of a Justice of the Peace (in which he was very active) in reconciling law differences, and advising his neighbours in the management of their affairs which might require the direction of a lawyer, and he was so much resorted to on this account, that whenever he went a hunting (a diversion he took great delight in) it was customary for the people, where he happened to be, to come out and detain him often from his sport by consulting him upon matters of law or otherwise as they wanted advice. He was constant at the meetings of public justice in the country, and presided in many of them, was in all the public trusts there, and always attended the execution of them; and in every of these matters was the person principally relied upon by those who acted with him and those who had any business before them. In these things was his great pleasure and almost his daily exercise, and by this he acquired the vast influence he had in his own country, to a degree that few have come up to it in any country at any time even in Parliament. He had his credit too, though not engaging, as I have said before, in the business of it, I mean in debates or as a leader of or a manager in a party: but by his steadiness there to his own principles and in the support of the liberties of the people and the Protestant interest, a cause which not one, and we ought to thank God for it, of our name or family have ever deviated from. He had seen many changes in public affairs and in every turn

followed the true interest of his country without any profit or the view of it, having never had any state employment nor I believe ever thought of one. He voted generally against the court as you may easily imagine from his principles and character, and was particularly earnest in the exclusion of the Duke of York from the Crown, and in all measures which tended to the suppression of popery. This and his upright behaviour in general endeared him so much, especially in his own country to men who were of the same principles with himself and begat such confidence in him, as that a very remarkable instance of it happened at the election for the County of Surrey after the dissolution of the Long Parliament of King Charles the Second. I have told you before, how great the contest at that election was; among the expectations of the other side a gentleman of a very ancient family and estate, Sir Nicholas Stoughton of Stoughton near Guildford was much solicited and depended upon to be against my grandfather because of a law suit which had long subsisted between them and had been carried on with great acrimony and personal animosity* by Sir Nicholas towards my grandfather. Sir Nicholas kept himself in reserve till the first day of the election, and then coming upon the Downs near Guildford where the poll used to be taken, by adjournment from Guildford, at the head of his party; and that being very numerous the candidates of the other side (my Lord Longford and Sir Adam Browne) immediately rode up to him with full expectation of having his interest; but not answering them as they thought he would, they began to expostulate with him upon the treatment he used to complain of in my grandfather, and seemed to wonder he could vote for one who had been so obnoxious to him. My Lord, says he, it is true, Mr. Onslow has treated me extremely ill in detaining an estate which I think belongs to me, but I can safely trust him with the rest of my property, and look upon that and my religion and liberty too, much more secure in his hands than in yours.

The part my grandfather thus acted with respect to the public rendered him as you may well believe very disagreeable to the court, and as a mark of resentment he was towards the latter end of King Charles the Second's reign turned out of the Commission of the Peace, had his house searched for arms as a disaffected and dangerous person to the Government and both he and his eldest son presented at a Quarter Sessions in Surrey for words they had spoken at a bailiffs' feast at Guildford, and for my grandfather's giving to that town a gold chain and medal to be worn by the Mayors thereof. The presentments and the proceedings of the Quarter Sessions see paper number 4, and which afford some matter of curiosity in that way. The gold chain and medal were given by my grandfather to the town of Guildford upon his being made their high steward, and, after this prosecution, were laid aside, and not worn again till the Revolution; but since that have been constantly worn as at first. The rioters mentioned in the presentment were some persons of that part of the county lying near Windsor Forest who had risen upon some of the king's deer, which had lain upon their corn, and killed them. A special commission issued to try them for this offence, and Jeffreys came down to execute it. The poor people terrified with this and having done no more than what they

* See a MS. I have compiled by this person, of the family of Stoughton, in which you will perceive his bitterness and slanders towards my grandfather and my great grandfather. He was a zealous Nonconformist, which prevailed at this time over his private resentment. You will see his true character even in his own history of himself. He was almost universally detested in the country and my grandfather as much revered.

thought they had a right to do, as they certainly had, no part of the county of Surrey being within the forest, Guildford Park being then also disafforested, applied to my grandfather for his protection; and he accordingly attended Commission as on their behalf, and saved them by an accident, which however subjected him to some inconveniences afterwards in revenge of it by Jeffreys. When the panel for the grand Jury was returned and they sworn, some intimation was given to Jeffreys that they were of a complexion not likely to do the business; upon which he discharged them, and directed the Sheriff to return another Grand Jury immediately; but my grandfather as an amicus curiæ objected to this, and submitted it to the Court whether any further proceedings could be had under that *special* commission, since the power by it to cause a jury to be impanelled to enquire, &c. had been executed and no authority given to cause a fresh jury to be returned. Jeffreys was struck with this and, perhaps because of the clamour it might make if he had gone on with a new jury, broke up the court in a rage, not without some words of threat to my grandfather for having overreached him as he called it, or something to that effect, and no further proceedings were had against these men; but sometime afterwards my grandfather and his son, having been bound over to appear in the King's Bench for the matters contained in the presentments I have just now mentioned, Jeffreys, then Chief Justice, treated him in a manner that showed he had not forgot what had passed between them on the former occasion, though he was afterwards much softened towards them, and this prosecution of my grandfather and my uncle went no further, by the interest as I have heard that Sir Henry Tulse, my uncle's father-in-law and an Alderman of the city of London, had with Jeffreys, who had been Recorder there, and Sir Henry was besides very firmly attached to the interests of the Government. And now I have mentioned Jeffreys let me tell you an anecdote relating to him which I had from Sir Joseph Jekyl, the present Master of the Rolls.

Whilst Jeffreys was in the Tower, he sent for the famous Doctor Scott to come to him in order to assist him in his devotions being then near his death. The doctor in his exhortations to him to recollect the past actions of his life that required repentance, took notice particularly of the cruelty he had been charged with against those people in the West who had been prosecuted before him for their being concerned in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. Upon this Jeffreys raised himself with more than ordinary emotion, and said 'Doctor, I have been very unjustly charged with this as if it had proceeded from my own disposition, but what I did I had express orders for, and was so far from exceeding my orders, that I was not half bloody enough for the man who sent me thither'; and soon after died. The doctor told this to my Lord Somers from whom Sir Joseph told me he had it. Having observed to you that my grandfather took part with these persons who had killed the King's deer which strayed into the County of Surrey, because they had a right so to do in their own grounds, no part of the county except Guildford Park being within the forest of Windsor, it will not perhaps be unuseful to you, as you bear some relation to that county, to inform you how that matter stands.

The Crown anciently by its prerogative might declare any compass of land to be forest, and the manner of doing it was by sound of trumpet, and the lands then became subject to the laws of the forest; but this could not legally be done, but where the ground was uncultivated and waste. However that restriction was not always observed, and it was indeed generally otherwise by the Princes of the Norman race. Under the pretence of this prerogative Henry the Second afforested the whole

county of Surrey, but after grievous of this, his son Richard the First disafforested all of it except that part which lays west of the river Wye and north of Guildown (hill near Guildford) and which takes in that quarter of the country which adjoins to the forest, and so it continued till the passing the Charta de Foresta, by which all forests made so from the commencement of Henry the Second's reign were to be disafforested. In consequence of which several perambulations were made of the forest of Windsor in the reigns of Henry the Third and Edward the First, and at last completed with much difficulty and importunity on the part of the inhabitants of the county of Surrey in the reign of Edward the Third, who followed the King from place to place whilst the matter was pending, till he confirmed the perambulations, and by all which the whole of the county of Surrey was declared to be extra Forestam, as you may see in Manwood's Treatise of the Laws of the Forest. But notwithstanding this, the neighbourhood of the forest to the county subjected those parts of it which lie upon the borders of the forest to frequent encroachments by the King's officers there and this increasing continually, as it did also in some parts of the counties of Berks and Wilts and chiefly I believe there, another perambulation of the forest of Windsor was had in the reign of King Charles the First in pursuance of an Act passed in the sixteenth year of his reign for ascertaining the bounds of forests, in which perambulation no part of the county of Surrey (except one part there, for which see hereafter) is taken to be within the limits of the forest, and does agree with the former perambulations thereof. A copy of this last perambulation taken from the original record I have by me and it runs thus (look for it among my papers), and much about the same time by virtue of the said Act my grandfather as a Knight of the Shire for the County of Surrey took out a Commission of perambulation of this forest and by that also the whole County of Surrey (except Guildford Park formerly belonging to the Crown and then supposed to be afforested as I suppose) was determined to be out of the bounds of the forest, but although Guildford Park is here left to be within the forest, it was at that time in private hands by purchase from the Crown, and had been particularly disafforested, which last, I suppose, was not made known at that perambulation. See my papers relating to the forest or those which concern the family estate. As he appeared upon this occasion no friend to the encroachments of the Crown upon forests, he was chosen by the freeholders of Windsor Forest one of their verderers.

My grandfather had two wives, the first was the only daughter and heir of Mr. Stoughton of Stoughton a family I lately mentioned; by her he had one child which died about two years after the mother. His second lady was one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Thomas Foot as I have already said, who was Lord Mayor of, and a very eminent person in, the City of London; and of some note in Parliament and a member of one of their Councils of State, my grandfather had a great fortune with her and by her had several children. He left four sons and two daughters. His eldest son, who upon his death was Sir Richard Onslow, I shall speak of by and by. His second named Foot, was my father, who after having been bred at Oxford and by that as I imagine intended for some other profession, was unfortunately for himself and his family put to a merchant, lived some time in Turkey, and continued that business for some years, but not with success. He was chosen a burgess for the town of Guildford upon the Revolution and was so in several Parliaments afterwards. He was in the year 1692 or 1693 as I think, made

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one of the Commissioners of the Excise and enjoyed that office to the time of his death, which was in 1710. He was a sensible and worthy man, handsome, well bred, modest and very brave, knowing in the business of his office and while in Parliament of good use there by his skill in matters which related to the revenue. He deserved perhaps an higher station than the Commission he was so long in, notwithstanding the little unnecessary flirts wantonly thrown out upon him by a certain sour letter-writer to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who seems to have had some spleen against him and my uncle too. This writer was then a Commis (*sic*) in the Secretary's Office, and very little more after he came himself to be Secretary of State. I have seen proofs of my Lord Treasurer Godolphin's regard to and opinion of my father, and his reliance upon him in the business of the Excise. He had besides many instances of regard from Mr. Boyle when Chancellor of the Exchequer and from my Lord Wharton and many other persons of great rank and consideration, all which will outweigh the mean flippances of this man to the contrary. As to what he has said of this sort against my uncle it is sufficiently contradicted by what he himself has been forced to say, in the course of his narratives (which are generally very good) of the great interest and influence my uncle had in the House of Commons; which was very true and did indeed arise from his disinterestedness there, and his constant and unvaried attention to the rights of the people, and the preservation of *the whole Government in its proper distributions.*

This principle all men especially country gentlemen should have with them in the House of Commons, and it is this only that has been the means of saving the Constitution against the various attempts of power in all ages even under good Princes. This my uncle practised; and although it sometimes made him differ from the Court, yet he never did that from faction, resentment, or any private motives, and was actuated only by what he deemed the public good. But these principles and actings come not always within the comprehension of little courtiers and office men, who if they happen to be of the House of Commons (honest as they may be every where else), think it even a duty to be as obsequious to their masters in Parliament, as they are at their desks, and carry their thoughts no farther; and often use the language of their masters to traduce those who do otherwise and who are usually better men than they and sometimes than their masters themselves.

But to go on with my own narrative, my mother was the daughter of —— Anlaby, Esq., of an ancient family, formerly owners of Anlaby, afterwards of Elton, both near Hull in the county of York, and of good alliance there. Her grandfather John Anlaby, Esq., a person of some note and of one of the best and most ancient families in Yorkshire, and although he appears to have been deep in the measures of those times against the King, and so far as to be appointed one of the Commissioners for the trial of him, yet he never sat but once amongst them. It was indeed the day on which they ordered the execution and signed the warrant for it, but his name is not to the warrant, which induces me to hope and believe he approved not of it. He was afterwards a member for the county of York, and a very active man in Cromwell's first Parliament, and of one of the Councils of State then constituted. Whether he was in any other of his Parliaments or that of his son I have not yet found. I find, however that in 1652 he was one of the burgesses for Scarborough with one Lucas Robinson Esq., both chosen upon vacancies, Sir Hugh Cholmly and the young Hotham (afterwards beheaded) being returned for that borough at the beginning of the Parliament. When my father

married my mother she was the widow of Arnold Colwall Esq. of the Friary near Guildford. She had three children by Mr. Colwall, two sons and a daughter, the sons died unmarried and the eldest surviving the other left (being dissatisfied with his own sister who married Doctor afterwards Sir John Shadwell, a physician, and who became so, in ordinary, to Queen Anne and the late King George the First) the remains of a very good estate which he had impaired, to me and my brother with fortunes to our sisters, and it was the only provision we any of us had; and by it, my mother, on whose account we had this bequest, became a considerable fortune to our family.

I come now to speak of Sir Richard Onslow my grandfather's eldest son and who afterwards became a Baron by the style and title of Baron Onslow of Onslow in Shropshire, and of Clandon in Surrey, and the limitation of this honour is to him and the heirs male of his body, for want of which to his uncle Denzil Onslow of Pyrford and the heirs male of his body (who is since dead without issue), and in default of them to the heirs male of the body of my grandfather before mentioned, so that if the present Lord Onslow the son of the first, and his son now living die without issue male or the male issue should fail, the Baronies will come to the issue male of the body of my father. This Sir Richard Onslow our uncle was a person of great probity, courage and honour, which, and because too of the many obligations I had to him, created in me such a veneration for his memory that some years ago I drew up a slight memoir or character of him which I will here insert as the best account of him I can give you. I will only add to what I have there said that he was in the three last Parliaments of King Charles the Second and in that of King James one of the burgesses for Guildford and after that eleven times chosen one of the Knights of the Shire for Surrey. He was High Steward of Guildford, and some time Lord Lieutenant of the county of Surrey.

My late Lord Onslow's long and eminent services to his relations and friends have raised him a monument with them that will not soon be broken down, but because the remembrance of him ought to live as an example of many virtues to his posterity, for whom I chiefly design this paper, I have put together a few things relating to the character of that excellent man. I had the happiness to be bred almost under his eye, and as I had very frequent opportunities to see him almost in every circumstance of his life that he was latterly in, and being besides from a particular reverence I always had for him, a very exact observer of everything he said or did, it may be very well supposed, that I knew enough of him to venture at a slight sketch of his virtues. I am sensible it deserves a much better hand, but however it is something to have this to say for my attempting it, that I honored him, I studied him, and therefore I describe him. He was, as to his outward person, tall and very thin, not well shaped and with a face exceeding plain, yet there was a certain sweetness with a dignity in his countenance and so much of life and spirit in it that no one who saw him ever thought him of a disagreeable aspect. His carriage was universally obliging, and he was of the most winning behaviour that ever I saw. There was an ease and openness in his address, that even at first sight gave him the heart of every man he spoke to. He had always something to say that was agreeable to everybody, and used to take as much pleasure in telling a story to a man's advantage, as others generally do to the contrary. It was this temper that made him so fit for reconciling differences between angry people, an office he frequently and readily undertook and seldom failed of succeeding in.

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He was exceedingly compassionate and even his bitterest enemies frequently experienced how soon he could forgive the greatest injuries and return services for them. There is scarcely a family in the country he lived in, that has not some marks in it of his kind offices, and when he was in power, he procured as many benefits to his friends as any man that ever was in those stations; and whatever he did of that kind he always did in the most disinterested manner possible. I have mentioned my Lord Onslow's easiness in forgiving of injuries. In some men that proceeds from a meanness of spirit and an insensibility of wrongs, and is therefore a defect, but in him it was indeed a virtue, for no man was ever quicker in apprehending when he was ill used, or readier in his resentments upon those occasions; and he was by natnre rather passionate than otherwise, though he came to have a great command of his temper and brought his courage (which he was famous for) to be if I may so say a very sedate passion in his soul. The few quarrels he had were generally upon public disputes, and one that ended in a duel was for something he had said in the course of a debate in the House of Commons. The person who challenged him as it is imagined was put upon it by some of the party my Lord was thought to be opposite to, unhappily enough for his reputation, he being at that time not two and twenty, and my Lord Onslow somewhat then advanced in years, who yet had the good fortune to disarm the young gentleman, and to bring away as much honour as a victory of that kind could give him. I mention not this to do any prejudice to the memory of Colonel Oglethorp, he was a youth of great expectation, and not long after this, was killed at the battle of Hochstet gallantly fighting for the glory of his country; but I have taken notice of it because it was a passage at that time much talked of and has something in it not a little to my Lord Onslow's credit in that way. After what I have said and shall say of my Lord, it will not seem wonderful that he should be perhaps one of the most* popular men in England. All the qualifications that I have hitherto mentioned to be in him necessarily tend that way, and I do believe there never was a man more exactly framed for that character than he was. His reputation was not confined only to his own country. Wherever the fame of Parliamentary proceedings went, his name was known, and I may say reverenced; but in his own country his influence was indeed very great. His ancestors for almost a century before him had with very little intermission represented the County of Surrey in Parliament, as he did, and the credit they left him joined with what he brought to it made him so considerable that he was justly reported to his present Majesty, when he came over, to be the most considerable country gentleman in the kingdom. He had been forty years a member of the House of Commons when the King called him up to the House of Peers. No man envied him an honour which he so highly merited, and few have risen to that dignity so regularly as he did.

He went into the House of Commons very young, and after the Revolution when Parliaments were frequent he acquired a good deal of reputation, was esteemed a good debater and extremely well versed in the rules and orders of Parliament, and for the last twenty years of his sitting there, no business of any importance was transacted but he had a large share in it; and perhaps was the occasion of the introducing more good laws

* An old member of the House of Commons Mr. *Edward* Wortley, who sat some years with him there, said once to me 'Sir Richard Onslow was the most popular man in the House of Commons of any one he ever knew there.' He added 'there were formerly *men* of that sort in the House, but the race is gone and people now have scarcely any idea of it, and the influence it had.'

than any one man beside of his time. He was no scholar, and had not thought thoroughly upon a great variety of subjects, but what he had thought thoroughly on he spoke to with great judgment and perspicuity, and having besides a great reputation for probity, he was as well heard as much relied upon and as much followed in Parliamentary affairs as most men of that age. He was always remarkable for a steady attachment to the interests of the people, and never ran into the schemes and projects of the Court, but when he saw they were for the public good. This stiffness against the Court led him into things in King William's time which he afterwards frequently repented of, and I have more than once heard him say nothing ever troubled him more than his having opposed some of that great Prince's measures which were certainly designed as he said for the interest and glory of England, though he did not at first perceive it, particularly that of disbanding the army after the Peace of Ryswick. He was for reducing the forces at this time, upon his general principle against standing armies, and from a belief that the militia might be made *useful*, a scheme for which last he had formed, and did propose to Parliament; but it was not thought practicable, or for some other reasons laid aside. This perhaps made him wish afterwards that the proposal of the King for a larger number of troops had taken place at that time, as the continuance of the Peace was very precarious. In Christian Cole's Memoirs, page 9, there is a letter, dated 11th January 1697/8, of Secretary Vernon to the Earl of Manchester, in which is this paragraph, "We are in the struggle of our Parliamentary affairs; there is a good provision made for the Civil List, but we are more strait-laced, as to the keeping up of troops, than I am afraid our circumstances will admit of. We are more jealous of our Constitution and Liberty than apprehensive of our ill neighbours, and therefore have allowed but 350,000*l.* for maintaining guards and garrisons this year, which we compute will keep 4,000 Horse and Dragoons, and 6,000 Foot. We hope to patch up the rest of our defence with our Militia, which Sir Richard Onslow tells us he will make useful. He hath advised upon a project for that purpose"; and in a letter (which I have seen) written about this time by Secretary Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, he says to the Duke speaking of this transaction, "what could we do (meaning the Ministers in the House of Commons) further in this matter, when three such men as the Marquis of Hartington, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Richard, pressed so earnestly, as they did, for the smaller number?" or in words to that effect. This Mr. Pelham, afterwards Lord Pelham, was father of the present Duke of Newcastle. See Journal of the House of Commons 11th–17th December, 26th February 1697, 14th April 1698. The King, however, did not forget the part my Lord Onslow acted at the Revolution, and was so persuaded of his integrity, even when he opposed his designs, that he always preserved a very great esteem of him, and a little before he died sent for him into his closet and bid him continue the honest man he had always found him. My Lord had been under that Prince one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, but at the end of two years resigned it.

It was the first public employment of any consequence he ever had and he was without any other till the 7th of the following Queen, when he was unanimously chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, a post that of all others the most suited his genius and which he sustained with great reputation. The profits of the chair he spent in supporting the grandeur and dignity of his office, as he did in those other employments he afterwards had. Some little time before dissolution of this Parlia-

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ment, he was sworn of the Privy Council which was the last thing my Lord Treasurer Godolphin ever procured of the Queen.

At the fatal turn of affairs that happened soon after, my Lord Onslow felt among others the effects of the general run that there then was upon the Whig interest and lost an election for the county of Surrey, to the inexpressible joy and exultation of the other party, who thought there could not be a greater mark of an universal disaffection to the Whig cause; but at the next Parliament they were shewn that Sir Richard Onslow's interest in Surrey was not lost, though the time before it had been oppressed. The losing an election at such a time sensibly affected him, though he bore it, as he used to do all misfortunes, with a singular composure of mind and resolved to live retired in the country for the remainder of his life; but my Lord Godolphin procured him to be chosen without his knowledge at a little borough in Cornwall, for which place he served all that Parliament, and joined himself to that small minority who ought always to be remembered by their country with honour for having so greatly opposed the storm that was then rising upon the Protestant Succession; and here my Lord Onslow acted a part that was truly becoming his character, not only labouring with the most vigorous in defence of the common cause, but generously refusing great offers which were made to him from the persons then in power, temptations strong enough to have shocked the honesty of a man less resolute than he was. For which and his many former services to the family of his present Majesty particularly the great hand he had in all the Succession Acts, particularly in that of the* 4th of Queen Anne, which he conducted through the House of Commons, upon a letter of my Lord Somers to him, which I have seen at Clandon, and which shows the estimation he was in with that great† man, he was upon the King's fortunate accession to the throne, made second Commissioner of the Treasury, Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer and in this place I must not omit my Lord Chancellor Cowper's speech to him when he was sworn before him in the Court of Exchequer into the offices of Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer October 13th 1714.

"Sir Richard Onslow, His Majesty has by these Patents constituted you Chancellor and Under Treasurer of his Exchequer, two offices of very great trust and honour, and which did I pursue the steps of antiquity, I should endeavour to give you a sketch of your duty in, with my serious exhortations to you for your exact observance of it; but your long application to and great industry in public business, will soon let you into the nature of your offices, and your known probity sufficiently guard your behaviour in them, I shall therefore only say this one truth and which from the bottom of my heart I speak, that upon my observation of past passages in your time, the Government of England has never stood upon its truer basis and foundation than when Sir Richard Onslow has been called up to posts of trust."

My Lord continued in the Treasury but a twelve month, though in that time much business was transacted in which he had always at least his share, and for that part which was done in the House of Commons, the whole lay upon him. There as well as in the other employments which he had, his chief care was to keep up the credit and dignity of the office, and sure no man ever did that more than he did. Had my

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* See Journal of the House of Commons, 10th December, 25th January, &c., 1705.

† See my note in my printed copy of Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times (p. 431).

lord Halifax lived who was at the head of the Commission and continued in it, my lord Onslow had undoubtedly continued also longer in it, but Mr. Walpole being designed for the first Commissioner my Lord was otherwise to be provided for and his royal master would not suffer the new Commission to pass till he was entirely satisfied. He had a warrant to be a Peer and was made one of the Tellers of the Exchequer for life, which was the first instance of one of those places being granted for life, since they came to be so considerable, and was looked upon by everyone as a very singular mark of the King's favour. After that for several months he lived retired and out of all business he being in neither House of Parliament; for his post of Teller vacated his seat in the House of Commons, and he did not sue out his Patent for a Peer till several months after he had his Warrant for it, and that upon a reason which was very much to his honour. Upon the enquiries the House of Commons were resolved to make into the misbehaviour of the Ministry who had governed affairs at the latter end of the Queen's reign, a secret committee was appointed by ballot for that purpose, of which my Lord was the first chosen. The report of that committee was the ground of the several impeachments that followed, and the Earl of Oxford, the late Treasurer, was one impeachment, and upon that committed to the Tower. His trial everybody expected daily, and therefore the Commoners who had Warrants to be Peers put off their coming into the House of Lords till that was over, that they who had been accusers might not sit as judges in the same cause.

But my Lord Oxford's trial being delayed and likely to be longer so, my Lord Onslow and the others took out their Patents, though my Lord Onslow for the same reason that he had delayed coming in so long, when he was in the House of Lords never voted in any question that had the least relation to the impeachments, and upon my Lord Oxford's trial sat only as a hearer. A piece of justice which did my Lord Onslow great credit and the rather because some others in the same circumstances observed not the like strictness.

There was one office more that he had which I must not forget because he valued it himself; it was that of Governor of the Turkey Company, a place of considerable honour, and in which he acted as much to the advantage of the people concerned in that trade as any man that ever sat there. In their applications to the Government, which are very frequent, they often stand in need of the interest of some powerful man to solicit their affairs, for which reason they generally make choice of such a one for their governor. My Lord Onslow in this respect more than answered their expectations, and they never failed of succeeding in almost everything they asked of the Court whilst he presided over them. By these means he acquired a very great esteem among them, and at his death was universally lamented by that company. He was succeeded in this employment by the present Duke of Chandos, and I think his predecessor was Sir William Trumbull, who had been Secretary of State in the reign of King William, and was a very considerable man.

But my Lord Onslow's reputation was not only confined to the Turkey traders, nor was his care only for their concerns, he had been always very assisting to the other branches of the English trade; and no man, I believe, of his time knew more of the interest of England that way, or had contributed more to it than he had done.

To conclude his public character; my Lord Onslow was an instrument of great good to his country, and having lived in times of considerable action as well as difficulty, it is no wonder that a man of spirit, of good natural sense, and unshaken honesty should have

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a large share in the affairs of the public, and be in the esteem of all virtuous men; and I may say that his death produced as great a concern among all sorts of people as ever any private one did, that has happened in the time of my memory. This is the picture that I have ventured to draw of him in the public stations of his life; if I was to show him as particularly in his private ones I might give a detail of virtues that are rarely to be met with; but because that may run me beyond the compass I proposed, I shall only take notice that he was very regular in his life, and that in all the relations he stood in, either to his Lady, his children, his more distant kindred, his tenants, dependants and servants, he shewed great tenderness of affection, a true zeal for their interests and a wise management of himself in the different carriage that was due to each. By that his family and his other affairs were ever in the most exact order, and indeed his whole economy was a pattern of prudence in all domestic concerns. He died — December 1717 in the sixty fourth year of his age, of a raging fever that had continued upon him for above a fortnight. His head by a particular circumstance in his distemper was very little affected through the whole course of his illness, and by that we may very well suppose the remarkable fearlessness he expressed at the approach of death proceeded from a consciousness of his own innocence, and that settled resolution of mind which he had shewn in all the parts of his life. He told his physicians that he was neither ashamed to live nor afraid to die, and required them, upon that, to inform him of the true state of his condition; which they having done, by telling him, they thought it impossible that he should live, he proceeded to the settlement of his worldly affairs, and then resigned his soul with great cheerfulness to the fate that was coming to him.

Soon after the Revolution, Herbert, Earl of Torrington, with whom my uncle lived in great friendship, talking with him about the usefulness of Marines, which my uncle had also a high opinion of, said of sudden and from their discourse, shall we raise a regiment of Marines? with all my heart said my uncle; upon which my Lord Torrington went straight to the King and got a commission for it, and my uncle was his Lieutenant Colonel; but was in a very little time afterwards made one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and so ended his military station, which he often used to smile at, and say, his regimental clothes and equipage cost him more than his pay came to. I have lately (1754) met also with some intimation, that he had in King William's reign, some thoughts of applying to go Ambassador to Constantinople.

The late Queen (Caroline) who saw him often and talking of him one day to me, said, that notwithstanding the plainness of his countenance and person, there was something *great* in his manner and carriage that drew a particular respect to him as soon as he was seen.

Thomas, the present Lord Onslow, is the only surviving son of the former, there was another but he died a youth before his father. He left also two daughters. This Lord succeeded his father in the office of one of the Tellers of the Exchequer but not for life and in the High Stewardship of Guildford and as Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, and was afterwards Custos Rotulorum there. He served sometime in Parliament for that county and was at different times elected a Burgess for Gatton, Bletchingley, and once or twice at the same time with the last mentioned place, for Haslemere, and once he was chosen for the City of Chichester. He was not without parts and spirit and some knowledge of the world, and had a notion of magnificence suited to his rank and fortune, but

had such a mixture of what was wrong in everything he thought said and did, and had so much of pride and coveteousness too, that his behaviour conversation, and dealings with people were generally distasteful and sometimes shocking, and had many bitter enemies but with not very few friends (to whom he was not unkind). His family are beholden very much to him for the great augmentation he made of the estate and the noble house he built at Clandon with the care he took to preserve as far as he was able the whole to them and in his name, and for the kind and handsome legacies he left to each branch of it. He married the niece and heiress of Colonel Knight, of Jamaica, an eminent person there, and by her had a very great fortune. She was a woman of the truest goodness of mind and heart I ever knew, and died much too soon for everybody that stood in any relation to her. She left one son, my cousin Richard Onslow, chosen this year (1734) and my brother with him, burgess to Parliament for the borough of Guildford. My brother was for the same place in the last Parliament. He is a Colonel of the Guards, an honest and a brave man, of a plain but good understanding. He married my wife's sister and had a good fortune with her, she died in little more than a year after their marriage without issue. He is married again to a niece of Sir George Walton, one of the Admirals of His Majesty's fleet, and with her he has also had a large fortune. He has a son* and a daughter by her.

Among the sons of my great grandfather I mentioned his youngest named Denzil called so after the famous Mr. Denzil Holles who was his godfather. He had a very fortunate and extraordinary rise in the world. A younger brother with a scanty provision, bred to no business, having soon left that he was designed for, with very moderate abilities of any kind; and yet came to make as reputable a figure and to be in as much consideration in his country as any one gentleman in it. His first step was by marrying the widow of Sir John Lewis of Ledstone in Yorkshire, my grandmother Onslow's own sister and mother, by Sir John Lewis, of the Countesses of Huntingdon and Scarsdale, the finest women of that time. The first was the mother of the young Earl of Huntingdon known and admired for his learning, politeness, and bravery; but with an allay of vices which derogated very much from his character, and as I have been informed were by maladies therefrom the occasion of his early death. His own sister, who now resides at Ledstone, the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, is one of the most extraordinary instances that any age, even the most religious, can produce, of true virtue, piety, and devotion. She has a great estate, lives altogether in the country and spends the whole of her revenue with the highest prudence and decency in hospitality and charities. It is said she has kept herself unmarried for the sake of being the better enabled to do these things. But to return, by this marriage my uncle Denzil got a considerable income which was his Lady's jointure and she had monies beside that enabled him with some help to purchase the estate where he always resided after that, called Pirford, and now one of the seats of my Lord Onslow, to whom he devised it. His income was increased upon Sir Thomas Foot's death by my aunt having a proportion of what he left, which with her jointure made the whole of their income £2,000 a year; and upon this he lived in a fashion equal almost to any man in the country. He had a generosity in him, with a perpetual cheerfulness and pleasantry of temper that made him universally beloved, nay esteemed, for these qualities were of that kind in him that

* He has now two more

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they procured the same respect to him from all sorts of people, which is usually given only to talents of a higher nature and which he had not. He was agreeable to and always loved the company of the youngest and the gayest men, and at the same time had an intimacy with others of a very different character, particularly with my Lord Chief Justice Holt who much delighted in having him with him, and had a high value for him; and so, many others of the gravest men of that profession, and with whom he spent a great deal of his time. He was trustee or guardian to most of the families of his acquaintance, and always acquitted himself with great care and honour in those confidences. The people of that part of the country he lived in, did not care, I assure you 'tis a truth, to receive justice from any hand but his, and distrusted everything of that kind which he did not do, and this affected him so that he was very constant at Chertsey in his attendance on such occasions and it was his chief pleasure where he generally gave the law, though I am persuaded he scarcely ever looked into a law book in his whole life, or was he indeed fitted for it; but he had good experience in the common things, and everybody submitted to him. He had been above forty years with very little interruption a member of the House of Commons either for Haslemere, Guildford or the county; but knew no more of the business there than one who had been but of the standing of a Session, and yet the people, especially those of his neighbourhood which he made a large one, would at any time have preferred him to the ablest man that could have stood against him, and he always by his own interest at every County election brought in the greatest body of freeholders that appeared there. He was twice chosen for the county and died one of the representatives of it. But notwithstanding the great qualities that thus recommended him, and which certainly were very good, he had no true goodness of nature at the bottom. Pleasantry or good humour has the semblance indeed of it, and is often mistaken for it, but is not what is meant by good nature.

You will often meet with ill-natured men who have good pleasantry and good humour in company and to strangers, who are yet hard and cruel at other times, and to their nearest friends; and you will sometimes perhaps meet with others who are splenetick and morose and even ill-natured in common appearance, who have great humanity and are very compassionate on proper occasions. Both sorts are defective, but the last is much the best; and he had certainly many things in him which manifested both. He did a kind thing once for me for which I ever thought myself beholden to him. He was always very firm in his principles and actings to the interest of his country and the liberties of the people, and having never varied his behaviour in that long course of time which he sat in Parliament gave him great credit with most men, and contributed very much to the general esteem he had acquired. He was also of great courage and his temper led him to perseverance and resolution in all things. Upon the death of my Lady Lewis he lost the best part of his income which went to my Lady Betty Hastings. He lived handsomely however, and some years afterwards was made one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office, the profits of which though not above 500*l.* per annum enabled him to keep up his post in the country. He had this employment to the time of his death except the three last years of the late Queen's reign, when he was removed for refusing to comply with the then measures of the Court in Parliament.

He had another employment for sometime under the late King which he had formerly enjoyed, then as I understand without any salary, but now it had and still has 600*l.* a year to it, out of which there is paid near

200*l.* to under rangers. The office is Outranger of Windsor Forest. The present Lord Onslow had it before him and the first who had this salary. It was given to him to vacate his seat in Parliament that he might be capable of being chosen for the county of Surrey (which he was) in the room of his father who was made a Teller of the Exchequer, and was soon to be a Peer as I have told you before, and my uncle Denzil had it for the same purpose, upon this Lord Onslow's becoming a Peer by the death of his father. The office now, my young Lord King has, and for life. My uncle's second wife was the widow of — Yard Esq. and sister of John Weston of Oakham Esq. often one of the representatives of the county in Parliament. He spent his estate, and it was sold to the late Lord King, who settled his family there. My uncle Denzil died in the year 1721 and in the 80th year of his age without issue. He had then been many years a Verderer of Windsor Forest, in which he was active and useful as I have been informed.

I come now to speak of myself, which I shall do with the utmost impartiality, for an example to you in what you shall think proper for your imitation and for a warning to you in the many things in which I have either wilfully or unfortunately too much erred, but of which I have often and sorely repented, and which you may have seen or heard of, although with some calumnies I may not have deserved; and I never was immoral without the feelings of conscience and sorrow sooner or later, I hope to a recovery where and as it could be, even in the minutest things. The nearness of my relation to you will very likely make both the example and the warning the more prevalent with you; and if that shall contribute in any respect to your becoming a prudent and an upright man, my end is answered, and it will be the best legacy I as a father can leave to you.

I was born the 3rd of September 1691 at Kensington in the County of Middlesex where my father then resided in the first house of the left hand as you come into the town from London, I was his eldest son, and from the affection he bore to the memory of my grandfather he had me named after him. Before I was quite seven years of age, I was sent to be educated in the free school of Guildford under Mr. Samuel Piggot, and my father boarded me with Mr. Edward Vernon one of the ministers of that town and who had belonged to my grandfather as a private chaplain. A most serious and devout man, of the principles (somewhat moderated however) and the manners of those who in a former age had been called Church Puritans, and I believe one of the last of that race, and whose holiness of life and earnestness in his duty, unaffected, and for the sake of religion only, I have often reflected upon as a most lively proof of what a great man* of our Church once said, that these men, meaning the Puritans, had more of the true Christian Spirit and came nearest to the sanctity of the Apostles of any set of men that had ever lived in the Christian Church since the Apostolic Age, and such was this good man; whose care and example made that impression of religion upon my mind, that I thank God it has in some measure remained with me ever since, and been the great comfort of my life, not only in the adverse but the prosperous parts of it too, and without which (and believe me you will find the same) I could never have supported myself under the one or have rightly enjoyed the other. My affection and reverence for this holy man and the gratitude I bore to him were such that I profess to you I felt almost as great concern of mind at his death although it

* Archbishop Tillotson.

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Underneath this stone
lyes interr'd
The Body of &c
A studious and learned man
of great integrity of Life
Humble and Inoffensive
Constant and Laborious
in his holy Office
A Lover of Truth
and
A Friend to all Good Men
Reader *imitate* his Virtues.

How happy shall I be if I find such a man to put you under the care of, but I fear, as I told you before, he ended the race.

When I was about fourteen years old I was removed to Winchester School under Doctor Cheyney, and continued there till I was near seventeen and then went to Wadham College in Oxford a Gentleman Commoner. I had not profited at either of the schools I had been at so much as I ought to have done, though to say truth very particular care was taken of me at both; it was therefore very fortunate for me that at the University I fell into the hands of a tutor (Mr. Samuel Lisle) who took more than ordinary pains with me and whose age and temper were suitable to my own. I lived in the Chambers with him and spent most of my time in his company. It was of infinite service to me then, and his sincere and cordial friendship to me ever since has not been of less use to me. He is at present Archdeacon of Canterbury, Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation and has several other very considerable preferments in the Church. A learned discreet and virtuous man and well deserves a higher promotion*; which I hope he will meet with. Whilst I was at the University, at school indeed, I contracted several friendships which have been of great benefit to me since, and this is one of the principal advantages which arise from a public education. I ever sought to keep the best company I could there, and was very exact, even to the minutest particulars, in complying with the discipline both of the College and the University, and I can truly say that, with a sense of religion, my life was in general virtuous and regular—God be merciful to my sins, then and since—and got into a love of books and reading, but yet without that profit I sought for, and which I felt the want of. My studies were too wandering, which is a great fault, and I went over less things, as I thought them, to get at greater, which I also failed much in, because I neglected the other. It had however been worse with me in this way,

* He has since been (partly through my means) made Bishop of Saint Asaph and was afterwards Bishop of Norwich.

and ruined my studies for ever, if it had not been for the very great care of my tutor, who omitted nothing to cure this in me, and for some intimacies I afterwards had with two or three studious and learned friends of my own rank and standing, though too much of it has always remained with me, and I often bewail it as having been one of the greatest unhappinesses of my life.

After I had been at Oxford near two years, my father died viz. 10th of May 1710. His death brought me to a mournful house for many sad reasons. He had almost all his life affected a part in his living more suited to his rank and family than his fortune, had also very sore losses in his business and a very numerous house to maintain, and not being the best manager of his affairs neither, had by all this so much straitened himself in his circumstances and was rendered so uneasy by it at last that it very much hastened his end; for he was but fifty-six years of age when he died. This affected me extremely, for excepting the particulars I have mentioned, he was a man of true worth, and very solicitous for the good of his family, tender to the greatest degree of me, and ever anxious about my education, and did everything towards that, which a good man and a good father could do. His dying under the circumstances I have mentioned put us all to great difficulties, and although there was an estate among us which my brother Colwall had left, yet that was much embarrassed. My mother, an excellent woman in most respects, was however of too high a spirit to submit so much as it would have been right to have done to a lower way of living than she had been accustomed to, and it was the misery of her after life to find out methods of maintaining this, and also to discharge my father's debts, which among us was however done, at least the greatest part of them. I was forced upon this to leave the University, and to become, as it were, though not twenty years old, the father of a large family, and notwithstanding I went that winter to the study of the Law, yet I had so many distractions from it by the condition of our private affairs, and by exceeding our incomes, that for some time I made but little progress, and suffered much too by the want of proper direction in my reading. However I went on, and having friendships with the best people of my own standing, particularly a very ingenious and learned young man and who bore me much affection Mr. Montagu Bacon,* and with others of longer standing and good reputation in all respects, I benefited a good deal by their conversation, and in a year or two entered into a pretty regular and strict course of study both of Philosophy and Law, and by the assistance of my friendship with Mr. Bacon acquired some little knowledge also in parts of learning in which he was very conversant and which made him perhaps neglect the study of the Law that was intended for his profession, and this was the chief of my amusements, though my natural turn was rather to the graver studies, as you will perceive he thought, by this little thing he drew up, with too much partiality and fondness towards me, and which I should not have cared to have shewn to anybody but you. Besides the advantages I had from the company I kept and which I have told you of, I had the countenance and favour of my uncle Onslow, and this indeed was my principal credit and support. He always treated me with the affection and care of a father. He considered me, as he often used to tell me, as his second son, received me in his house as if I had been so, and

* He was the younger son of Sir Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland in Suffolk and the Lady Catherine Montagu youngest daughter of the first and famous Earl of Sandwich.

Onslow MSS. endeavoured to make the world look upon me as such. The vacation part of the summer for many years I spent with him at Clandon, and by that I became well known in that country, and in truth he took delight in making me known to everybody he knew. I might have made more use of this than I did, but I had ever about me a backwardness in coming into public places or great company. Whether from a natural melancholy in my temper, or from an acquired one by embarrassments in our family affairs or by my constant living with Mr. Bacon afore-mentioned and some others who were too much of this make I cannot say, but a great deal of this has ever since hung upon me.*

About this time I grew into an intimacy with Mr. William Lee, brother of Sir Thomas Lee, knight of the shire for the county of Bucks and of an ancient and considerable family there. My acquaintance with him was of singular service to me in my law studies, for he was a hard student in that himself, and our conversation was much on those subjects. He has gone through some eminent stations in the practice of the law, and is now one† of the Justices of the King's Bench, with the character of a very upright, learned and able judge. He is besides a very worthy man in all respects.

But notwithstanding the pains I took, the helps I had, and the studious life I led, I soon perceived that I was not made for the business of the profession I was in. I indeed constantly attended the Courts in Westminster Hall with as much attention to what was done there as anybody else had. I also attended at the Assizes as a counsel in my own country for several years, but never could bring myself to speak or do anything in any of these places with tolerable ease or satisfaction to myself. I wanted, as I told you before, a proper direction at first, and though I read much, yet, as I told you also before, my studies were not fixed enough, and this was my great misfortune, and which will ever hinder a man from succeeding in any settled profession; and beware therefore of it as a fundamental and permanent error. But notwithstanding this, my knowledge of the law (as far as it went) particularly in the antiquities of it, which I always took great delight in, has been of eminent use to me in my Parliament business, joined with the foundation I laid of the knowledge of the Law of Nature, in which indeed I took most pains and without which no man can understand the law of any particular country as a science, an observation and a very true one of my Lord Chief Justice Hale.

But to return, despairing thus of any success in my profession, which however I discovered not to any of my relations or friends, I was often in great despondency as to the future course of my life, and it increased the melancholy I was otherwise too much inclined to, and the rather because the little fortune I had was every day lessening by my being obliged to expend some part of the principal even for my necessary living, from a want of income out of the family estate by unavoidable entanglements in it. I won't trouble you with a detail of this for it is not worth your knowing, I will only just tell you, that this difficulty in my fortune must have proved fatal to me if it had not been for the kind and seasonable assistances which I with the rest of my family received from our trustees Mr. Gibson and Mr. Jacob, who have ever been our faithful friends in all respects; and I mention this that you

* This melancholy turn in the unfortunate Mr. Bacon ended in a læsion of mind, which deprived the world of one, whose great parts, learning and general knowledge, with his much frankness and generosity of heart, might have made him a very considerable person in many public stations, even the highest.

† And since made Chief Justice of that Court.

may remember it whenever you have an opportunity to serve or oblige any of their descendants or relations. Under these mortifying circumstances, an incident happened very providential, to keep me in the manner of living I had hitherto, though with difficulty, maintained; and from this by one lucky accident after another I have been enabled to live in good credit ever since, and to arrive at what I am, which considering the various straits I have been in, and the struggles I have had to get through them, I often stand amazed at, and as often acknowledge the great goodness of Providence to me in it. The incident I mean was an office my uncle Onslow gave me under himself upon his being made Chancellor of the Exchequer. A genteel and a profitable one; it was that of secretary to him, and which had generally been given by those in his station to some very near relation. I made not the most of it, and yet it brought me, in three quarters of a year, the time I had it, above 600*l.* I then left it upon his procuring me the treasurership of the Post Office which I kept till I came into Parliament. That was worth near 400*l.* per annum, and by the help of these incomes I preserved myself and my family too, till our own fortunes became of more use to us than they had been before.

In June 1715 we lost my mother. It went very near me; I felt a greater concern than ever I did in my life; for although I was not her favourite child and had suffered by that and there had been some small differences between her and me about our private affairs, and I was not entirely satisfied with her management of them, yet I honoured her to a high degree, and she well deserved it, for although she had rather too quick a spirit, she was a very good and in most things a very wise woman: and she had in her younger years been extremely handsome.

Upon her death the estate at Woodford in Essex where my father, and she afterwards, for several years had resided, with some other lands in the same county and an annuity issuing out of the estate in Surrey fell in to me and my brother, for my brother Colwall had left the residue of his estate to us equally, and it being between three and four hundred pounds a year which my mother had, it came very seasonably to us to discharge incumbrances my brother Colwall had laid upon his estate, and to furnish us with some ready monies, and for these purposes we sold the estates in Essex. My care and trouble however were increased another way by the loss of my mother, for upon her death four of my sisters who were unmarried, two of them young, and my brother, young also, came to be immediately under my care and direction; but my great difficulty was how to dispose of him. He had not been qualified for a learned profession, and I was averse to his being bred a merchant, because of my father's misfortunes that way; but chiefly for that I knew our estate could not well be turned into money which would be necessary in that business when he came out of his apprenticeship, and this last reason was as strong against putting him to a lower trade. I own too that I thought any such trade below him; and as to a civil employment under the Government which was thought of, and which my uncle would have obtained for him, I utterly disliked it as being too precarious to be relied upon for his future provision. I was determined upon a profession for him in which he might rise to some consideration, and the only one which could answer that purpose was that of the army. It was against the opinion of all our friends; but as I thought I saw a courage and firmness in him suited to that profession, and being withal of a large and fine make in his person and of a very handsome and manly countenance I persisted in it, and his success and character have more than answered my expectations

I thought it also right to place him as high at first as I could, and therefore found means to raise money enough to buy him a company in a marching regiment at once, and it proved of singular use to him in his after promotions, and gave him a rank that enabled him, as soon as he came into the world, to keep the best company, and to live with the best of his family: and ever remember it in the disposal of your children, especially your sons, that nothing will sink a person so low as to be in a station that will make his relations ashamed to keep him company.

Thus I laboured for his advancement and well being, in the same manner as I would have done for a son of my own, and with the like affection and solicitude. What part I have had in all except the last (Plymouth) of particular military commands in his after promotions, and in other benefits to him, he best knows. He has risen to be very high in the army,* after much service in it, and with unblemished character in it; and to me in many instances kind and affectionate.

In December 1717 my uncle Onslow died. The loss I sustained thereby was the greatest I ever felt, and my best hopes of raising myself in the world died, as I thought, with him. He had indeed provided by his will, and the settlement of his honour as before mentioned, that his family should be kept up by my father's sons in case his own son and my uncle Denzil died without issue male, but that was so distant a prospect that I scarce ever made any other use of it even in my own thoughts than to reflect with gratitude upon it as an instance of his affection and regard. I was afraid too that by his death I might lose my office, but the next Lord Onslow was so far considered as effectually to secure me in it; and he finding me of some use to him in the management of the family interests in the country and otherwise too, and bearing also some kindness to me as I believed, I continued as much with him as I had been with his father (although not with the same comfort), and it contributed something to this, that I had taken not long before his father's death a little place of him near Clandon called Levels Grove for my habitation when I came into the country.

Being thus settled in Surrey and near Guildford and acting also as a Justice of the Peace, and being active in keeping up the family interest in that borough as well as in the county, I became generally known there and spent a good part of my time in that sort of business; but however I found time beside to carry on my studies, though I made but little progress in my profession. The gentlemen of the country were generally very obliging to me and I had a good deal of respect shewn to me from people of all conditions, and was much resorted to on all public matters which related to the country. What maintained and increased my consideration there and which I have ever since found of great use to me and have continued to practice even for some time after I was Speaker, was being in the chair at the Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the county. In which I had the good fortune to please and be grateful to the country in general. My education in the law made me soon a pretty good master of the business transacted in this Court, and having ever had a high notion of justice, and the regularity and dignity which ought to be preserved in judicial proceedings, I observed all this with great exactness, and laboured, from a principle of conscience I can safely say, to avoid even the least appearance of partiality, not only in matters of justice but in my general demeanour there, which won much upon many who had been enemies to our family and which I after-

* A Lieutenant General, Commander of one of the Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards and Governor of Plymouth.

wards found the benefit of, when I came to stand for one of the representatives of the county in Parliament.

I have told you already that upon the death of my late Lord Onslow, the present Lord becoming a Peer, there was a vacancy of a knight of the shire for Surrey, and to fill that, for the sake of keeping up the interest of the family, my uncle Denzil Onslow then one of the burgesses in Parliament for Guildford, vacated his seat there by the acceptance of an employment and was accordingly chosen for the county. Upon this my Lord Onslow gave his interest at Guildford to Major General Wroth who was chosen there without opposition in the stead of my uncle Denzil. He had an estate, and lived in the neighbourhood of that town; had been always a firm friend to our family in that place and in the county, and soon after the accession of the late King was by the procurement or assistance at least of my uncle the late Lord Onslow made one of the Clerks of the Green Cloth. Some of our friends wished to have had me chosen at this time for Guildford, but it would have been hard and so I thought myself, not to have taken this gentleman, for beside the unalterable attachment he had shewn to our family in all times, he had a claim to this election from having served before for this place in Parliament and been turned out upon a petition in the latter end of the Queen's reign for not being acceptable to those who were then in power. He had also been ready upon all occasions to give up his own interest at Guildford (which was something) to serve the interests and purposes of our family there: nor was I very desirous of coming into Parliament at all, but thought rather, if I did not succeed in my profession and which I more and more found I had not a turn for the practice of, to lead a quiet and retired life in the country, except as to the business there which I mentioned to you before. But this scheme for my future life was soon altered, for the gentleman I have just now mentioned falling into an incurable distemper, my Lord Onslow and our friends at Guildford were determined that I should succeed him in Parliament if he died; which happened in February 1719/20. I was accordingly elected without opposition for that place in his room on the 16th of that month being then about twenty eight years of age. My employment in the Post Office I was forced to quit, as being inconsistent with a seat in the House of Commons, but at my desire it was bestowed upon my brother, who held it till he came into Parliament in the year 1727 and then I procured it for my cousin Denzil Onslow who now (1735) enjoys it.

Thus being thrown into a new course of life, with a small fortune, and uncertain whether I should better it here, from some rigid notions that I brought with me as to my behaviour in Parliament, I was often under many anxieties with respect to my after condition in the world. I was resolved to make this my last cast, and if I did not succeed in this, to give up all expectations from everything also, and so from this time I threw off all thoughts of practising the law, though I continued my studies as strictly as ever, especially in that which might be of most use to me in Parliament. I will not disown that I was very intent to succeed in this new situation, and found an ambition about me which I had never perceived before, not for profitable employments or riches which I have ever perhaps too much contemned but for fame and respect, which perhaps I have too much courted. But be that as it will, it was my chief and great aim, led it may be to this by my being of a family which had been for so long a course of time in Parliament as I have before shewn you, and some of whom had been of no inconsiderable rank there, add to this that I had always been

Onslow MSS.

used when under the care of my uncle Onslow to the hearing and the talking of Parliamentary subjects, which ever made great impression upon me and were now strongly revived in my mind; so that from the first day I set my foot in the House of Commons I was an early and a most constant attendant to and a most studious observer of everything which passed there.

I came into Parliament at a very memorable time, whilst the famous Bill for enabling the South Sea Company to redeem the public debts, &c. was pending. The course of which and the sad consequences of it I forbear mentioning to you here, because a larger and a better account of it than I can give you may be met with elsewhere. Let it suffice for me to tell you, that nothing ever showed more the general corruption of mankind than this did. All ranks and orders of men were almost confounded. The whole nation brought as it were to a level, and without distinction of birth, titles, office, or age, gaping after and grasping at unreasonable gain. The sudden increase of imaginary riches by the artificial rise of the public stocks and everything else that could bear but the name of a stock, so intoxicated the minds of the gainers which *for a time* was everybody that dealt in them, that all other considerations were laid aside. The people thought of nothing but their immense estates, all acquired in a few months, some in a few weeks, nay some in a few days, and this in many from not being worth a shilling before. They thought of nothing I say but their new wealth and how they should spend it, which as it generally happens from quick gotten riches, produced an universal luxury in all instances of extravagance, and which the nation has scarcely yet recovered from. It was impossible this could hold long, nor did it so for more than four or five months, though it changed before the wisest foresaw it; nay the loss of all regular computation was so gone and the self-delusion for gain was so much, that the most wary and cautious were chiefly drawn in almost at the very last of the cheat; scarcely anyone perceiving it as such. And when the fall did come, the consternation that happened upon it is inexpressible. The excess of joy before produced a proportionable extreme on the other side, and most of those who thought themselves rich beyond the power of managing their wealth saw themselves all of a sudden sunk into an abyss of poverty. The few who were *real* gainers were forced to join in the general lamentation as if they had been sufferers too, lest their gains should expose them to popular fury; and thus as all thought they had been gainers a few weeks before, now all said they were become losers. I have often wondered that this did not produce some convulsion in the State. That it did not was certainly owing to people of all denominations thinking of nothing but their own losses and flattering themselves with the hopes of some quick turn in the public credit as they called it, to recover their late fortunes. If otherwise, or some bold men had taken advantage of the general disorder men's minds were in, to provoke them to insurrection, the rage against the Government was such for having as they thought drawn them into this ruin, that I am almost persuaded, the King being at that time abroad, that could the Pretender then have landed at the Tower, he might have rode to St. James's with very few hands held up against him. I was at London in the midst of this confusion and well remember that I then made this reflection. I tried my fortune as others did at this time though scarcely ever appeared in the place of resort for those that did and where everybody almost without distinction appeared almost everyday to the shame and dishonour of

their rank and characters. Neither did my trafficking go a great way, but what I got my Lord Onslow and another person bought of me upon their own earnest importunity and gave me a bond for the money which amounted to about nine thousand pounds, and of which I might have recovered every shilling, it not being in the nature of a contract, which would have been within a law that passed afterwards for the ease of those who were engaged in such contracts, but an actual sale; however the whole being likely to fall upon my Lord, the other person becoming insolvent, and there being as I thought some equity in not exacting my whole demand and considering all family circumstances, I* compounded with him for a very small proportion of it and which did not come out to be more than five and twenty hundred pounds, including the prime cost to me of what I sold to him, and which being a considerable part of it made my gain but very inconsiderable.

I told you before that as soon as ever I came into Parliament I resolved to apply myself entirely and earnestly to the business of it, which I strictly observed; and thus setting up my stand as it were, here, I was very anxious as to my success particularly in speaking, having always had a diffidence of myself in any performances I ever undertook whether arising from a real modesty in my nature, or from that fear which pride often creates in ambitious minds lest they should not come up to the pitch of their own desires I cannot say, perhaps mine in this case arose from both; more however I am willing to believe from the last than the first; because the subject of it was to be the crisis of my life, and is in ours as it has been in all other free states the great source of power and fame. And upon this occasion let me say to you, as what an English gentleman should pride himself in and have ever before his eyes and deem the most valuable property he has, that by a seat in Parliament he has an opportunity to raise himself by his abilities and disinterested character there (the one as necessary as the other), to any height of true power and name with satisfaction to his own free heart (the only real comfort of greatness) and without going through that horrible course of servil dependence upon and yet more servile flattery to the will, caprice, insolence, and often the vices, of a Prince or his ministers, and which is the general foundation of all eminence in arbitrary Governments.

I had not been many weeks in the house of Commons before I had an opportunity very proper for me, of speaking there, and I felt the success it had. I won't conceal from you the joy I had upon this occasion. The exaltation of heart which a man, circumstanced as I was there, has from such an event is not to be described. The notice which was taken of me upon this first step in my new course made me to conceive hopes that in this situation I might advance my reputation in and become of some use to the world, a gratification of mind I can truly say the strongest I ever felt. When the Parliament was up I went into the country to my little retirement near Guildford, and there a very fortunate overture was made to me by Mr. Corbett the clerk of the peace of our county (who had received some favours from my family) of a match with your mother. I immediately listened to it, and he and I came by leave of your mother's uncle to make a visit at Ember Court, and was then and afterwards so well received in the family, though of a principle in public matters very different from that which I was of, that in a few months viz. on the 8th of October 1720 we were

* See among my writings for those which relate to this matter, and consider the difficulty I was under.

married at the church of St. Paul's Covent Garden. Her uncle Henry Bridges Esq. settled the Estate of Ember, &c. upon us to come after his death subject to a jointure to his wife who are both dead, and by the after death of your mother's sister Rose who was married to my brother but died without issue, the reversion after my brother's life of a considerable part of her share of the family estate came also to your mother. I afterwards bought of my brother his interest for life in it, and so am now in possession of all the estate which came by your mother, much beyond my expectation or deservings and as it will be the best part of your fortune ever remember the obligations you will be under to her for it, as you are for her care, her tenderness and fondness of you, and I doubt not but if you inherit her understanding and true worth you will want no exhortations of mine to induce you to that esteem and reverence of her which her character and your relation to her will claim from you. She had her failings; but she was generous (except as to herself) charitable and pious. Her father and mother are yet alive, very just and reputable persons; he blind through age, being now (1735) near 82. He of the family who raised the estate, and first settled at Ember Court about the year 1671, was Shem Bridges, Esq., a rough but very sensible man, active and knowing in the business of the country and of great use and sway there. He was sent early to the East Indies in the service of the company trading thither, and there he got his estate, and with unspotted reputation. Upon his death his estate (which he intended for your mother and her sister I have just now mentioned and who were bred up by him and by his dying before he completed his will) came as his heir-at law, to your mother's uncle before spoken of, Henry Bridges, Esq., a plain honest good-natured man, with whom, after our marriage, I lived at Ember Court till the time of his death which was in June 1726.

Being thus settled in a very creditable place and as it were the heir of it, in my own country, it much increased my consideration there, and the certain expectancy of a tolerable estate strengthened my own wishes and resolution to keep myself independent in Parliament, the next meeting of which was that session in which the fraudulent execution of the South Sea scheme for taking in the Public Debts came under the consideration of Parliament. I then first began to see the arts of power and of faction, of party resentment, and of the personal pique of great men against one another: for some or all of these were the foundations of those remarkable proceedings which were the chief almost the whole business of this session. Some good men engaged in the prosecution of it with very worthy and public views and the spirit and indignation of the whole kingdom supported them in it, but even they were transported with too much heat, and the punishment of the offenders too indiscriminately made, and the method of proceeding against some of them at least, not with that temper and regularity which the rules of justice require. The great danger and dishonour too of Parliamentary prosecutions and which has generally been the case in most of them. The frequent consideration of and concern at, which has often made me think that among other reasons (very obvious) for it, there is one not so much taken notice of but what really contributes as much or more to the intemperance and violence too often used in these prosecutions, as any of the other causes. I mean that wantonness of power that arises from having no check upon their actings, and being accountable for them to no superior authority.

This and many other reasons make it very improper therefore to have these prosecutions too common, though in some instances and at some

times they are absolutely necessary, and the fear of them is that which keeps all the subordinate power in awe and order and is the great security of the Commonwealth; and so far does this go that I am verily persuaded from my own observation, that the very apprehension of being named in the House of Commons by way of complaint, is sufficient almost of itself to prevent any extraordinary abuse of power or public trust. Nor can any such abuse subsist long while Parliaments continue to meet *annually* and is therefore the strongest reason in the world, if there were no other, why the intervals of Parliament should be no longer than what now prevail, and is indeed the law of the land. Not but that some very upright and disinterested persons have thought that longer intervals of Parliement would be the best and only means of curing corruption in it, but they are I fear mistaken in that, and other evils would only follow from it. But to return, the Parliament, whilst they were punishing the delinquents in this iniquitous work, provided also for the relief of the sufferers; and in my opinion they did that with much more prudence than the other, and with as much equality as the times and the circumstances of the various cases would bear. To which there was a submission by all sorts of people that was scarcely to be hoped for, and showed the wisdom of the provision. ONSLOW MSS.

In the course of this examination an incident happened that afforded various sorts of insinuation and reflection upon some in the Administration, and even upon persons beyond the Administration. It was the cashier of the South Sea Company, Mr. Robert Knight, withdrawing himself of a sudden, and going beyond the seas. He was certainly a man of good parts, of an address far above his birth or former manner of life (which I think had been that of a tradesman in the city of London) very insinuating, open in appearance, yet close and dextrous in the management of the trusts he undertook. He had been in the depth of the project from the beginning, and in all the secrets of it afterwards; so that whatever corrupt dealings had been with people in power, he was thought to know the most of that work; and had he stayed, must either have run the risk of losing his own great share of the gains that had been made by this undertaking, or have purchased his indemnity (which would scarcely have happened too) by discoveries that might perhaps have been thought to have merited it. The House of Commons addressed the King to stop the ports and to issue a proclamation to secure him. Being got into Netherlands he was seized there at the instance of the English Secretary at Brussels and a Minister was sent from hence to the Emperor to deliver him up. He was detained for some time, but not being delivered under the pretence of its being against the privileges of the States of ————. He afterwards made his escape which was connived at by the Marquis de Prie, the Austrian Governor there, who for that and not delivering him up, had out of the King's Civil List, by my Lord Sunderland's procurement 50,000*l.*, as I have heard from undoubted authority. At last after going through many difficulties he settled himself in France where he now lives in great opulency in Paris, treating and caressing and doing all kind offices to the English who come thither in hopes that one time or other, though now in years, he shall by their means obtain a return into his own country, his going away being felony by an Act that had been made just before. Whatever he did know, his flight certainly suppressed, as to the public at least.

However some evidence remained, that involved two men, in the same Act that punished the Directors, Mr. Aislabie the Chancellor of the

Onslow MSS. Exchequer and Mr. Craggs the father, and brought a question in the House of Commons upon my Lord Sunderland, then First Commissioner of the Treasury, but who by a majority of 61 was acquitted though with great difficulty, and to save whom the less regard perhaps was had to the other two. How far he was guilty I wont take upon me to say, because the evidence against him was undoubtedly not so strong as against the others, but the money he left which soon afterwards, upon his death, appeared to have been acquired about this time, did pretty near tally to the profit he was charged to have received from the favour of the managers of the South Sea Company. The Earl of Sunderland was the son of that Earl of Sunderland who was a Minister to King Charles the 2nd, King James, and to King William, of whom you will read much in the History of those reigns, and who was without dispute the most capable man and of the greatest genius for public affairs of any in those times* or indeed in any age or country. Although he never spoke in Parliament, and very awkward in it everywhere else. His son came early into business, and before his father's death, was then in the House of Commons but made no advantageous impression of himself there, from a disagreeable impetuosity and ungraceful manner of speaking which left him not till very few years before his death, and this alteration in his manner of speaking was to the wonder of all who knew him before; nor was till that time in any high estimation for his abilities; so that I have heard it observed as an instance of little sagacity, at least, in a certain *Bishop* † who had been a chaplain in the family, when he said that the old Lord Sunderland was an honest, and the son a wise man.

How far the Bishop (who was himself a person of eminent worth) was right in the character of the father you will judge by the story of his times, but as to the then Lord Sunderland he was by no means mistaken, if by wisdom was meant parts of understanding. He was besides very learned and studious, delighting much in books, of which he made a very large and noble collection now remaining in his family. He was well skilled in Parliamentary affairs and in the forms of them, and thereby of great authority wherever that skill was of use, and he had at last much gravity and state in his outward deportment and great dignity in his speaking in public. He had been Secretary of State in the Queen's time while the Whigs were in power, promoted to that perhaps by the interest of the Duke of Marlborough whose second daughter he had married, or by his rank in and steadiness to the party he was of, or by both, and to both it may be it was owing that he was the first of the Ministers who was removed, upon that remarkable change of the Administration at the latter end of the Queen's reign. He continued very firm to his friends during the rest of that reign in all parts of public business, and stood therefore in his own as well as the general opinion, as one of the most likely persons upon the accession of the late King to be employed in some office of most confidence in his councils, and in particular to be restored to the station of Secretary of State, but the scheme for the Administration running another way, and he being too considerable to be entirely left out was appointed to the Lieutenancy of Ireland. He accepted the office, but did not hold it long, taking it as it was intended, great in itself undoubtedly, but often a step of disgrace to some men who have been or expect to be in the closer parts of the Administration. He accepted also of one or two other offices, but was always looked upon as disappointed and discontented, till by the means,

* See Roger North's examen or his life of the Lord Keeper his brother.
† Tremick [Terrick?].

as it has been thought, of the Hanoverian favourites about the King he wrought himself into His Majesty's confidence and following the King to Hanover in the year 1716, he there brought about a revolution in the Administration here, that put him at the head of affairs. The first thing he did was to return the compliment to my Lord Townshend, who was removed from being Secretary of State and made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he accepted in the manner the other had done before, and resigned it sooner. Mr. Walpole (afterwards Sir Robert) then first Commissioner of the Treasury, soon afterwards gave up his offices, and my Lord Sunderland then became the chief Minister, with such only about him who were parties in or had fallen into this alteration.

They were all Whigs indeed, and so had the body of that party with them, but the numbers who followed my Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole, and the still greater number who also adhered to the Prince upon the unhappy division in the family (the detail of which is too long for me to give you in this place) occasioned such a defection from the Court especially in the House of Commons that it was with the utmost difficulty the Ministers carried on their affairs in Parliament, although my Lord Sunderland in no part of an able and dextrous Minister for his purpose (*sic*). The difficulties he was thus in, reduced him to all methods to secure his power, and indeed he had no scruples in making use of any. He bought all men as he could get them, some by places, others by promises, and many by more secret ways, as it was generally said and believed, and with unbounded profusion. Men set their own price and had it, as he and they knew their value, because the numbers in Parliament ran so near as to make any one person considerable enough to be had at any rate. I never knew so corrupt a time; and which laid such a foundation for the continuance of it, that God only knows when it will have an end.

Among other methods used by the Court to secure a majority, chiefly in the House of Commons, a magnificent public table, at vast expense to the King, was kept at St. James's House in Parliament time, for the entertainment of the members; but, upon the change of the Ministry, this at least was laid aside. It had indeed produced very little effect for the purpose designed by it, and was very disreputable to Parliament; yet many came often, others seldom, and some out of curiosity to see it; of which last were a few who were in opposition to the party then in power. The resentment the Prince bore to my Lord Sunderland on account of the part it was imagined he took in that almost fatal quarrel before mentioned, raised in him the most desperate designs to secure himself in case of a demise of the Crown. He first tried to obtain an Act to restrain the Crown in making of Peers and to change the election of the Scotch Peers into hereditary seats in Parliament, and the number to be 25 and to be named by the King; and as their families became extinct to have their places supplied by such of the other Peers of that nation whose creations had been next to those so extinguished, that the Prince upon his accession might not have it in his power to make such number as with the then new elected Scotch Peers might overbalance those whom he hoped to have his friends there. He attempted this twice and failed both times in it, though strongly recommended from the throne, and although the proposition itself had many plausible things in it and much suited to the principles and taste of the Whigs, and what some very good and wise men gave into. It was amazing to all the world that the King should be drawn into this measure so destructive of so essential a part of the prerogative. It can only be accounted for by his suffering himself from his want of knowledge of

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the Constitution ever to be governed in all the domestic affairs of this country by those whom he employed and to whom as to all people indeed his natural temper ever made him most indulgent, and the generosity of preserving them against the rage, as his Ministers called it, of his son might very likely be his principal motive to this extraordinary step.

Whilst this matter was depending in the House of Lords, my Lord Sunderland had the chief management of it, and did it with that skill and knowledge, that did much raise the opinion of his abilities, and they who were most opposite to him in the thing itself have often talked of his opening the debate on this occasion as one of the greatest performances they ever knew in Parliament. This attempt having failed and the indignation of the Prince rising higher against him, it was said he entered into designs of passing him by in the succession to the Crown, and even after the reconciliation was made between the King and Prince; nay so far did this go, that as the Whigs began to fail him, his desperation drove him into negotiations with the Pretender, and a letter from the Pretender to him was found upon his desk among his secret papers when they were examined by some of the ministers (particularly my Lord Townshend) in the presence of some of the family. It has been said that the King was privy to this correspondence, but I have heard it from one who could and did know the truth of this matter that that was not so; but it was from an enemy of Lord Sunderland. The letter however was immediately burnt at the desire of a noble person (my Lord G . . . . . n) who was there and was his brother-in-law and I think one of the executors of his will.

My Lord Sunderland had great knowledge of foreign affairs and more perhaps than any man of this time. He had a quickness and dispatch and clearness in all business that he understood, and if his reputation was not very high in matters of the revenue, it was only because he had not made it his business, and it was but a little while only and that from necessity that he took the charge of it. He had always been thought and I believe had really been so, a great contemner of gain (as his father was) and this I remember was urged in the House of Commons as a principal point of defence for him upon the accusation I have mentioned before. But there are temptations and times that catch men the most unlikely from their tempers to be drawn into it if they are not supported by the principles of justice and true honour, and how great soever some qualities in him were, he was certainly a very rash and dangerous man in power.

Mr. Aislaby was a gentleman of Yorkshire of a good estate there by descent from the ancient family of Maltons. He began the world among the Tories, but left them at the latter end of the Queen's reign whilst they were in full power and he in employment. This ingratiated him very much with the Whigs, and at the late King's accession, upon the merit of that behaviour he was made Treasurer of the Navy. He was a man of good understanding, no ill speaker in Parliament, and very capable of business; but dark, and of a cunning that rendered him suspected and low in all men's opinion. His great employments did not even raise any regard to his person. He was much set upon increasing his fortune, and did that, and to obtain a peerage, which it is said he was promised, but missed, by the troubles he fell into for his South Sea transactions. Upon my Lord Sunderland's coming into the Treasury he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, but although he understood the business of the revenue better than any other person

then employed, he was of a very little weight even in those matters, in the House of Commons at least, notwithstanding his station gave him the management of them there, and any business of that kind in that place was always better done by other hands. He was so little respected that he fell almost unpitied by anybody. It was thought he was given up at Court, by way of composition, to save my Lord Sunderland, and he, chiefly against Sir Robert Walpole, resented it accordingly, as long as he lived.

Mr. Craggs (the father), from very low beginnings, came through various fortunes to have a greater hand and to be more considerable for some time in public affairs than any private man that we have known; for the highest office he ever held was that of joint Postmaster-General. He was much employed and trusted by the Duke of Marlborough, and by that it was, that he grew into acquaintances and strict intimacies with many persons of the first rank, and particularly with my Lord Sunderland, with whom during his administration he had the nearest confidence, and was in the secret and depth of all their designs. He was a great instance of the force of natural talents, for he had no acquired ones, except what his experience gave him. He had an understanding superior to most men, of a most undaunted spirit, diligent, close, and unwearied in business. There was a strength and manliness in everything he understood and did, and he even wanted a theatre to act upon to show what he was capable of doing. He seemed to be made for the instrument of such a man as ——, or any who have made the most daring attempts. He was restrained by no scruples of conscience, by no danger or toil, and whenever the Ministers complained of difficulties in Parliament, he laughed at their fears, and used to say—give him but the power of the prerogative and he would desire nothing else to govern this nation as he pleased. His office of Postmaster General obliged him to live in the city, but he resided there rather as Minister of the Court to govern that body of people with whom he had formerly been much conversant than for the particular duty of his employment, which he regarded much less than the other. He was, therefore, the principal agent for the Administration in the *whole* transaction of the South Sea Project,* and bore the chief blame for all the iniquity of it, as an accomplice with the leading director, and having made an immense gain by the Stock, and being a man generally detested, he was soon marked out for a sacrifice to the indignation of the people. His great spirit not brooking this and knowing the severity as he called it of a House of Commons examination, and having just lost his son by the small-pox, he died soon afterwards, not without very strong suspicions of having used violence to himself.

His son was much a better man, open, generous, and well natured; of no knowledge, but of parts that grew with his power, and he filled his office of Secretary of State, and did his business in Parliament with a sufficiency that amazed those who knew him before, and with candour and frankness that pleased all. He died a very young man for his station, and was lamented by many.

A few days after the death of Mr. Craggs the son, died the other Secretary of State, Earl Stanhope. He was, without dispute, a man of great public spirit, but too hot and projecting in matters of state. It

* I have since heard that he advised against the project at first and expressed some fears at the great rise of the Stock, but see the Resolutions of the House of Commons, 1 May 1721. I should have added to his character, that although he was fierce in his look and sometimes in his manner and speech, he was neither haughty nor ill-natured, and liked to do acts of kindness. I knew him well.

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was thought that the regulation of the peerage, that I mentioned before, was a scheme of his forming. He had commanded the English forces in Spain with various fortune, but always with the reputation of great bravery and resolution. He was the best scholar perhaps of any gentleman of his time, and of considerable parts, but with a vehemency and fervidness of speech, that always hurt his hearers. He had studied long and knew well the affairs of Europe; and so upon the King's accession was thought proper to be made one of the Secretaries of State, with my Lord Townshend. He continued in a strict union with him and Mr. Walpole, and went to Hanover with the King to take care of their joint interests till the attempt upon them was made there by my Lord Sunderland, and he then fell in with him, not without much reproach from the others, and was his principal support in the alterations of the Ministry, and contributed more than any one to the engaging the party in general to be contented with the change. He was for some time after this First Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, but knowing little of the business of those offices returned back to his former station with an intention as it was said of leaving that too for the command of the army which he must attend, and died without having acquired any great fortune, and without the least suspicion of being tainted with the corruption of the preceding year. The deaths of these two Ministers, with that of my Lord Sunderland the next year, did very much facilitate the restitution of my Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole to their full power. For some account of Sir Robert Walpole see my papers.

During this session I spoke in two or three matters relating to the South Sea affairs with some advantage to myself and acted in upon the whole, agreeable to the disinterested rule I had laid down for my behaviour. The next winter, in which the last session of this Parliament was holden, nothing passed worth my taking notice of to you as far as relates to myself. All people were preparing for the next General Election which happened in the Spring of the year 1722. I was again chosen for Guildford and almost unanimously, the struggle lying between Mr. Morgan Randyl, who had been many years elected to Parliament for that town, and Mr. Thomas Broderick, the chairman of the secret committee upon the management of the South Sea Scheme, and by that become a very popular man. He was set up for Guildford by my Lord Onslow and was chosen. I would not join with him, nor was it pressed upon me; for we have ever found that the family have succeeded best in all elections when their interest has been kept independent of any other persons.

The new Parliament met in October after the election of it, and thus early because of the discovery which had been made in the —— of a conspiracy to set the Pretender upon the Throne, at the head of which was Doctor Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who upon that was committed to the Tower of London. A full and a true character of this turbulent and very bad though extraordinary man you will see in Bishop Burnet's History of his own times. Two other persons were also secured. The one of them named Kelly a nonjuring clergyman of Ireland was the underactor to the Bishop, but a man of far more temper, discretion, and real art, and indeed in all respects a very proper instrument for such a work. The other was one Plunket, an Irish Papist, a very mean fellow who seemed to be taken in for no other reason than that he was capable of and was to have undertaken the most desperate part of their designs. He would have been guilty of an assassination, upon the principles of religion, and it was this only he seemed fit for. He did not appear to

belong to the bishop, but to others who were engaged in other parts of the plot. I shall mention the case of these three only because they were the only persons whom the Parliament undertook. There were several others who were secured by the Government, and among them one Layer, an attorney, who was convicted and executed. I had, for my station, a considerable share in these Parliamentary prosecutions, which happened to me from having spoken with some success in the debate at the beginning of the Session upon the Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. I was for the suspension as a necessary security to the Government, and what had been frequently done on the like occasions. The body of the Tories opposed it with great vehemence and had some of the Whigs with them, but the Whigs almost universally fell in with the prosecutions, and made the greatest disproportion in the numbers upon the divisions in the House of Commons I ever knew there.

The particulars of this conspiracy you will meet with elsewhere, I shall only tell you, that it was formed upon the supposed disaffection to the Government from the sufferings a great part of the nation had undergone by the South Sea Scheme, which had been very industriously imputed, and that too much believed as is natural when people feel any misfortune, to very dangerous and corrupt designs in those who then administered the public affairs, and even a connivance if not a participation in it by greater personages. This was heightened by the check the new Ministers, particularly Mr. Walpole, were said to give to all enquiries into and punishments for this national fraud, and by endeavouring to cover the old Ministers especially, as the condition at Court of their restitution to their former power; and all this being grafted on old party discontents made the leaders of the design to imagine it a very favourable conjuncture for their purpose, which they at first intended to execute (and was particularly the Bishop's scheme) during the heat and ferment of the general election, but their foreign aid failing them at that time, it was put off to that part of the summer it was imagined the King would go to Hanover, and in that interval the discovery was made. It has been said it came first from the Regent of France (whose particular interests with regard to the Succession of that Crown upon the renunciations by virtue of the Treaty of Utrecht, had almost from the beginning of his regency thrown him into a close correspondence and confidence with the Court of England) but upon condition of sparing the lives of those he named. Let the first discovery be how it would, the pursuing of it and the conduct of the whole were principally the work of Mr. Walpole whose dexterity and skill in it showed him to be equal to the ablest minister that ever unravelled the deepest and darkest contrivance against a State, and such this was in most parts of it. It had the usual effect of matters of this kind, by a new and firmer establishment that it gave to the Government, effacing in a good measure the prejudices that many things besides the South Sea project had raised against the King and his family. It so thoroughly broke all the measures of the party for the Pretender that they have never since been able to recover them, into any formed design of Jacobites here at least, and ought therefore to be reckoned one of, if not the, most fortunate and the greatest circumstance of Mr. Walpole's life. It fixed him with the King, and united for a time the whole body of Whigs to him, and gave him the universal credit of an able and vigilant Minister.

After the Parliament had taken it up and gone through their enquiry upon it by a Committee made up of the Privy Counsellors who were of the House of Commons the Chairman of which was Mr. William Pulteney whom I shall have occasion very frequently to mention hereafter.

Onslow MSS. It was determined that Bills should be moved in the House of Commons to inflict pains and penalties on the Bishop, Kelly and Plunket; and at a meeting for that purpose Mr. Walpole proposed and it was agreed to that the Attorney General (Sir Robert Raymond, afterwards Lord Raymond and Chief Justice of the King's Bench) and myself should move for the Bill against Plunket. They chose to begin with that as being the strongest and the clearest case upon the evidence as it then appeared; and indeed it was so strong that many Lawyers were of opinion he might have been convicted by it of High Treason by the ordinary proceedings of Law, of which I shall have occasion to tell you more presently. At the same meeting it was agreed that the Solicitor General (Sir Philip Yorke, afterwards Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Chancellor) and Mr. Sandys (member for Worcester, afterwards Lord Sandys) should move for the Bill against Kelly, and Mr., now Sir William, Yonge and Sir John Cope for that against the Bishop. The Attorney General upon the motion against Plunket opened the particulars of the evidence as it appeared from the Report of the Committee I spoke of before, and the part I took in seconding the motion was to speak to the nature in general of that sort of evidence as proper and allowable in these cases. But this method of proceeding and the evidence in it should be very seldom and cautiously used, and never unless upon very extraordinary occasions, and from necessity, the Rules of Law being our best security.

The next great work I was engaged in was the impeachment of the Earl of Macclesfield. The part I took in it, as one of the managers, I leave to the censure of those who shall read that remarkable trial. He was undoubtedly a person of great knowledge in and out of his profession, and of very clear and fine parts. Able and greatly so, as a judge, in the high stations he had in Westminster Hall, but not equal to that in his other situations, except on one occasion, which was his rise: I mean his extraordinary performance upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverel. The time was fortunate to him for Lord Chief Justice Holt died just before the Tory Administration was settled, when by that accident the Duke of Somerset, in the short interval between the old Ministry going out and the coming in of the new, having at that juncture, some how or other, an influence at Court, he made use of it to procure Sir Thomas Parker (afterwards Earl of Macclesfield) to be made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Robert Eyre, who had been also a manager upon trial, to be a judge in the same Court upon another vacancy there. Both which promotions proved of signal use, afterwards, to the Protestant succession and the Whig cause; and this was Lord Macclesfield's merit at the accession of the present Royal Family; but he wanted temper to manage himself well under his exaltations now, and these he had afterwards, and created so many enemies to himself by that, that in his fall he was pitied by very few even of the Whigs, and had no countenance from the then Administration, nor indeed before, as having been raised to be Chancellor by my Lord Sunderland's procurement.

Yet Sir Robert Walpole would, to my knowledge, rather the prosecution had not been, as the Earl was removed from the Great Seal, which he would have had to be his punishment; but his little personal regard for the Earl and the general cry and run against him made the Court yield to the impeachment; but Sir Robert took care, that several of his own people should be concerned in the management of it, and it was moved by one of them. This I thought and believe was done by him chiefly to prevent, in others concerned (who were not his friends), some attempts in this secret committee (for so a Committee to prepare articles of

impeachment always is) to go farther in their enquiry than what immediately related to my Lord Macclesfield. Whether that was so or not, I cannot pretend to say; but I am sure my aim was only for justice, and I did not observe the contrary in any one during the examination.

The Earl's defence was not happy for him, but he bore the judgment against him with great calmness and decency, and continued that, the few remaining years of his life, in much retirement and devotion, and the manner of his dying was exemplary. This has often affected me. Whilst this prosecution was carrying on my Lord Bolingbroke's petition was presented to the House. It was for his restitution to his family estate, after his father's death as it stood upon —— and had been forfeited upon his attainder and given up by the King with all the other forfeitures, at that time, for the use of the public, and therefore it was necessary to have an Act of Parliament for the being restored to it: but the King was to recommend it to the House, which he did, and, by the means of the Duchess of Kendal, promised him all the support he could give him in it; and to this Sir Robert was, very unwilling for many reasons, forced to submit. The matter being then fully before the Parliament, it was very ill received by those called the old Whigs; and among them I took a part against it, and having said in the debate, that if the estate were to be given back to the family, whom I knew to have been always friends to the present Establishment, I should have no objection to it, but to give it *to him* who had been tenant in tail of it, was to give it *from* the family, as he was very likely to run it out, by his known dissipation, and perhaps in a foreign country. This had an effect upon many; but a Bill however was ordered in; but the next day, I think, Sir Robert came across the House to me, and said if we who had been against the Bill, meaning the old Whigs (and who indeed were his best friends and whom he was afraid of disobliging) would come into the Bill care should be taken to prevent Lord Bolingbroke's *alienating* it, by a special and effectual clause for that purpose. I told him, that for myself I should still be against the Bill, but that if this clause were inserted in the Bill, it would much soften it with me. I suppose Sir Robert said the same thing to others, and the Bill passed with this restriction, except as to some charges he was allowed to make upon it. During the time of this transaction, it made my Lord Bolingbroke, as may well be imagined, very uneasy, and to labour all he could to have this clause not brought in; and to stop me in the pursuit of it, I believe he prevailed with his father the Lord St. John, very old, and with whom I had been acquainted, to come to me to entreat me, which he did with much earnestness, not to press the passing of this clause, saying his son Bolingbroke might be well trusted, that he would never do any hurt to his family. The father had then one or two other sons, and Lord Bolingbroke no child or likely to have any, and my answer to the father was, "my Lord, I am a better friend to your family than you are," and said no more to him. Lord Bolingbroke's then wife, whom he married abroad, was a niece or some other near relation of Madame Maintenon, and was a very fine sort of woman, had been so in her person, and was still so in her understanding. She was often of the King's parties here, and much with the Duchess of Kendal, who was always considered and treated as the King's *private* wife, a character allowed in Germany under some circumstances, but was no friend of Sir Robert Walpole, nor indeed were any of the Germans. Upon this commerce Lady Bolingbroke had at Court, she had been able to apply personally, as I have been informed by the Duke of Newcastle, to the King himself, and complained of this design of abridging Lord Boling-

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broke's power over the estate in question, and as being against the original promise of restitution; that the King heard her so patiently, and then said to her, "Madam, I am always content with what the Parliament thinks fit to give me, and I would advise you to do the same, lest you get nothing." Thus the estate was saved to the family, who now enjoy it, which many things afterwards in the farther course of his life did plainly demonstrate. And here let me add, although not of immediate relation to what went before, an anecdote I had from Mr. Pelham, Sir Robert's nearest and constant friend in his administration, and of most real use to him in it, at least in the House of Commons.

He told me, soon after Sir Robert's death, mentioning several things of him, that Lord Bolingbroke had, by some German intrigues and influence, so wrought himself into the confidence and favour of the then late King (Geo. I.) that had he lived to come back from Hanover, it was very probable he would have made Lord Bolingbroke his chief minister, and of which Sir Robert was so sensible, that he intended, just before the King went abroad, to have obtained a peerage for himself, and resigned his offices, but acquainting his great friend the then Duke of Devonshire of it, he was strongly averse to it, and it was so strenuously opposed by the Princess, to whom the Duke of Devonshire had imparted it, that he laid aside his design, although against his judgment at that time. This shows the interest he had then with the Princess, and will account for the early re-establishment and increase of his power in the following reign, against the new King's first inclination and resolution, which were certainly for Mr. Compton the Speaker, who had been long his treasurer, and very near to him in all his counsels. It went so far as to be almost a formal appointment, the King, for two or three days directing everybody to go to him upon business, and Sir Robert, I know, did himself believe it would be so; but by the Queen's management, all this was soon over-ruled, with a sincere regard, I am persuaded, to what she believed to be most for the King's real service, with, perhaps, at the same time, a little vanity to have the person deemed the ablest Minister in Parliament at least of that age, to be a dependent of hers, which the other was not, or much in her esteem. He was very able, however, in the chair, but had not the powers of speech out of it; without which few Ministers can do well in either House of Parliament, as the chief business of Government is now carried on there. But notwithstanding this preference of Sir Robert Walpole to Mr. Compton the King always bore a great regard for him, and seemed glad of opportunities to increase other promotions upon him, which were very high in honours and rank; but never to be a first Minister, even after he came to be at the head of the Treasury, the common business of which he did well, and so in his other stations.

There were some few other things in this Parliament, that I took a part in, and without any discredit to myself, as my friends thought. I had not been a frequent speaker in debates, and never long, always diffident of my performances there, and endeavoured to found my character, rather upon the rectitude of my actings, than upon any other fame, and therefore often voted with both parties as I thought them to be in the right. I loved independency, and pursued it. I kept firm to my original Whig principles, upon conscience, and never deviated from them to serve any party cause whatsoever: and all this I hope and am persuaded, was what chiefly laid the foundation of my rise to the Chair of the House of Commons without any the least opposition, although Sir Robert Walpole sometimes said to me, that the road to that station lay through the gates of St. James's.

These last words bring to my mind what was, many years afterwards, said to me by Mr. Pelham (then, in reality first Minister) who came on purpose to engage me to be Speaker in the approaching new Parliament. I had been so long in that labouring situation, that I was much inclined and indeed resolved, at the end of the then Parliament to retire from all public business. He had heard of this, and it was the occasion of his coming to me at that time, to press me to alter my purpose, and many things were urged by him with much earnestness to induce me to do so, that may not be very proper to mention, but what convinced me, that it was my duty to submit to (none, God knows, with regard to my own private interest) and this I was the more ready to give into, and is the reason of my giving you this relation, that upon my observing to him, that if I was to be Speaker again, he must not expect that I would act otherwise than I had always done, and which he knew was not always pleasing to Ministers, his answer was, "Sir, I shall as little like, as any one else in my station, to have a Speaker in a *set* opposition to me and the measures I carry on; but I shall as little like to have a Speaker over-complaisant, either to me or to them." I thought it nobly said, and mention it to his honor, and the rather as he and I had often differed. He died, not long after this discourse, and before the choice of the new Parliament, and in which I was Speaker, for many of the reasons Mr. Pelham had used to me.

After this digression, I come now to relate what happened to me, after the death of the King who died suddenly in Germany, some time in June 1727. I have told you already that everybody expected, that Mr. Compton the Speaker would be the Minister, and Sir Robert Walpole thought so too, for a few days, during which time I went to wait upon him at Chelsea, a place he had for retreat, as much as a first Minister can enjoy, so near the town. I found him at that time, alone, and he kept me a great while with him. At first he seemed a little shy of talking, and I imagine he thought I came by direction of ———— and to report what he should say in our conversation; but I had no such base view, nor ever was an instrument of that sort for any person, and he soon perceived I had no such motive, and came only out of pure respect and affection for him, as was the truth I really believing that all power was to be in other hands. Upon this he took me into his arms with a flood of tears that came immediately from him, crying out, that this kindness of his friends had drawn a weakness from him, which his enemies never could do. He then made me sit down by him, for I was going away, and entered into a long discourse of his Ministry, justifying his measures, and defying any charge that could be brought against him, ending with saying, that all he had been employed in would devolve upon Mr. Compton (which indeed everyone believed, and people crowded, during these few days, in their resort to him accordingly), seemed to like this destination for Mr. Compton, better than for any other person, and declared he would never leave the Court if he could have any office there, and would be content even with the Comptroller's Staff. He expressed some kind things of regard to me, and in this conversation, or some other not long after, I found he would not dislike my being the next Speaker; but of that nothing was ever said by him to me till he was in the full return of his former power, and which soon came about, with very ample increase of it.

After the death of the old King, the new parliament to be chosen was the great business of the nation, and occasioned great contests almost everywhere, as what would have an effect upon the King's mind

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with regard to parties. He had fully manifested his inclination to the Whigs, but the Tories, and some Whigs who had joined them, hoped by being a majority in the House of Commons to distress him out of that predilection, the common cause of these struggles; and this made the Whigs the more earnest in their endeavours to continue the strength they had in the two preceding parliaments.

We, in Surrey, by a division among the Whigs there, had not been fortunate in some late county elections, and my Lord Onslow had a notion that he might in some measure recover that, at least our family interest, by making me to stand for the county, to which I was very much averse, and did long withstand, on many accounts, and was desirous to continue a member for Guildford, as most proper for me in all respects; but his importunities were so vehement, joined with the ready and warm approbation and desire of many of our nearest friends, that I yielded at last upon condition that I should be chosen also for Guildford, which I was without any opposition, as I had been always before. During the time of this transaction for my being a candidate for the county, I did communicate it to Sir Robert Walpole, who, out of personal kindness to me, did not approve of it, using these or like expressions. "What! Will you take a county upon you? Consider what that is with regard to re-election; and should any accident happen to prevent your being chosen Speaker, you will, I suppose, be not unwilling to come into other offices and trusts, perhaps frequent elections may not be so practicable in a county as in a borough. I once, upon a sudden and very extraordinary occasion, was prevailed with to stand for the county of Norfolk; I lost it indeed then, but might, perhaps, have carried it at another time, which, however, I would not attempt, and kept to the boroughs Lynn and Castle Rising, for either of which I knew I could always be re-chosen." I thanked him for his kind advice; but told him I could not resist the pressing instances that were upon me for it. He wished me good success, and I had all the interest his countenance could give me.

Being thus engaged I took all the pains that are usual in such undertakings, against two candidates who were united, and against all the force of unbounded expense, and of all party zeal and rancour, with every artifice that could be practised. The expense to me was a trifle. My family and friends in the county, took almost the whole upon themselves, and the spirit of the country in general was so great for me, that I carried my election by a majority of near a thousand, and had near nineteen hundred single voices. My uncle, Sir Richard Onslow, at an opposition somewhat like this to me had once thirteen hundred, which was thought extraordinary, and his majority upon the whole was about three hundred; and in the most sanguine of my own expectations I never went farther, scarcely so far. When the two other candidates perceived upon the run of the poll how much it was against them, and not knowing upon which of them the loss of the election would fall, they began to act against one another, each endeavouring to poll single votes for himself, and reproaching one another with it, that the father* of one of them, who had used me worst, came into the public court, and in the most abject manner, begged I would forget and forgive some things which had passed, and engage my friends, who had not polled, and were single for me, to give their second votes for his son. I rejected him with the scorn he deserved, and told him I knew I could choose, by the means of those friends, which of the two candidates I now pleased;

* Sir Thomas Scawen.

but that I would have nothing to do with either of them. After some farther struggles between themselves, they came, by the intervention of their common friends, to a strange sort of agreement, which was, that one* of them should come into court and publicly give up the election to the other, which he did do, the poll then going on, and thick. It is not to be conceived almost, the flame this put the country into, and the indignation it raised against both, with the most opprobious language, of selling the election, &c., &c. After some time I procured a silence, and said to the people, that this attempt was illegal, dangerous, and unheard of before; that the election was the *right* of the freeholders to choose whomsoever they thought fit, and those who should be so chosen were obliged to serve, whether they consented to it or not, and could not therefore renounce the election; that the sheriff was bound to go on with the poll, as long as there were any freeholders left who should offer their voices; and that he could not judge, who were duly elected till the poll was over, and he had cast up the numbers, who were upon the books, and then he was bound to declare and return such as he found to have the majority, even against the desire and consent of those who had it.† Upon which there was a loud and general cry, "go on—go on—go on—no selling the county"; and the sheriff proceeded accordingly. If the poll had been closed at the time Mr. Walter renounced, by the *private* accounts taken of the numbers, Mr. Walter had more votes upon the poll than Mr. Scawen, and the sheriff must have therefore returned him notwithstanding their compact; which being understood, I believe, many of my friends, without my interposition, did throw their second votes upon Mr. Scawen by which he obtained a small majority above Mr. Walter. What the consideration (for some there certainly was) to Mr. Walter for this yielding, and suffering his remaining voters to poll against himself in favour of Mr. Scawen, I could never learn. It has been said, that Mr. Scawen was to answer *all* the expenses of the election, which must have been very large, and not suited, as it was thought, to Mr. Walter's circumstances at that time, and it may be, the party rather chose to prefer Mr. Scawen as being a young man, compared with the other, of very great fortune, and the most likely to encounter, and get the better of, our family interest hereafter, although the other was much more firm to them in principles and actings; but their great view was to get the county out of our hands by any means, to make the Tory cause prevail there, as we had anciently, constantly, and uniformly supported the contrary, and generally with effect. But they have failed in all those hopes and expectations, and the Whig cause in Surrey is the most prevalent there.

After this great defeat, I never had an opposition (yet sometimes vainly threatened) in some measure owing perhaps, to the resolution, and which I kept to, of avoiding even any appearance of *joining* with any other candidate. The county I am sure would not like it; would deem it an imposition, and taking too much upon ourselves, which is always unpopular, and which the family have suffered by, more than once, and my uncle ever disapproved of, who lost an election by it, and drawn into it, against his judgment, by this indiscreet warmth of some very near him. He could never venture upon it again, and so recovered his interest.

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* Mr. Walter.

† There are many instances of it ancient and some modern. It was the practice formerly to take Manucaptors, on some occasion at least, for the appearance in Parliament of those who were elected to serve there.

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And now I bring you to the principal scene of my life, that of my being chosen Speaker. Mr. Compton, elected again for Sussex, having been made a peer a little while before the Parliament met for business, my election to the Chair was unanimous, as it has been in the four subsequent parliaments. I began with no small disadvantages in succeeding immediately a person who had been long and of great character and authority in that station, and I very young for it, and with the experience of a few years only, in the business of the House. I had many fears; but I had some encouragements too. I had never made myself personally obnoxious to any party, and had, by my manner of acting in Parliament, some regard shewn to me from many of every denomination and they had reason to believe, I should be respectful and impartial to all. I had besides, the hopes of countenance and assistance from my predecessor, which I soon and very kindly received from him, and had all its weight. Thus fortified—— 1770. G.O.

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When my father broke off thus abruptly, I do not know; but it becomes me to close as well as I am able, the account of his life in the Chair of the House of Commons, in which I shall do him more justice than his modesty would have suffered him to have done himself. Every honest resolution he took at his first entering into that station he religiously kept. He was allowed universally to be the best and ablest Speaker that ever filled that Chair. His whole delight was in his business, and his only aim to act uprightly and justly there, and with strict impartiality. He nobly and disinterestedly resigned the lucrative office he had of Treasurer of the Navy (though by-the-bye, it was to him much less lucrative than it had been before and has been since to others, as he abhorred making use of the public money, and even after he was out returned all the money which the taxes on his salary would have come to, had not custom exempted it from them but which *he thought* not sufficient to do so).

He continued speaker (and knight of the shire for Surrey) till the end of the reign of Geo. II.; and the proceedings of the House of Commons, and their generosity to him when he left it, are the best proof of the unanimous opinion they, and the whole kingdom with them entertained of his signal merit. I had the happiness of sitting under him all his last Parliament, being by the recommendation of the Duke of Newcastle (who from this time to his death in 1768 continued a most kind and partial friend to me and whose niece you know your mother is) chosen into the Parliament of 1754 for Rye in Sussex, where I was also very much supported by my colleague there, that worthy old man Phillips Gybbon, Esq.,* who had served so many years before for that place. I was chosen most honorably, for my election cost me not a single shilling save my moiety of the entertainment. Previous to my election I was appointed to the office of Out Ranger of Windsor Forest (of the institution of which office and of the share our ancestor had in the getting it established for the joint interest of the Crown and the people you will find an account among your grandfather's papers) which I held till I was removed from it in 1763, of which I shall say more hereafter. The income of it was of singular use to me, being 400*l.* a year clear after all deductions, which supplied me very well during the seven years

* Whose picture I have since given to be hung up in the Town Hall of Rye.

my wife and I lived with my father in Soho Square, from 1754 to 1761; and indeed we had 200*l.* a year more, 100*l.* paid by Sir John Shelley to his daughter, and the other by my father to me, and besides this the interest of the money left me by the late Lord Onslow. The 100*l.* was as much as my father could well spare me then as he spent his whole income in keeping up the necessary dignity of his office, and as I was otherwise a considerable expense to him in the maintaining our children and servants. When he retired and was possessed of the means, he amply shewed his generosity and goodness to me by allowing me every shilling he could and reserving to himself not more than 12 or 1,400*l.* a year. Thus enabled by him, upon his leaving Soho Square and going into Russell Street, Bloomsbury (where he and my poor good mother died) we removed into Curzon Street, Mayfair, into a very good house there.

In the first Parliament of George 3rd I was chosen knight of the shire for Surrey, and just before my election had the office given me of Surveyor of the King's gardens and waters; a very genteel office and worth to me nearly as much as my other. Both these offices I was removed from in 1763, the famous time when (by the counsels of that wretched man Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland and by the hand of him to whom this country is indebted for all the evils which have happened in this reign, I mean the Earl of Bute) that general massacre was made of almost every man in office from high to low who had had any connection with far better and higher men than themselves, those who composed the Whig Administration of the late reign, especially with the Duke of Newcastle. Among those, very much to my honor, I suffered; if I may so call it, when my father's munificence made that loss of income, great as it was, scarcely to be felt. You will read in the history of those times, of the wretched policy and more wretched end those two ministers came to; and in 1765 all things were set to rights again and every person who had been turned out of their office restored to it or promoted to better. I was among the latter, for I was appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury with the Marquis of Rockingham, Mr. Dowdeswell, and my friends Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Thomas Townshend junior. I was on that occasion rechosen for the county, and again at the general election in 1768. In the November before, I was made a Privy Councillor and am still a Commissioner of the Treasury now (1771) acting upon the same principles as I can maintain, though with different, but full as good and able men (at my own Board I mean), Lord North in particular whose great abilities and manly courage in standing forth and in the brunt of these most factious times I have had the happiness of being a witness to, and of seeing him save the Constitution and the honour and dignity of Parliament.

Thus much for my public life to this time I shall now say something to you of a private nature and more therefore to my present purpose, which is that you should know some particulars of those you are descended from and related to. First and principally I must mention your mother to whom you both owe so much of that credit which I trust you will ever preserve in the world from her having with such unwearied pains instilled into your minds from your infancy those principles which I have the unspeakable happiness to think I see growing up in you both, and which if you maintain them, must and will carry you through the world with all that happiness and honor I so devoutly wish you both. She was the daughter of Sir John Shelley, of Michelgrove in Sussex, by Margaret daughter of Thomas the first Lord Pelham. I was married to her very young, in the year 1753 (the 26th of June) and have had now during the course of thirty-two years unspeakable obligations to her,

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and each year more and more reason to see and adore her tenderness, truth, generosity, honour, real religion and integrity. Oh! Remember and imitate her virtues, and be assured, that if you ever cease to love and respect her when living, or to honour her memory when dead, you will be the most ungrateful of sons. There are few, if any, such examples of maternal kindness and anxiety for the welfare of others as she has felt and shewn to you both. Remember it, I charge you, and return it whenever you can; as *you* expect a return from *your* children for *your* kindnesses and concern for them, and as you hope for the blessing of God on your endeavours for their welfare. Behave to her as I with pleasure and comfort can say and acknowledge you do to me. Your being descended from her will ever be a credit to you, and an honour to your name.

So will it be to *you, my dear grandchildren*, that you are descended from that excellent mother of yours (now, alas, no more) of whom I will attempt to give you some idea. She was the third daughter of Mr. Ellerker, of Risby Park in Yorkshire, and on the death of her brother, became a co-heiress of his fortune (which was 5,000*l.* a year) with her three sisters; one of whom is married to the present (1785) Earl of Leicester, son of Lord Viscount Townshend. Her mother was Barbara, sister of Mr. Dixon of Belford in Northumberland, to whose bountiful and munificent will you owe so large a part of your fortune; indeed the whole of it, till your father's death, which I hope is far distant. As you have the misfortune of never knowing her yourselves, it is fit you should be informed by me, who, thank God, *did* know her, *what* as well as *who* she was. She was moral, conscientious, and religious in the best sense of the words, having an excellent understanding, and consequently no affectation. She was, indeed, genuine, undisguised truth itself. Her person and gentleness of manners (for she was handsome, civil, elegant, cheerful, calm, and composed at all times and in all places) made her admired wherever she went; but this, though she must have seen and known it, was so far from raising any vanity in her, that she never loved shewing herself and rather avoided public places than otherwise, and never was in one without being glad when she was got back to her family and her *home*, which she always deemed our house to be as much as her own. She preferred her husband's and his family's interests to every other consideration in this world, loved their company more than any other, and had no intimates but those who were also theirs. She was exemplary in her attention to her children with whom she made it a point to pass most of the morning, and indeed had them under her own eyes almost all the day. Her moderation was equal to her judgment and was observable on every occasion. In the duties of a wife, mother and daughter none could exceed her. She was alike in body and mind; all cleanliness, purity and decency in both. In thought, word or deed she never gave offence to any creature living, and to those she was most with, nothing but delight. In 1782 we lost this inestimable *treasure*. *Such* had she lived, would she have been indeed to you her children, of infinitely more value than the addition which (vast as it is) she has made to the family stock of fortune, though her death was a still greater *diminution* of its stock of virtue and goodness. May it be long before the latter suffers the only *one* that can equal it, the death of your grandmother.

You will read in the former part of these notes, *who* my mother was, and *what* she was. My father does her justice in what he says of her, and to my knowledge lamented her loss and revered her memory the two years he survived her. I must ever do so, and remember with

gratitude and tenderness her partiality and love to me which asted from my birth to the last moments of her life (in June 1766) which I attended with sorrow, as I did my father's afterwards. He died in my arms; as I hope to do in yours. Onslow MSS.

Onslow
10 December 1785.

"His conduct was a legacy to all
Richer than mammon's to a single heir."

Dr. Young.

[Note on the Rebellion of 1745.]

26th September 1745.—Hearing in the country the day before, that the rebels in Scotland had defeated the King's troops, commanded by Sir John Cope, at Preston near Edinburgh, I thought it proper to go to Kensington, where the Court then was, to pay my duty to the King, and to learn there, what was to be done upon so extraordinary and so unexpected an event. When the King came into the Drawing Room (being the first public day since the news) he looked as became him on the occasion, with a composedness that showed attention to what had happened, but void of the least appearance of fear or dejection, and just with cheerfulness enough to give spirit to others. I never saw him I think show so much of true greatness as he then did. After he had spoken to several and as usual, he turned to me, and looked as if he would have me to come a little out of the circle, that he might speak to me out of the hearing of others. When I came forwards, which was not however quite out of the hearing of those who had stood close to me, he asked me whether I thought there would be a large appearance of members of the House of Commons, when the Parliament met, which was to be that day three weeks. I told him I hoped and believed there would.

He said it was an extraordinary occasion they met upon: that the matter was now become very serious, meaning the progress of the rebels, and that he hoped for and chiefly depended upon the vigour of his Parliament on this occasion, that they must be his true support, and that it was his Parliament he could and would trust to. He said, some things perhaps may fall out that may not be exactly according to law; but as it was a time of danger, he hoped that if any such thing did happen, it would pass by as unavoidable. I told him, he had the law and the legal force of the Kingdom on his side, which was the great support of his cause. He replied, it is true, but things will happen at such a time, that are not strictly within it. He then returned to the talk of his Parliament, and said he did not only now rely upon Parliament, but had always done so, for the support and security of his government; and however he might sometimes have disapproved of some particular men's behaviour there, yet in general he always liked and loved and trusted to Parliaments; and added, you, Sir, know this to be true. I said, his doing of that had been the strength and the honour of his Government. He replied, I ever thought so. I told him, I was persuaded his subjects in general were firmly resolved to support him and his family; and considered their own interests as involved in and united with that; and that as our all was therefore now to be defended, I thought all was to be made use of for it. I found he understood me, as meaning, which I did, that all our forces in Flanders should be sent for, in order to put a quick end to this rebellion, and prevent any invasion; upon which he smiled,

Onslow MSS. and said somewhat to it, but so low, that I really did not hear enough of it to be able to repeat it.

Two or three other things were then said, which I cannot recollect, and afterwards with some little emotion, looking steadfastly at me, France, says he, has been the occasion of all this; France, the old and bitter enemy of this country, and till her power is checked, or she is subdued (I cannot say which of the expressions) this nation will never be in quiet. He then said, I know your zeal for me, and I depend very much on your activity, your experience, and, he was pleased to add, your capacity. I replied, those words, Sir, do me more true honour and give me more comfort than I ever received in my life.

A. O.

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## Circular of the Commission.

Public Record Office, Chancery Lane,
London, W.C.

Her Majesty has been pleased to appoint under Her Sign Manual certain Commissioners to ascertain what unpublished MSS. are extant in the collections of private persons and in institutions which are calculated to throw light upon subjects connected with the civil, ecclesiastical, literary, or scientific history of this country. The present Commissioners are:—

Lord Esher, Master of the Rolls, the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., the Marquess of Bath, the Marquess of Lothian, K.T., the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Limerick, Lord Acton, Lord Carlingford, K.P., Sir G. W. Dasent, and Mr. H. C. Maxwell Lyte, C.B.

The Commissioners think it probable that you may feel an interest in this object and be willing to assist in the attainment of it; and with that view they desire to lay before you an outline of the course which they usually follow.

If any nobleman or gentleman express his willingness to submit any unprinted book, or collection of documents in his possession or custody to the examination of the Commissioners, they will cause an inspection to be made by some competent person, and should the MSS. appear to come within the scope of their enquiry, a report containing copies or abstracts of them will be drawn up, printed, and submitted to the owner, with a view to obtaining his consent to the publication of the whole, or of such part of it as he may think fit, among the proceedings of the Commission, which are presented to Parliament every Session.

To avoid any possible apprehension that the examination of papers by the Commissioners may extend to title-deeds or documents of present legal value, positive instructions are given to every person who inspects MSS. on their behalf that nothing relating to the titles of existing owners is to be divulged, and that if in the course of his work any modern title-deeds or papers of a private character chance to come before him, they are to be instantly put aside, and are not to be examined or calendared under any pretence whatever.

The object of the Commission is solely the discovery of unknown historical and literary materials, and in all their proceedings the Commissioners will direct their attention to that object exclusively.

In practice it has been found more satisfactory, when the collection of manuscripts is a large one, for the inspector to make a selection therefrom at the place of deposit and to obtain the owner's consent to remove the selected papers to the Public Record Office in London, where they can be more fully dealt with, and where they are preserved with the same care as if they formed part of the muniments of the realm, during the term of their examination. Among the numerous owners of MSS. who have allowed their family papers of historical interest to be temporarily removed from their muniment rooms and lent to the Commissioners to facilitate the preparation of a report may be named: The Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Portland, the Marquess of Salisbury, the Marquess Townshend, the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Ancaster, Lord Braye, Lord Hothfield, Mrs. Stopford Sackville, Mr. le Fleming, of Rydal, and Mr. Fortescue, of Dropmore.

The costs of inspections, reports and calendars, and the conveyance of documents, will be defrayed at the public expense, without any charge to owners.

The Commissioners will also, if so requested, give their advice as to the best means of repairing and preserving any papers or MSS. which may be in a state of decay, and are of historical or literary value.

The Commissioners will feel much obliged if you will communicate to them the names of any gentlemen who may be able and willing to assist in obtaining the objects for which this Commission has been issued.

J. J. Cartwright,
Secretary.

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